The Heritage of Arabo-Islamic Learning

Islamic History and Civilization

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The Heritage of Arabo-Islamic Learning

Studies Presented to Wadad Kadi

Edited by

Maurice A. Pomerantz
Aram A. Shahin

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Cover illustration: The illustrated manuscript MS Ahmet III 3206, the *Kitāb Mukhtār al-Ḥikam* by al-Mubashshir b. Fātik (5th/11th century). The detail depicts Solon teaching. Werner Forman Archive/Topkapi Palace Museum.

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In the course of preparing this volume, the editors and contributors were very saddened to learn of the passing of Prof. Wolfhart P. Heinrichs. We wish to offer our condolences to his family and thank his wife, Alma Giese-Heinrichs, for the permission to publish Prof. Heinrichs' contribution.

The editors would also like to thank their families for their love and support throughout this project.

The Heritage of Arabo-Islamic Learning

Maurice A. Pomerantz

Literary heritage or *turāth* is a neologism in Arabic dating from the nineteenth century. A product of Arab intellectuals' confrontation with colonial powers and their claims to modernity, the concept of *turāth* has been at the center of cultural debates for more than a century. From figures of the *Nahḍa* of the nineteenth century who sought answers about the declining fortunes of the Arab nation to recent intellectuals' attempts to revive or reconstruct the Arabo-Islamic intellectual heritage, the notion of *turāth* as literary heritage has been central.[1]

Stark dichotomies have often typified modern discussions about the literary heritage: Is the literary heritage a legacy to be preserved or a burden from the past that hinders progress? Can it be a source of spiritual renewal, or is it the cause of cultural malaise? Does it contain the guiding principles for future political emancipation or is it a cloak for despotism? In the wake of popular movements across the Middle East in recent years, these questions of the meaning of the past for the present will remain important.

One fundamental feature often overlooked in political debates about the meaning of the Arabo-Islamic literary heritage is its abiding emphasis on learning and the passing on of knowledge from one generation to the next. As is well known, Muslim scholars were admonished to seek out proper teachers and teachers strove to live up to the standards that learning demanded of them. Discipline, integrity, and honesty were meritorious not simply because they were moral values but also because they led to a spread of knowledge vital for the maintenance of civilization.

This volume, entitled *The Heritage of Arabo-Islamic Learning: Studies Presented to Wadad Kadi* intends to honor this tradition of learning and a person who has done much in her career to forward its aims and ideals. Prof. Wadad Kadi has been among the leading scholars of Arabic and Islamic studies for more than four decades. Her work in both Arabic and English, involving both the editing of critical editions, literary and religious studies, and penetrating works of historical interpretation spans a breadth of fields that are rarely

1 Wen-chin Ouyang, *Politics of Nostalgia in the Arabic Novel: Nation-State, Modernity and Tradition* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 225: "Heritage (*turāth*), which encompasses religion, philosophy, history, science, art, architecture, archeology, folklore and literature, has come to serve as the hallmark of post-colonial Arab identity."

achieved by one individual. In the biography and bibliography that follows, readers can get a sense of her remarkable intellectual achievements.

Prof. Kadi has also been a prominent figure in the field as an educator and colleague, teaching generations of undergraduate and graduate students, supervising dissertations, encouraging junior scholars, and debating with colleagues. For the students and colleagues of Prof. Kadi, it comes almost as second nature to consider her work a reminder of forms that scholarship ought to take, and an example of the discipline needed to achieve a satisfactory end. But even more so, her intellectual curiosity and spark of life as a teacher have been qualities that inspire her students and peers to find new ways to interpret, understand, and explore the literary traditions of the past and present.

The contributions to this volume represent many of the interests of Prof. Kadi during her long career and the role she has played in the development of many of these individual disciplines in Arabic and Islamic studies. The contributions are divided into three main subjects: History, Institutions, and the Use of Documentary Sources; Religion, Law, and Islamic Thought; Language, Literature, and Heritage. Their very diversity, ranging from articles on grammatical theory to *ḥadīth* studies, from Umayyad prisons to Mamlūk prayer halls, and early Islamic poets to post-modern novels speaks to the range of disciplines and interests pursued by Prof. Kadi's large network of students, colleagues, and friends of which this volume is but a small representation.

We would be mistaken however to think that all scholars of the past saw only the beneficial side of teaching, learning, and scholarship. After all, was it not the great *littérateur* Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023) himself who once said in his famed letter on the burning of his books, "Indeed I take refuge from knowledge that has become a burden, bequeaths disgrace, and weighs down its master's neck like a chain"? In this letter (studied with consummate skill by Prof. Kadi) Tawḥīdī's statement serves as both an argument and an apology for an act that can have little justification in any age—a scholar's destruction of his own books. How would this scholar who had so little faith in the collective enterprise of learning, regard our own attempts to take this tradition as a model in the current day?

Those of us committed to the profession of teaching and learning might be inclined initially to think badly of Tawḥīdī for having committed this act of literary suicide and having had the temerity to defend it in writing. Like some of his contemporaries surely did, we might envision Tawḥīdī as a hypocrite or a coward. He was so afraid of the judgment of others that he destroyed his own books in the fear that others would criticize him. Yet whatever we might think of his act, Tawḥīdī's words are surely a solemn reminder that the pursuit of knowledge can sometimes lead one down the path to perdition. On some level,

was not Tawḥīdī right? Can't knowledge lead sometimes toward the oppression of others, and even ourselves?

Tawḥīdī phrased his words about knowledge not as a declaration about the nature of learning in the absolute but as a prayer against what learning could become. For despite what Tawḥīdī might have intended by his reliance on this phrase in his letter written in a moment of anger and sadness, his words offer faith and guidance to future writers and thinkers to strive for knowledge that ennobles and liberates. His words offer the important guide that knowledge, for it to be worthy of being passed on ought to do more than simply inform—it also ought to better the lives of those who possess it.

Furthering knowledge requires solitary effort and diligence, to be sure. But it also requires the hope and faith that something beneficial to others may one day spring forth from one's efforts. The contributors in this volume who have learned and continue to learn from Prof. Kadi's numerous books and articles, her diligence and acumen as a scholar, her honesty and integrity as a colleague, and warmth as a friend, have come together to offer this volume as a small token of their gratitude for her trust in our collective enterprise. They do so in the faith that many others will profit from these studies, and in the hope that this thought brings Prof. Kadi much satisfaction and happiness in the years to come.

Prof. Wadad Kadi: A Life of Learning and Teaching

Aram A. Shahin

1 Childhood and Youth[1]

On November 22, 1943, Lebanon proclaimed its independence from France. On that same night Wadad Afif Kadi (Wadād ʿAfīf al-Qāḍī; Wadād al-Qāḍī, in most publications) was born in Beirut at 2 a.m. and was hence given a birth date of November 23, 1943. She was named after her paternal grandmother, whose name was Widād, but was called Wadād in order to distinguish her from her namesake.

The person who had the greatest influence on the early intellectual development of Wadad was her maternal uncle, the *faqīh* Shaykh Muḥammad al-Mugharbil. He is the one who instilled the love of books and reading in her. Shaykh Muḥammad worked as a judge in the religious courts, and at the time of his retirement had become the head of the Sunnī *sharʿī* court in Beirut. A model of integrity who kept his distance from politics, Shaykh Muḥammad displayed a rare combination of historical and religious consciousness that influenced Wadad.

At the time of the independence of Lebanon, and for quite some time afterwards, it was typical for parents to send their children to French schools. However, Wadad's paternal grandfather, Ḥasan al-Qāḍī, decided that the future lay with the English language, and thus she and her sisters should go to the British School for Girls (formally British Syrian [later: Lebanese] Training College, and still later the Lebanese Evangelical School for Girls) in Beirut. Wadad began school in 1950. Although there were two other universities in Lebanon at the time, the Lebanese University and the Université St. Joseph, attendance at the British School almost automatically led to the continuation of her education at the American University in Beirut (AUB), since there was an agreement between the two institutions that students could enter the university without needing to take any entrance examinations.

1 This biography is based in great part on a recorded interview between Professor Wadad Kadi and Jonathan A.C. Brown (now at Georgetown University) that took place in 2007. A revised version of it will appear in a commemorative volume in celebration of the 150th anniversary of the American University in Beirut. An autobiographical account can be found in the Farewell Address she gave at the University of Chicago on the occasion of her retirement in May, 2009. See Wadād al-Qāḍī, "In the Footsteps of Arabic Biographical Literature: A Journey, Unfinished, in the Company of Knowledge," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 68, no. 4 (2009): 241–252.

Already while still in high school, Wadad decided that she was going to study Arabic at university, as an undergraduate and graduate student, since she had a keen interest in Islamic civilization and Arabic literature. For her and other Muslims in Lebanon at the time, it was a question of identity that was intimately linked to the Arabic language. What drove her into this direction were her maternal uncle, her personal interest, and the Lebanese civil war of 1958.

Wadad was in high school during that year and the war was relatively short, lasting from May to October. However, the war had a great effect on her, not so much as a Muslim, but as an Arab. Due to the sectarian nature of the war of 1958, many in Lebanon felt the need to delineate their identity along sectarian lines, but not her. Although Wadad is a Sunnī Muslim, this did not affect her identity since for her generation Arabness (*al-ʿurūba*) was not necessarily connected to Islam in a religious sense. Rather, it was a nationalistic concept which was perceived as being connected to Islam historically and linguistically. In effect, Wadad's sense of identity, like that of many Arabs, was significantly shaped by the ideas of the Egyptian president Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Gamal Abdel Nasser; president 1956–1970). Thus Wadad and her colleagues envisaged their heritage (*turāth*) more as an Arab heritage than an Islamic one. For them, the study of heritage meant the study of Arabic literature, language, thought, and history. In addition to this, there were many Christians from that generation who were Arab nationalists and who, together with their Muslim colleagues, noted and lauded the significant role played by non-Muslims in the construction of Islamic civilization. Also important was the fact that by the time Wadad entered school in 1950, the migration from Palestine to Lebanon had begun; and, since there were only three English schools for girls in Beirut, and since Palestinians sought admission to English rather than French schools for historical reasons, a large number of Wadad's classmates were Palestinian Christian immigrants. Therefore, Wadad's imagining of herself as an Arab necessarily included non-Muslims, as they all shared the same identity, molded by the message of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's nationalist thought.

2 Undergraduate and Graduate Studies

In the bourgeois circle to which her family belonged, young Wadad and her academic interests were considered unusual. The study of Arabic language and literature was not fashionable at all. It was usually believed that Arabic was studied by weak students who could not be admitted to a better faculty or department, like science or medicine. If one persisted in the unfathomable

desire to study the humanities, it was expected that one would at least choose French or English literature! Whoever studied Arabic language or literature, especially the classical one, was considered backward. But Wadad did not see it in this way; she saw the study of Arabic as something vital and beautiful, and was not deterred from pursuing her interests.

Wadad entered AUB at the age of 17 in 1961. In her freshman year, Iḥsān ʿAbbās (1920–2003) moved to AUB from the University of Khartoum. She took her first course with him in her sophomore year and he remained her mentor until she completed her PhD.[2] He would always be her model. It was he who introduced her to Arabic manuscripts. One day, when she was still a junior in college, she saw him carrying a box with the label "Kodak." At first she thought that he was carrying a box of photographs, and indeed they were: photographs of manuscript pages. This was the first time that she saw a manuscript in any form, and she became immediately fascinated with manuscripts. When ʿAbbās asked her whether she would be interested in copying the manuscript, she agreed. It turned out to be an extract from an already published book, *al-Faṣl fī l-Milal wa-l-Ahwāʾ wa-l-Niḥal* by Ibn Ḥazm (384–456/994–1064). ʿAbbās, however, did not reveal as much when he gave her the photographs of the manuscript. He wanted her to copy it because it was in the non-standard Maghribī/Andalusian script, a script which she had not yet learned to read, but quickly did. ʿAbbās also enlisted her help to look up references as he was editing volume seven of *al-Wāfī bil-Wafayāt* by al-Ṣafadī.[3] This project, too, was undertaken before her graduation from college and provided her with an opportunity to work on biographical dictionaries from a very early point in her career. Later on, while a student in the MA program, she and Yūsuf ʿAbdallāh, another MA student of Arabic from Yemen, spent an entire summer compiling, in one whole volume, the indices of ʿAbbās's 7-volume edition of *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb* by al-Maqqarī.[4] At that time there were no computers, and every name, in its various forms, was noted on an index card. On some days of that summer,

2 For a brief account of Wadad's undergraduate and graduate years, as well as her continued connection with her advisor after obtaining her doctoral degree, see the autobiography of Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Ghurbat al-Rāʿī: Sīra Dhātiyya* (Amman: Dār al-Shurūq, 1996), 243–247.

3 Al-Ṣafadī, Khalīl b. Aybak (696–764/1297–1363), *Kitāb al-Wāfī bil-Wafayāt / Das biographische Lexikon des Ṣalāḥaddīn Ḫalīl ibn Aibak aṣ-Ṣafadī*, vol. 7, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, 1389/1969) (Bibliotheca Islamica 6g). Wadad herself would contribute to the publication of al-Ṣafadī's biographical dictionary in the same series by editing volume 16, published in 1402/1982.

4 Al-Maqqarī al-Tilimsānī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (ca. 986–1041/ca. 1577–1632), *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1388/1968). 8 volumes.

the floors were covered with cards! Once again, her introduction to Islamic onomastics came at an early age, before she had begun her doctoral studies. With another student of Iḥsān ʿAbbās, ʿIzz al-Dīn (Izzeddine) Aḥmad Mūsā from the Sudan, Wadad also compiled the indices for ʿAbbās's 8-volume edition of *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa-Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān* by Ibn Khallikān.[5]

After obtaining her BA in Arabic Literature in 1965, there was no hesitation at all on Wadad's part to continue with her studies and pursue an MA and then a PhD. ʿAbbās was more demanding of Wadad than other students and he gave her heavier workloads than others, but he also provided her with opportunities to work on projects that would see publication and give her considerable experience in working with manuscripts. The first of these opportunities came about when a guest from Tunis, Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ, brought with him to Beirut three manuscripts of a book on the rise of the Fāṭimids in the Maghrib, *Iftitāḥ al-Daʿwa*, by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974). Shabbūḥ believed that the treatise was an important work that needed to be published and suggested that ʿAbbās edit it. But ʿAbbās was too busy with other projects, and therefore proposed that Wadad should do the edition from the manuscripts. Wadad took the project as an "independent study" graduate course and completed a critical edition of the treatise which was published as a book in 1970.[6] Another opportunity presented itself when ʿAbbās met in Istanbul a friend from his student days in Egypt, Muḥammad b. Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī (1918–1974). The latter told ʿAbbās that he had come across a manuscript that he believed was authored by the great Arabic prose writer Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (ca. 310–414/ca. 922–1023), but that it was erroneously catalogued as being written by Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (357–398/969–1008). He wondered if ʿAbbās would be interested in editing it. At that time, Wadad was completing her Master's thesis, and had chosen to write precisely on al-Tawḥīdī, more specifically, on his vision of Islamic society of the fourth/tenth century.[7] Therefore, ʿAbbās suggested that she edit the text instead. ʿAbbās brought a microfilm of the manuscript to Wadad who identified it as being the seventh volume of al-Tawḥīdī's originally 10-volume book entitled *al-Baṣāʾir wa-l-Dhakhāʾir*. Her critical edition of this volume was

5 Ibn Khallikān, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (608–681/1211–1282), *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa-Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968–1972). 8 volumes.

6 Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān b. Abī ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad (d. 363/974), *Risālat Iftitāḥ al-Daʿwa: Risāla fī Ẓuhūr al-Daʿwa al-ʿUbaydiyya al-Fāṭimiyya*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1970); second edition, 1980; third edition, Beirut: Dār al-Muntaẓar, 1996.

7 A small part of this research resulted in her article "al-Rakāʾiz al-Fikriyya fī Naẓrat Abī Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī ilā l-Mujtamaʿ," *Al-Abḥāth* 23 (1970): 15–32. The rest awaits publication.

published in 1978.[8] Because of her work on al-Tawḥīdī, ʿAbbās then encouraged Wadad to prepare a new edition of his *al-Ishārāt al-Ilāhiyya* and he helped her obtain the necessary manuscripts. This new critical edition was published in 1973 shortly after she obtained her PhD.[9]

The topic for her doctoral dissertation was the very first Shīʿite sect of the Kaysāniyya.[10] In this early period of her academic career, Wadad was deeply interested in Arabic prose and in Islamic sects. This interest began while taking a class in college with ʿAbbās on classical Arabic prose. Among the authors that were studied was naturally al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868), and she wrote a course paper on the theological sect that adhered to his Muʿtazilī ideas, al-Jāḥiẓiyya. From that time onwards, sects, with their exoticism and anti-establishment ideologies, attracted her. Then, in 1969, soon after she had completed her MA, the renowned scholar of Islamic theology Josef van Ess came to Beirut and met Wadad for the first time. During that period, van Ess was writing an article on the *Kitāb al-Irjāʾ* by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya (d. 98/717)[11] and he suggested that someone should write on the Kaysāniyya, on Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya (d. 81/700), and the movement of al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī in Iraq in 66–67/685–687. At the same time, Maḥmūd al-Ghūl (1923–1983), who served on Wadad's MA and PhD committees, suggested that she should improve her German and urged her to go to Germany to study with van Ess. The following academic year, 1970–1971, with the aid of a DAAD scholarship from the Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (German Academic Exchange Service), Wadad was in Germany, first at the Goethe Institut for two months of intensive language learning, and then at the University of Tübingen where she worked with van Ess.

The year in Germany was revolutionary for the young scholar. The two greatest influences on Wadad as a scholar were ʿAbbās and van Ess. To Iḥsān ʿAbbās goes the credit of teaching her the close reading of Classical Arabic literary texts, while Josef van Ess was the first to show her the importance of thoroughly examining secondary literature as that had broad methodological implications

8 Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (ca. 310–414/ca. 922–1023), *al-Baṣāʾir wa-l-Dhakhāʾir*, vol. 7, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī (Tunisia and Libya: al-Dār al-ʿArabiyya lil-Kitāb, 1978).

9 Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Ishārāt al-Ilāhiyya*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1973); second edition, 1982.

10 The dissertation was published as *al-Kaysāniyya fī l-Tārīkh wa-l-Adab* (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1974). It was recently translated into Persian by Iḥsān Mūsavī Khalkhālī and is in press in Tehran.

11 His article was published as "Das *Kitāb al-irǧā*ʾ des Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya," *Arabica* 21, no. 1 (1974): 20–52.

for research. In Lebanon, the use of secondary literature was limited, but after the year in Germany going through secondary literature became a fundamental part of Wadad's research work. This made a considerable change in the way that she envisaged the subject which she was studying, and even in the way she looked at the primary sources and their relationship to each other. She also came to the realization that the importance of scholarly endeavor is not to increase the amount of writings on a certain topic, but rather to build upon the work of other scholars, so that the entire field could grow and the scholars would not keep on repeating what others have said before. Soon after Wadad's arrival in Tübingen, van Ess came to the Orientalisches Seminar and urged her to read Wilferd Madelung's seminal article on Shīʿite heresiographical literature[12] pointing out to her that she could not write a book on the Kaysāniyya without critically assessing the sources, their relationship to each other, and hence their respective value.

Most of Wadad's contact with foreign scholars came through the German Orient-Institut Beirut which had recently been founded in 1961 and which was located near her house in the mixed Zuqāq al-Balāṭ neighborhood. During these years, there was no competition or tension between Arab and Muslim scholars and their Western counterparts. Aspiring young scholars from Germany used to go to Beirut and stay for two years as fellows doing their research in Arabic and Islamic studies at the institute's impressive library. There was an atmosphere of mutual respect, to the extent that someone like van Ess would go to ʿAbbās and seek help from him. Likewise, Wadad's teachers, including ʿAbbās, would say that while Arab scholars definitely read the Arabic texts better, they did not have the sophisticated methods of Western scholars. Beirut itself was a Westernized city and Wadad did not feel that there was, broadly speaking, any conflict between modernity and Islam.

3 Professional Career: From Beirut to Chicago

After the year in Germany, Wadad returned to Beirut. She completed her doctorate in 1973 shortly after reaching her twenty-ninth birthday, and immediately obtained her first job at AUB. The curious thing is that she never applied to the position, but was rather appointed in it. A new program in Islamic Studies chaired by Ḥusayn Jaʿfarī (Husain M. Jafri) had been started at the university,

12 Wilferd Madelung, "Bemerkungen zur imamitischen Firaq-Literatur," *Der Islam* 43, no. 1–2 (1967): 37–52.

and Jaʿfarī offered Wadad this position upon her graduation. Understandably, Wadad promptly accepted.

Two years later, in 1975, civil war engulfed Lebanon. Wadad worked incessantly throughout the first ten years of the war and was very active, publishing a number of edited volumes and various studies. Indeed, it was this work that prevented her from being traumatized by the events of the conflict. Academic work for her was the tether of life (*ḥabl al-ḥayāt*), and the means of retaining one's sanity in an insane environment. During these years, Wadad continued to live in West Beirut, in the house, built by her grandfather in 1915, in which she resided her entire life prior to her immigration to the United States. The house itself was struck a number of times by rockets. One night, she vividly remembers, as the family lay asleep, an eight-year-old niece suddenly rushed into her aunt's room waking her up and telling her that they (i.e., the shells) were coming. Everybody rushed down to a very small room under the staircase as the old house did not have a bomb shelter. Once the shelling was over, they climbed up the stairs back to the house and saw an outlandish sight: the dark night sky lit by bright stars clearly visible from large openings in the ceiling made by two shells that had gone through the bedrooms of Wadad and her mother. The attack left traces in some of Wadad's books, like the shrapnel embedded in her copy of the Arabic dictionary *Lisān al-ʿArab* by Ibn Manẓūr (630–711/1233–1311). Three times the family had to leave the house and move to faculty apartments belonging to AUB on campus. Such apartments were usually assigned to foreign professors, but during the war many of them left, and this allowed some Lebanese faculty to take up residence there. The university had been spared extensive damage from direct shelling in comparison to other places. But it was hit and its president, Malcolm H. Kerr, was killed in 1984. The university paid a heavy price during the war. It was closed a number of times and sometimes the students could not reach it.

Three years after obtaining her PhD, Wadad became a fellow at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University for the academic year 1976–1977, while also teaching in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations there. This was her first stay in the United States and it came about because Harvard's Muhsin Mahdi (1926–2007) had visited Beirut just before the outbreak of the war and had strongly recommended that young Arab scholars should visit the United States because it was, just like Europe, a center of scholarship in Islamic studies and it was necessary for them to be acquainted with the field and scholarship there. Mahdi suggested to Wadad that she obtain a fellowship from the Center of Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard, and this is indeed what happened. This was the same year in which she had received a fellowship from the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung in Germany. Wadad sought

the advice of the dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at AUB, Elie Salem, on which institution to choose. He recommended that she should go to Harvard since it was a window to a new world and other opportunities could arise from it.

After her year at Harvard, Wadad returned to Beirut and taught at AUB both in the unique and vibrant Civilization Sequence Program and in her home department as a student, the Department of Arabic and Near Eastern Languages. The decision to leave Lebanon again for the United States came some years later in the spring of 1985. A telex from George Saliba offered Wadad the position of visiting associate professor at Columbia University for the following academic year, 1985–1986, since both Saliba and Jeanette Wakin (1929–1998), of the Department of Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures, had received fellowships and they wanted someone to teach in their place. By that time, after ten years of war, Wadad had begun to feel exhausted both physically and mentally and agreed to go to Columbia University thinking that her stay in the United States would last only one year.

Once at Columbia, Richard Bulliet encouraged her to stay in the United States, telling her that she could contribute to the field in the United States just as she had done in Lebanon. Bulliet informed her of a position at Yale University's Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, left vacant by the distinguished Islamist Franz Rosenthal (1914–2003) at his retirement in 1985, and Wadad decided to apply. She was given the position and a contract for five years at the rank of associate professor. After one year, Yale opened a search for a tenured full professor in Arabic studies as a successor to Rosenthal. Wadad applied for the position. At the same time, she was unexpectedly contacted by Robert Dankoff from the University of Chicago. He invited her to come to Chicago as a candidate for a position of professor of Islamic thought whose search committee he chaired. This was the position held for many years by the celebrated Fazlur Rahman (1919–1988) who was to retire at the end of the following academic year. Both Yale University and the University of Chicago offered Wadad their respective positions, and she decided to go to Chicago. Wadad was supposed to be with Fazlur Rahman for one year before his retirement, but he passed away two months before her move to Chicago. She remained at the University of Chicago for twenty-one years, until her retirement in 2009. In 1997 she was honored by the university by being appointed the Avalon Foundation Distinguished Service Professor, and in 2004 with the Faculty Award for Excellence in Graduate Teaching and Mentoring.

4 Research and Scholarship

After immigrating to the United States, Wadad realized the need to define herself within the new society. She quickly came to define herself, not as an Arab, a Muslim, or a woman, but first and foremost as a scholar. She probably survived the shock of immigration because of that, but also because her mother accompanied her and lived with her. (Wadad believes that you are never a foreigner if you have your mother with you.)

The Lebanese Civil War changed the academic interests of Wadad. As a young scholar, she was interested in unconventional, colorful topics, such as rebellions, opposition movements, symbols, and messianic figures. An early group of her articles has been called by van Ess "detective type articles" in which Wadad attempts to ascertain whether certain documents or books can be authenticated. These include an article about the testament attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661) to his lieutenant al-Ashtar when he appointed him as *amīr* of Egypt,[13] and another article on the collection of biographical notices and wise sayings of Greek and Muslim philosophers attributed to Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiqī al-Sijistānī (d. ca. 377/987).[14] Additionally, she edited a number of works, the most important of which is perhaps the complete, 10-volume critical edition of *al-Baṣā'ir wa-l-Dhakhā'ir* by al-Tawḥīdī.[15] But the war which broke out only two years after she had completed her PhD, made her gradually change her focus entirely. She began to view the government in the formative, early Islamic period, especially that of the Umayyad dynasty (41–132/661–750), as a force of law, order, and stability, and she came to see rebellion as potentially destabilizing for society. That led to her developing a deep interest in the early Islamic bureaucracy, as the durable and uninterrupted component of the government. She realized that, although the top echelons changed and dynastic families were replaced, the bureaucrats allowed the government to keep on functioning and provide political and administrative continuity and stability. Wadad thus began to investigate the causes of such stability and continuity.

For a civilization to exist, it is necessary that opposing views have a dialogue or even a confrontation with each other; however, the government must remain

13 "An Early Fāṭimid Political Document," *Studia Islamica* 48 (1978): 71–108.

14 *"Kitāb Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*: Structure, Composition, Authorship and Sources," *Der Islam* 58, no. 1 (1981): 87–124.

15 Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Baṣā'ir wa-l-Dhakhā'ir*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1408/1988). This has been reprinted several times.

as a stabilizing factor. Wadad's view of the Umayyad sovereign ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 65–86/685–705) and his efforts to establish an Islamic administration changed considerably when she looked at the Umayyad dynasty through this new lens. In one of her articles, for example, she has examined the possible existence of census and land survey records during the early Islamic period, and has shown that no such records have survived despite the availability of a considerable amount of information and some documentary data.[16] But why should we study census and other records? Because the existence of such records would indicate the existence of institutions and a certain stable, identifiable political entity that can be compared to other contemporaneous polities, such as Byzantium.

One particular member of the Umayyad administration eventually captured Wadad's imagination and cemented her subsequent commitment to Umayyad studies. This is ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib (d. 132/750), the head of the Umayyad administration during the reign of the last Umayyad ruler, Marwān II (r. 127–132/744–750), and one of the founders of early Arabic prose writing. Her research on this pivotal figure is based on the collection and edition made by Iḥsān ʿAbbās of what has survived of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's epistles,[17] and presents a systematic view of political ideology at the end of the Umayyad period. In seminal articles, Wadad has argued for the authenticity of the epistles attributed to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd,[18] and has explained the political views developed in them,[19]

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16 "Population Census and Land Surveys under the Umayyads (41–132/661–750)," *Der Islam* 83, no. 2 (2008): 341–416.

17 ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib (d. 132/750), *ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yaḥyā al-Kātib wa-Mā Tabaqqā min Rasāʾilih wa-Rasāʾil Sālim Abī l-ʿAlāʾ*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Amman: Dār al-Shurūq lil-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 1988).

18 "Early Islamic State Letters: The Question of Authenticity," in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East. I: Problems in the Literary Source Material*, ed. Averil Cameron and Lawrence I. Conrad (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1992) (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 1), 215–275. See also "Naḥwa Manhaj Salīm fī Qaḍiyyat Mawthūqiyyat al-Rasāʾil al-ʿArabiyya al-Mubakkira," *al-Tasāmuḥ* (Oman) 7 (2005): 107–124.

19 "Mafhūm al-Fitna wa-Ṣuwaruhā fī Adab ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib," in *Fuṣūl Adabiyya wa-Tārīkhiyya li-Majmūʿa min al-ʿUlamāʾ wa-l-Udabāʾ Muhdā ilā Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad*, ed. Ḥusayn ʿAṭwān (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1993), 337–361; "The Religious Foundation of Late Umayyad Ideology and Practice," in *Saber religioso y poder político en el Islam: Actas del Simposio internacional* (*Granada, 15–18 octubre 1991*) (Madrid: Agencia española de cooperación internacional, 1994), 231–273 [reprinted in *The Articulation of Early Islamic State Structures*, ed. Fred M. Donner (London: Ashgate Variorum, 2012) (The Formation of the Classical Islamic World 6), 37–79]; "Identity Formation of the Bureaucracy of the Early Islamic State: ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's "Letter to the Secretaries"," in *Mediterranean Identities in the Pre-*

as well as ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's use of the Qurʾān in his writing[20] and on leaving one's homeland for professional advancement.[21] In recognition of her scholarship on a number of early Arabic prose writers (including ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā, Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, and Bishr Ibn Abī Kubār al-Balawī[22]), Wadad received the King Faisal International Prize for Arabic Literature in 1994 for her work on "Ancient Arabic Prose."

In more recent years, Wadad has dedicated her energies to the study of documentary evidence from the Umayyad period in literary sources, the historiography of this period, and the involvement of the bureaucracy in the writing of the history of this period.[23] All of this has opened new avenues for the study

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20 "The Impact of the Qurʾān on the Epistolography of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd," in *Approaches to the Qurʾān*, ed. G.R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader A. Shareef (London and New York: Routledge, 1993) (Routledge/SOAS Contemporary Politics and Culture in the Middle East Series), 285–313.

21 "Expressions of Alienation in Early Arabic Literature," in *Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature: Towards a New Hermeneutic Approach*, ed. Angelika Neuwirth et al. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999), 3–31.

22 "Ṣūra min al-Nathr al-Fannī al-Mubakkir fī l-Yaman fī Ḍawʾ *Kitāb Ṣifat Jazīrat al-ʿArab* lil-Hamdānī: Namūdhaj Bishr Ibn Abī Kubār al-Balawī," *al-Fikr al-ʿArabī* 25 (1982): 329–359; *Bishr Ibn Abī Kubār al-Balawī: Namūdhaj min al-Nathr al-Fannī al-Mubakkir fī l-Yaman* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1985).

23 "Non-Muslim[s] in the Muslim Army in Early Islam: A Case Study in the Dialogue of the Sources," in *Conference on: "Orientalism: Dialogue of Cultures," 22–24 October, 2002*, ed. Sami A. Khasawnih (Amman: The University of Jordan, 2004), 109–159; "An Umayyad Papyrus in al-Kindī's *Kitāb al-Quḍāt*?" *Der Islam* 84 (2007–2008): 200–245; "The Salaries of Judges in Early Islam: The Evidence of the Documentary and Literary Sources," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 68, no. 1 (2009): 9–30 [reprinted in *Community, State, History, and Changes: Festschrift for Prof. Ridwan al-Sayyid on His Sixtieth Birthday* (Beirut: Arab Network for Research and Publishing, 2011), 29–66]; "A Documentary Report on Umayyad Stipends Registers (*Dīwān al-ʿAṭāʾ*) in Abū Zurʿa's *Tārīkh*," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* (n.s.) 4 (2009): 7–44; "The Names of Estates in State Registers Before and After the Arabization of the *'Dīwāns*'," in *Umayyad Legacies: Medieval Memories from Syria to Spain*, ed. Antoine Borrut and Paul M. Cobb (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 255–280; "Al-Zajjāj and Glass Making: An Expanded Range of Options in a Comparative Context," in *In the Shadow of Arabic: The Centrality of Language to Arabic Culture: Studies Presented to Ramzi Baalbaki on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Bilal Orfali (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 221–248; "Security Positions Under the Umayyads: The Story of *'Maʿbad al-Ṭuruq*'," in *Differenz und Dynamik im Islam. Festschrift für Heinz Halm zum 70. Geburtstag / Difference and Dynamism in Islam: Festschrift for Heinz Halm on His 70th Birthday*, ed. Hinrich Biesterfeldt and Verena Klemm (Würzburg: Ergon

of early Islamic administration and historiography and is indicative of a new orientation in which the material and documentary evidence is used side by side with the literary sources. Wadad's research on early Islamic history earned her the Lifetime Achievement Award from Middle East Medievalists in 2012.

Another important aspect of Wadad's scholarship involved service to the field, as seen in her work as editor. From 1995 until 2013, she was the co-editor of the Brill series *Islamic History and Civilization*, during which period more than one hundred volumes of monographs and collections of essays were published. She was also the editor of the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*[24] between 2007 and 2009, an associate editor of the *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*[25] between 1996 and 2005, and an associate editor of *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*[26] between 2007 and 2013. She still serves as a member on the editorial boards of several academic journals.

5 Teaching

From 1973 until her retirement in 2009, Wadad was continuously teaching, with the exception of one sabbatical year, 1997–1998, which she spent as a visiting scholar at the University of Oxford. Throughout these years, Wadad has had a large number of students at all levels, from undergraduate to PhD students. She has enjoyed teaching immensely, especially the graduate students with whom she established strong bonds and resulted in their nominating her for the "Mentoring Award" of the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA) in 2013. By working with graduate students, she had the opportunity to learn from them while teaching them, and to grow with them as they embarked on their journeys of exploration and discovery. She has tried to instill in them a number of interrelated principles. Firstly, that they should not spare anything while pursuing scholarship, since scholarship is an absolute and complete commitment. She would often repeat in her classes the saying: "*al-ʿilmu idhā*

Verlag, 2012), 253–283; "Death Dates in Umayyad Stipends Registers (*Dīwān al-ʿAṭā'*)? The Testimony of the Papyri and the Literary Sources," in *From Bāwīṭ to Marw: Documents from the Medieval Muslim World: Proceedings of the 4th Conference of the International Society of Arabic Papyrology, Vienna, March 26–29, 2009*, ed. Andreas Kaplony, Daniel Potthast, and Cornelia Römer (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 79–102.

24 This is the journal of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago.

25 Leiden: Brill, 2001–2006, 6 volumes.

26 Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

lam tuʿṭihi kullaka lam yuʿṭika baʿḍahu" (If you do not give your whole self to knowledge, it will not give you part of itself). Secondly, the importance of discipline, since discipline is an expression of the respect the scholar has for knowledge, and since good scholarship is extremely tasking for the scholar mentally, emotionally, and often physically. As such, complacency, haste, and negligence are not allowed: at best they produce bad scholarship, and this is a betrayal by the scholar of the investment he has placed in himself and of the field he is meant to serve. Thirdly, that scholarship is, morally, an exercise in humility because it involves the accumulation of knowledge, and the amount of knowledge a single individual can muster is invariably limited, whence arrogance cannot coexist with genuine scholarship. Fourthly, that scholarly writing is an art that allows the scholar to be both creative and effective. Texts are the raw material from which the scholar starts, and it is the scholar who molds this oft-scattered and rough material in accordance with the vision he has of it, giving it a new smooth and polished shape which he can call his own. This creative process of shaping texts is the artistic aspect of the scholar's written work, and the more artistic it is the more effective. It is the way through which academic research is transformed into beautiful art enjoyable by scholar and reader alike.

6 Conclusion

Wadad Kadi's career in the service of Arabo-Islamic heritage has sprung from an individual passion. Along the way, it was nurtured by fine teachers and mentors, who instilled within her strong values but also a sense of intellectual excitement to be had in the course of serious research. Through her teaching at all levels both in Beirut and in the United States, Wadad has given back much professionally and personally to the field of Islamic Studies. Her students and colleagues all wish her the best in her retirement, knowing full well that as a scholar and mentor, she continues to think, write and inspire.

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PART 1

History, Institutions, and the Use of Documentary Sources

CHAPTER 1

The Meccan Prison of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr and the Imprisonment of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya

*Sean W. Anthony**

I

The social history of prisons and carceral institutions in early Islam remains largely unwritten, and until relatively recently, the subject has suffered neglect, with only a few notable exceptions.[1] Arabian society before Islam, especially in the Ḥijāz, apparently knew little of formal, carceral institutions within the sphere of its social geography. Mentions of the institution's existence in this period are exceedingly rare, and rarer still are mentions of specific prison structures and/or their locations. However, the practice of incarceration itself, under

* It is a pleasure and honor to dedicate this essay to my professor and advisor, Wadad Kadi, in whose debt I shall always remain as a student, scholar, and friend. I would also like to thank Prof. Michael Lecker for reading an earlier draft of this essay and for the invaluable comments and insights he generously offered thereon.

1 The now classic studies on prisons and imprisonment in the early and formative periods of Islam are Franz Rosenthal, *The Muslim Concept of Freedom Prior to the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1960), 35–80 and Irene Schneider, "Imprisonment in Pre-Classical and Classical Islamic Law," *Islamic Law and Society* 2 (1995): 157–173 (see also her article in *EI*², s.v. *sidjn*). The recent efflorescence of studies on prisons and imprisonment for the ʿAbbāsid period has been quite remarkable—this is made even all the more remarkable for its domination, with some important exceptions, by one scholar in particular: Mathieu Tillier. See his "Prisons et autorités urbaines sous les Abbassides," *Arabica* 55 (2008): 387–408; idem, "Vivre en prison à l'époque abbasside," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 52 (2009): 635–659; idem, "Les prisonniers dans la société musulmane (II^e/VIII^e–IV^e/X^e siècle)," in *Dynamiques sociales au Moyen Âge en Occident et en Orient*, ed. E. Malamut (Aix-en-Provence: Presses de l'Université de Provence, 2010), 191–212. For the Saljūq period, equally important, both conceptually and in terms of historical data, is Christian Lange's *Justice, Punishment and the Medieval Muslim Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). The Islamic West has also received unprecedented attention in this regard, too, e.g., see Nejmeddine Hentati, "La prison en occident musulman medieval," *Arabica* 54 (2007): 149–188 and Cristina de la Puente, "En las cárceles del poder: prisión en al-Andalus bajo los omeyas (II/VIII–IV/X)," in *De muerte violenta: política, religión y violencia en al-Andalus*, ed. Maribel Fierro (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2004), 103–136.

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punitive or other sundry circumstances, was neither unknown nor foreign to the inhabitants of the Ḥijāz. Rather, as I have discussed elsewhere,[2] carceral practices permeated Arabian society even in the absence of any truly 'prisonesque' institutions, occurring primarily on an *ad hoc* basis and within the domestic sphere instead. Yet, following the advent of Islam and contemporaneous with what could arguably be called the rise of the Islamic 'state' prior to and during the initial conquests outside the Arabian Peninsula, early Muslims adopted and normalized carceral institutions with uncanny speed.[3]

Leaving aside the question of *why* there occurred such a swift adoption of the prison in the conquest period, this essay examines, instead, a concrete case of *how* this institutional adoption occurred by investigating the history of one of the earliest prisons about which the sources preserve an unusually sizeable body of materials: the Meccan prison of the counter-caliph ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. In what follows, I argue that, although certainly not the only Ḥijāzī prison utilized by the Zubayrids,[4] Ibn al-Zubayr's Meccan prison offers a particularly fascinating case study of an early Ḥijāzī prison inasmuch as the bounty of data concerning its origins and use are unique and, thus, can potentially shed

2 See S.W. Anthony, "The Domestic Origins of Imprisonment: An Enquiry into an Early Islamic Institution," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 129 (2009): 571–596.

3 The clearest example of this comes from Balādhurī (d. 279/892), who informs us that, when the garrison of Basra was founded by ʿUtba b. Ghazwān in 14/635, a prison featured in the urban planning of the settlement from the outset, writing, "'Utba built the governor's residence (*dār al-imāra*) separate from the mosque in the clearing (*raḥba*) that today is called the Raḥba of the Banū Hishām and had been called al-Dahnāʾ; in it was the prison and the register (*wa-fīhā l-sijn wa-l-dīwān*)." See Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1866), 346 f. For further examples, see Anthony, *art. cit.*

4 Medina's main prison during the period of Zubayrid preeminence in the Ḥijāz seems to have been located in Dār Marwān [b. al-Ḥakam], so-named after the namesake of the Marwānid dynasty of the Umayyads and the governor of Medina from 41–48/661–668 and 54–57/674–677. This *dār* was likely his residence and, therefore, also the *dār al-imāra* during his governorship and thereafter. See ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā bi-akhbār dār al-muṣṭafā*, ed. al-Qāsim al-Sāmarrāʾī, 5 vols. (London: Muʾassasat al-Furqān lil-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2001), 3:24 f. and Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Rāzī, *Akhbār Fakhkh*, ed. Māhir Jarrār (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1995), 138. Al-Walīd b. ʿUtba, Yazīd I's governor of Medina, likely imprisoned the pro-Zubayrid ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭīʿ there when the latter openly showed his support for the cause of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. See Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245/859), *al-Munammaq fī akhbār Quraysh*, ed. Khūrshīd Aḥmad Fāriq (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1964), 388–390. (However, he may have also been imprisoned in the Sijn Ibn Sibāʿ mentioned by Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 52.) After the Zubayrids gained control of Medina, certain members of Banū Umayya were apparently imprisoned in Dār Marwān while Ibn al-Zubayr maintained control over the Ḥijāz (al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ*, 1: 251).

considerable light on the earliest instantiations of the institutional prison as adopted (and adapted) by early Muslims. This is due, in part, to the early date of the prison's construction and its putative (and even somewhat controversial)[5] status as Mecca's first prison, but it is also due to the fact that this early prison stands at the nexus of a cluster of historiographical enigmas of the second civil war (*fitna*).

II

The earliest Meccan prison mentioned by Arabic sources appears during the reign of Islam's second caliph, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13–23/634–644). According to a number of reports, ʿUmar's governor in Mecca, Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Ḥārith al-Khuzāʿī, purchased a large domicile (*dār*) owned by the wealthy Qurashī Ṣafwān b. Umayya for the sum of 4,000 *dirham*s with the aim of converting this property into a local prison.[6] This Meccan prison enjoys scant mention after its conversion from a *dār* during ʿUmar's caliphate, but some five decades later, after ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr enters Mecca and establishes there his so-called counter-caliphate in opposition to the Umayyads, the prison reappears in the sources with considerable frequency. Thereafter, the prison becomes famous in Islamic annals and prosopographical works under the name ʿĀrim's prison (Ar. *sijn ʿĀrim*).[7]

5 At least one Meccan jurist, the Persian *tābiʿī* Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān al-Yamānī, seems to have objected to there being any prison in Mecca at all, arguing, "There is no need for a house of chastisement to be in a house of mercy (*lā yanbaghī li-bayt ʿadhāb an yakūn fī bayt raḥma*)." See Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bāz, Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī, and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, 14 vols. (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1969), 5: 472 f. According to al-Qāsim b. Sallām, however, Ṭāwūs' proscription of the building of a *bayt ʿadhāb* rather referred to a proscription against building churches, fire temples, shops selling illicit goods, and the like. See Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, ed. Khalīl Muḥammad Harrās, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1988), 1: 124 (I owe this reference to M. Lecker).

6 Abū l-Walīd al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka wa-mā jāʾa fīhā min al-āthār*, in F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1858–1861), 1: 474; Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Fākihī, *Akhbār Makka fī qadīm al-dahr wa-ḥadīthih*, ed. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbdallāh b. Duhaysh, 3 vols. (Beirut: Dār Khiḍr, 1994), 3: 340 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, 5: 472 f.

7 Masʿūdī refers to the prison as "*ḥabs ʿĀrim*"; see *Murūj al-dhahab wa-maʿādin al-jawhar*, ed. Ch. Pellat (Beirut: Manshūrāt al-Jāmiʿa al-Lubnāniyya, 1970), 3: 274. *Ḥabs* and *sijn* are, of course, synonymous. The assertion of Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229) that the prison had

The prison acquired its name, as well as its infamous reputation, as the final resting place of an ill-fated slave-boy (*ghulām*) of the Qurashī Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf (d. 64/684).[8] The slave's master, Muṣʿab, was a staunch supporter of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, yet the *ghulām*'s loyalties lay not with the Zubayrids but with the Umayyad ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ al-Ashdaq to whose service the *ghulām* dedicated himself much to the chagrin of his master. When the Umayyad caliph Yazīd I b. Muʿāwiya (r. 60–64/680–683) appointed al-Ashdaq as the governor of Medina in 60/680 to menace Ibn al-Zubayr (who had since declared himself *ʿā'idh al-bayt*—the seeker of refuge in [God's] house),[9] the caliph also charged al-Ashdaq with the sizeable task of arresting Ibn al-Zubayr and transporting him to the caliph's court, if necessary in chains.[10]

It was only after betraying his pro-Zubayrid master and his joining the entourage of ʿAmr al-Ashdaq that the *ghulām*, previously known as Zayd, became more commonly known by his *nomen odiosum* ʿĀrim (i.e., 'wicked'), a name given to him by Ibn al-Zubayr and his partisans. In 61/681, Zayd-ʿĀrim's loyalty to ʿAmr al-Ashdaq culminated in his fighting in the ranks of the army sent to wrest Mecca from the growing influence of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr—an army led by none other than Ibn al-Zubayr's half-brother, ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr. When ʿAmr's expedition against Mecca met a disastrous end, the debacle did not bode well for the *ghulām* who, as a result, faced the unmitigated ire of his former master. The Zubayrids took Zayd captive along with others and, in revenge for his flagrant disloyalty to Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, he was imprisoned in Mecca. Zayd's incarceration, however, seems to have constituted a special case; the Zubayrids contrived a notoriously cruel death for this impudent *ghulām*. According to most accounts, they "built a space two cubits square for

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been located in Ṭā'if is certainly mistaken; see his *Muʿjam al-buldān: Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 6 vols. (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1866–1873), 3: 586.

8 A Medinan *qāḍī* appointed in 54/674 by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam during his second term as governor (54–57/674–677); see Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *al-Taʾrīkh*, ed. Akram Ḍiyāʾ al-ʿUmarī (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1977), 222, 228, 255. According to Balādhurī, who cites the authority of al-Wāqidī, some narrators claim rather that he was the slave (*ghulām*) of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī; see Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. 4(1), ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979) (Bibliotheca Islamica 28d), 310. See also Fākihī, *Akhbār Makka*, 3: 341.

9 On Ibn al-Zubayr as *ʿā'idh al-bayt* in poetry contemporary with the second *fitna*, see W. Madelung, "'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr the *mulḥid*," in *Actas XVI Congreso UEAI*, ed. C.V. de Benito and M.Á.M. Rodríguez (Salamanca: CSIC, 1995), 303.

10 Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. M.J. de Goeje et al. (Brill: Leiden, 1879–1901), 2: 223–224, 397.

him [*banā lah binā' dhirāʿayn fī dhirāʿayn*] … and forced (Zayd-)ʿĀrim and a number of those with him into the narrow space."[11] Brick and mortar, it is said, were built up around him and his ill-fated companions, walling them in. In this extremely confined space, Zayd-ʿĀrim perished.[12]

In a few short years, Ibn al-Zubayr apparently put this prison—now known as ʿĀrim prison, the sources inform us—to frequent use. It is surprising how many persons are known to have been imprisoned during the brief period he dominated Mecca. In all likelihood, the prison was located inside Mecca's administrative center; according to al-Fākihī (d. ca. 272/885–886), the prison rested "behind Dār al-Nadwa [*fī dubur dār al-nadwa*]."[13] Masʿūdī relies perhaps on his own dramatic flourish as a narrator rather than personal observation when he describes it as "a dark, dreary prison [*ḥabs mūḥish muẓlim*]," but any confinement within its walls was undoubtedly an extremely unpleasant experience. Inmates incarcerated there where certainly chained,[14] and many were severely beaten.

Indeed, ʿĀrim, the prison's namesake, was not the only soul to perish there. ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr, who had likewise been captured once the expedition against his brother failed, died there as well.[15] ʿAmr's cruelty as Medina's head of the police (*shuraṭ*; sg. *shurṭa*) in service to the Umayyads ensured that his sym-

11 Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 4(1): 315. See further Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq wa-dhikr faḍlihā wa-tasmiyat man ḥallahā min al-amāthil aw ijtāz bi-nawāḥīhā min wāridīhā wa-ahlihā*, ed. ʿUmar b. Gharāma al-ʿAmrawī, 80 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995–2000), 46: 11. Other accounts, less plausibly, give the measurements of the space as merely a single cubit square; e.g., Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, 5: 473 and Fākihī, *Akhbār Makka*, 3: 341.

12 Fākihī, *Akhbār Makka*, 3: 341. A report from Wāqidī seems to imply that his corpse was later removed from the walled enclosure, claiming that a grave was prepared for him within the confines of the prison (ibid.).

13 Ibid.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, 5: 473. Dār al-Nadwa served the Meccans, both prior to and after the advent of Islam, as a central gathering place in the midst of town. According to Balādhurī, "Quṣayy b. Kilāb built [the Dār al-Nadwa], and they (i.e., the Quraysh) used to gather in it and affairs would be decided therein (*kānū yajtamiʿūn ilayh fa-tuqḍā l-umūr fīhā*)"; see his *Futūḥ*, 52. Cf. *EI*[2], s.v. Dār al-Nadwa (R. Paret).

14 E.g., see the panegyric of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. Abī Ṣubḥ al-Muzanī for Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr in which he states: *law kuntu fī sijni ʿĀrim*^{in} *bi-d.m.b.ā.ṭ* (?) *qad shuddat ʿalayya quyūdu* in al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab Quraysh wa-akhbārihā*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir, 2 vols. (Riyadh: Dār al-Yamāma, 1999), 1: 249.-1.

15 Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. E. Sachau et al., 6 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1905–1940), 5: 138; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 4(1): 314 f.; Abū l-ʿArab al-Tamīmī, *Kitāb al-Miḥan*, ed. Y.W. al-Jubūrī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1983), 358; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Dimashq*, 46: 10 f.

pathizers would be a paltry few once captured.[16] Years earlier, while ʿAmr al-Ashdaq governed Medina for the Umayyads, ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr worked in al-Ashdaq's employ relentlessly pursuing anti-Umayyad Quraysh whom he would beat with lashes, declaring, "These are the partisans [*shīʿa*] of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr!" Though ʿAmr was spared the *ghulām*'s suffocating fate, he also suffered his own cruel, unenviable ordeal. After his capture and imprisonment by the Zubayrids in Mecca, Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and others exacted their revenge upon him for his prior cruelty towards the Medinan supporters of Ibn al-Zubayr by subjecting him to a series of floggings spanning multiple days at the hands of his former victims. ʿAmr's wounds from the flogging eventually proved so severe that they soon caused him to expire within the confines of the prison.[17] The same accounts narrating ʿAmr's death in ʿĀrim prison also note with fitting irony that ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr abandoned his brother's corpse to be exposed to the elements at the same location where the Umayyad governor al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī would crucify the counter-calph's corpse in 72/692—i.e., Shiʿb al-Jiyaf.[18]

Yet, ʿAmr was not the only blood relative to be imprisoned there. Ibn al-Zubayr allegedly even incarcerated his own son, Ḥamza b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, there. Ḥamza languished in chains in the prison on the heels of his short-lived appointment as Baṣra's governor after having failed to bring with him to the Ḥijāz the state money (*māl*) from Baṣra.[19] According to some accounts, Ḥamza had indeed successfully transported the funds from Baṣra, but the money was embezzled by the men with whom he deposited it, minus one Jew who was the sole individual to honestly fulfill his obligation.[20]

Another inmate of Ibn al-Zubayr's prison was Salm b. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān. Prior to Yazīd I b. Muʿāwiya's death in 64/683, Salm served as governor for the Umayyads in Khurāsān. When unrest against the Umayyads compelled him to leave his post in the East, he journeyed westward and eventually all the way to the Ḥijāz, disdaining to enter the service of his brother ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād in

16 Gernot Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680–692)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1982) (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 45/3), 41 ff.

17 See Ibn Saʿd, 5: 137 f.; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 4(1): 312 f.; Ṭabarī, 2: 225–227.

18 Cf. S.W. Anthony, *Crucifixion and Death as Spectacle: Umayyad Crucifixion in Its Late Antique Context* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 2014) (American Oriental Society 96), 41 and n. 1 thereto.

19 Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamhara*, 1: 102 f.

20 Ṭabarī, 2: 752. Ḥamza seems in general to have been well-intentioned, but also comically incompetent, as a governor, or as al-Madāʾinī described him (related on the authority of Ibn Shabba), "*kāna Ḥamza jawād*^{an} *sakhiyy*^{an} *mukhallaṭ*^{an}" (ibid., 2: 751).

Iraq. However, once he arrived in the Ḥijāz, he found Ibn al-Zubayr in control rather than his Umayyad masters. When Salm entered Mecca, Ibn al-Zubayr promptly imprisoned him and extorted a considerable sum of money from the disgraced governor (4 million *dirham*s according to Balādhurī).[21] Even after being deprived of this hefty sum, Salm apparently remained a wealthy man. After his initial imprisonment in Mecca, Ibn al-Zubayr would again appeal to the imprisoned Salm to contribute a portion of his wealth to aid the poet al-Farazdaq to pay a *mahr* of 20 thousand *dirham*s, which the poet required to marry his cousin al-Nawār.[22]

Reports also survive concerning Ibn al-Zubayr's imprisonment of the staunchly pro-Umayyad poet, Abū Ṣakhr al-Hudhalī, who resided in ʿĀrim prison for at least a year. According to one account, the poet remained incarcerated there until Ibn al-Zubayr himself was slain.[23] Another account, however, asserts that Abū Ṣakhr's stay in prison had been cut short after anonymous persons from the Banū Hudhayl and a Qurashī with Hudhalī kinship ties (*khuʾūla*) intervened on his behalf. Thanks to their entreaties, the account claims, Ibn al-Zubayr "set him free after a year [*aṭlaqah baʿda sana*]."[24] Abū Ṣakhr's incarceration had been an affair wrapped in the delicate issue of political allegiances, like that of the other aforementioned inmates of the prison, and had resulted from his denigration of Ibn al-Zubayr as avaricious while extolling the magnanimity of the Umayyads. His invective was, in fact, a response to Ibn al-Zubayr's obstinacy regarding Abū Ṣakhr's pension (*ʿaṭāʾ*), which he refused to hand over to the poet. Ibn al-Zubayr balked at the prospect of squandering money on an individual whose loyalty to the Umayyads he regarded as incorrigible. In a heated exchange between the two, Abū Ṣakhr reportedly interrogated Ibn al-Zubayr, "On what basis have you denied me what is due to me! I'm a Muslim man. I've neither introduced into Islam anything pernicious (*ma aḥdathtu fī l-*

21 *Futūḥ*, 613; see also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 4(1): 372. The sum is not inconsistent with other estimations of his wealth; e.g., see al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, *Kitāb al-Dhakhāʾir wa-l-tuḥaf*, ed. Maḥmūd Ḥamīd Allāh (Kuwait: Dāʾirat al-Maṭbūʿāt wa-l-Nashr, 1959), 11. Cf. P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 227 at n. 239 and *EI*², 8: 997, s.v. "Salm b. Ziyād b. Abī Ziyād" (C.E. Bosworth).

22 Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm et al., 24 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya, 1927–1974), 9: 330 f.; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Dimashq*, 22: 144 f. The story is quite a well-known episode in al-Farazdaq's biography; cf. S.K. Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, ed. A.F.L. Beeston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 403 f.

23 Abū l-Faraj, *Aghānī*, 24: 110.

24 Ibid., 24: 112 f.

islām ḥadath^{an}) nor have I ever lifted a finger in disobedience (*wa-lā akhrajtu min ṭāʿa yad*^{an})!" To which Ibn al-Zubayr sharply replied, "You're so keen on the Banū Umayya, so ask them for your pension!"[25]

III

Of all the hapless inmates reputed to have entered ʿĀrim prison, the most famous inmate of all is undoubtedly Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 81/700–701), known more widely as Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya. As was the case with the aforementioned inmates of Ibn al-Zubayr's prison, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya found himself imprisoned after meeting the brunt of the counter-caliph's ire when he refused to render his allegience (*bayʿa*) to Ibn al-Zubayr and thus recognize him as the community's legitimate caliph on behalf of the Banū Hāshim. Distinguishing the imprisonment of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya from that of the inmates discussed above, however, is that the historicity of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's tenure in ʿĀrim prison and the circumstances surrounding the incarceration is fraught with numerous difficulties. The imprisonment of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya stands out as an exceptional case in the study of the early Islamic prison in that historians have at their disposal a multitude of extant narratives and sources—the panorama of which is dominated not only by Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774), Hishām b. al-Kalbī (d. 206/822), al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), al-Madāʾinī (d. 228/843), and other less prolific purveyors of historical *akhbār*, but also intimates and students of the Hāshimid *sharīf* who lived alongside him in Mecca. However, these diverse testimonies agree only on the vaguest generalities of this episode and contradict one another in ways that seem intractable and irresolvable. Oddly enough, many accounts of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's conflict with Ibn al-Zubayr leave out any mention of a prison altogether.

Wadad Kadi undertook the only attempt to evaluate the contradictory accounts on this incident in her seminal monograph on the Kaysāniyya, the sect that regarded Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya as a messianic redeemer (*mahdī*) and the successor (*waṣī*) of his father ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[26] She found that, while a large number of sources affirm that Ibn al-Zubayr had indeed incarcerated Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in ʿĀrim prison,[27] numerous sources also contradict this claim

25 See ibid., 24: 111.

26 *Al-Kaysāniyya fī l-tārīkh wa-l-adab* (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1974), 100 f. and esp. n. 3 thereto; see now *EIr*, art. "Kaysāniya" (S.W. Anthony).

27 Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and al-Sayyid Shiḥāta, 4 vols. (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Nahḍat Miṣr, 1956), 3: 265; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 4(1): 315; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn, Aḥmad al-Zayn, and Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī, 7 vols. (Cairo:

outright: some by asserting that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had been imprisoned in the well of Zamzam[28] and others by declaring that he was merely blockaded (*maḥṣūr*) in the piedmont (*shiʿb*) of the Banū Hāshim.[29] The sources also differ with regard to the identity of those imprisoned, such as whether the prisoners also included, in addition to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, all the members of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's household from the Banū Hāshim living in Mecca,[30] whether ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās numbered among them,[31] or even whether those incarcerated also included the partisans of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, who had travelled to Mecca to seek his opinion concerning the claims of the Kūfan rebel al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī.[32]

Of all the accounts of these events, the most extensive and useful collections of *akhbār* are to be found in Ibn Saʿd's *Ṭabaqāt*, al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb*, al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*, and (to a lesser extent) the anonymous *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās wa-waladih*,[33] although even these narratives ought to be supplemented with other accounts. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's imprisonment occurs in the midst of the high drama of the second civil war (*fitna*) and, thus, plays a key role in the drama unfolding, particularly during the Kūfan struggle against the Zubayrids' irredentist ambitions in al-ʿIrāq. Prior to these events, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya fled Medina and alighted in Mecca along with his family hoping to escape the perils of the impending battle of Ḥarra (63/683), much like ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, albeit without harboring any of the concomitant ambitions held by Ibn al-Zubayr for achieving political preeminence over the Umayyads. Once Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya arrived in Mecca, he settled with his cousin, Ibn ʿAbbās, who lived in the piedmont (*shiʿb*) of Minā

Lajnat al-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Nashr, 1940–1944), 4: 413; Abū l-Faraj, *Aghānī*, 9: 15 and 15: 150.

28 Ibn Saʿd, 5: 74; Ṭabarī, 1: 693 ff.

29 Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 3: 275; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 20 vols. (Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya, 1964), 20: 146 f.

30 Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 3: 265; Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, ed. M. ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān, 8 vols. (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1972), 6: 129 f., 136; Abū l-ʿArab, *Miḥan*, 336–337; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIqd*, 4: 413; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 3: 275; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, 20: 146 f.

31 Ibn Saʿd, 5: 74 f.; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2: 211 f.

32 Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. 2, ed. Wilferd Madelung (Beirut: Klaus Schwarz, 2003) (Bibliotheca Islamica 28b), 656 f.; Ṭabarī, 2: 693.

33 Edited by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī and ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Muṭṭalibī as *Akhbār al-dawla al-ʿAbbāsiyya wa-fīhi Akhbār al-ʿAbbās wa-waladih* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿa, 1971). On the authorship and date of this work, see E. Daniel, "The Anonymous 'History of the Abbasid Family' and Its Place in Islamic Historiography," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 14 (1982): 419–434.

where the Banū Hāshim traditionally resided.[34] When ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr took over Mecca in Muḥarram 64/September 683, he proclaimed himself *amīr al-muʾminīn* after the death of the Umayyad caliph Yazīd I b. Muʿāwiya, and had clearly expected the Banū Hāshim in Mecca to swiftly lend him their support in order to make a common cause against the Umayyads. However, Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya frustrated his ambitions by delaying the declaration of their allegiance (*bayʿa*) to any claimant to the caliphate, protesting that they preferred to wait until a single candidate obtained a broad-reaching consensus of the community (*umma*).

There was clearly no love lost between these two parties: Ibn al-Zubayr had fought against both Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya decades earlier when they were all young men at the Battle of the Camel (36/656), a battle in which Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's father won the noble victory and Ibn al-Zubayr's father, fleeing the battlefield, died a disgraceful death. However, as the elders of the Banū Hāshim, the Prophet's clan, Ibn al-Zubayr could hardly aspire to leadership over the *umma* without obtaining at least their tacit approval, so he took 'persuasive' actions against the Banū Hāshim collectively. Ibn al-Zubayr resolved to institute a blockade (*ḥiṣār*) against Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and his clan and, thus, confined them inside their piedmont (*shiʿb*) in Mecca. Lest they attempt to thwart this blockade, Ibn al-Zubayr also appointed watchmen (*ruqabāʾ*) to maintain close surveillance over them.[35] This measure proved all the wiser given the Zubayrids' loss of Kūfa in Rabīʿ I 66/October 685 to the Shīʿī rebel al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī, who portrayed himself as conducting the revolt as a proxy on behalf of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya. Indeed, when later that same year word of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's suffering at the hands of Ibn al-Zubayr reached al-Mukhtār in Kūfa, he swiftly dispatched an armed contingent of Arab warriors along with club-wielding *mawālī*, aptly called 'Khashabiyya', to liberate Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya from Ibn al-Zubayr's custody.[36] If Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had been incarcerated in ʿĀrim prison, then his incarceration would have fallen some time

34 E.g., see Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. 1(1), ed. Yūsuf al-Marʿashlī (Beirut: Klaus Schwarz, 2008) (Bibliotheca Islamica 28a), 542 ff.

35 Ibn Saʿd, 5: 74.

36 Numerous folk etymologies for the Khashabiyya's name abound; e.g. see *EI*², s.v. "al-Khashabiyya" (C. van Arendonck). Mukhtār's Khashabiyya were given this name because they were non-Arab slaves and freedmen (*ʿabīd*, *mamālīk*, *mawālī*, etc.) who, poorly armed, found themselves forced to battle with wooden pikes and clubs (i.e., *khashab*). See P. Crone, "The Significance of Wooden Weapons in al-Mukhtār's Revolt and the ʿAbbāsid Revolution," in *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth I: Hunter of the East, Arabic and Semitic Studies*, ed. I.R. Netton (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 176 ff.

within this period spanning Ibn al-Zubayr's seizure of Mecca and the arrival of al-Mukhtār's Khashabiyya.[37]

There are two competing versions of this conflict between Ibn al-Zubayr and Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya that omit any mention of ʿĀrim prison and which, furthermore, seem to contradict one another as equally as they contradict the accounts mentioning Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's imprisonment in ʿĀrim prison. One version states that Ibn al-Hanafiyya and his household were merely confined to "the piedmont (*shiʿb*) of the Banū Hāshim" and thereafter never mentions his individual imprisonment. In such narratives, Ibn al-Zubayr places Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and his household under a collective siege. Invariably, this version of events, as do others, also mentions the group of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's Kūfan devotees who had traveled to the Ḥijāz to investigate the veracity of al-Mukhtār's claim to have initiated his revolt with the express mandate of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya. This first wave of Kūfans suffers alongside Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya. The second wave of Kūfans to arrive in Mecca, however, includes those whom al-Mukhtār dispatches to liberate Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya after receiving the latter's entreaties for help in a letter. In such accounts, once Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's letter to al-Mukhtār is read aloud in Kūfa, Mukhtār sends a force that, rather than liberating Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya from prison, merely liberates him and his family from Ibn al-Zubayr's blockade (*ḥiṣār*).[38]

On the other hand, a second variety of accounts—in general the most abundantly attested to in the sources—claim that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was imprisoned "along with his household and seventeen men from the heads of the households of Kūfa in Zamzam."[39] Zamzam, of course, is Mecca's hallowed well, not its prison. Clearly, however, the environs of the well are intended here and not

37 As dated by Ṭabarī, 3: 693 ff. Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ dates of both Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's blockade by Ibn al-Zubayr and his subsequent liberation by al-Mukhtār's partisans to AH 65, which is prior to the beginning of al-Mukhtār's repulse of the Zubayrids from Kūfa (see his *Tārīkh*, 262 f.).

38 Khalīfa, *Tārīkh*, 262; cf. the same account, also Khalīfa's but differently worded, in Ibn ʿAsākir, *Dimashq*, 54: 337 f. See also Ibn Aʿtham, 6: 130 ff.; in general, Ibn Aʿtham's account tends to depend on materials from al-Wāqidī, much like his account of the *ridda* wars; however, Ibn Aʿtham's account diverges from Ibn Saʿd's more reliable redaction of al-Wāqidī's account in significant details. See Albrecht Noth and Lawrence I. Conrad, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study*, 2nd ed., trans. M. Bonner (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1994), 30 and n. 17. The printed text of Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd inexplicably refers to the piedmont where they were confined throughout his account as "*shiʿb ʿĀrim*" (*Sharḥ*, 20: 123.-1, 124.5), a reading which likely arises from a misreading of شعب for سجن in the manuscript.

39 Ṭabarī, 2: 693; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 2: 658 f.

the well itself, since the size of the well could not possibly have accommodated a group of people that, including the Banū Hāshim and the Kūfans, numbered 20–30 individuals. Hence, more than one account claims that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was imprisoned in what is called the enclosure (Ar., *ḥujra* or, alternatively, *ḥaẓīra*) of Zamzam.[40] That ʿĀrim prison numbered among these structures must be regarded as unlikely. Whereas Zamzam is located East of the Kaʿba, ʿĀrim prison, situated behind Dār al-Nadwa, was situated to the North.[41]

However, not even those who affirm that the location of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's imprisonment was in or near Zamzam agree that there were others confined along with him. Ibn Saʿd, for example, records from al-Wāqidī a putatively firsthand account from a certain Sulaym Abū ʿĀmir al-Anṣārī, who implies in his testimony that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was alone, recounting that, "I saw Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya confined (*maḥbūs*) in Zamzam while the people were forbidden to visit him."[42] Despite the prohibitions isolating Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, Sulaym decided to visit him. Eventually, the determined Sulaym makes good on his resolve to reach Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya by waiting until his guards (*ḥaras*) fall asleep. After having outsmarted the indolent guards, Sulaym aids Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in relaying messages to and from Ibn ʿAbbās who, rather than languishing in prison alongside his cousin, remained safely in the *shiʿb* of the Banū Hāshim.

Many details of this account seem implausible: Sulaym al-Anṣārī is an obscure figure about whom little is known,[43] and the key anecdotal detail about the sleeping guards is merely a *topos* appearing elsewhere, most often explaining how Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's Kūfan liberators ambushed Ibn al-Zubayr's forces.[44] But, for our purpose, it is the *Sitz im Leben* conveyed in the account that concerns us most.

Another putative eyewitness is ʿAṭiyya b. Saʿd b. al-Junāda al-ʿAwfī (d. 111/729), a Kūfan known for his Shīʿī inclinations (*tashayyuʿ*),[45] whom Ibn Saʿd's source,

40 *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*, 99.8, 106.ult.; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2: 261.-6.

41 Fākihī, *Akhbār Makka*, 3: 341.

42 Ibn Saʿd, 5: 74.4.

43 He may be the Syrian *mawlā* mentioned by Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, 4 vols., ed. al-Sayyid Hāshim al-Nadwī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), 4: 126. Cf. ʿUmar b. Shabba, *Tārīkh al-madīna al-munawwara*, ed. Fuhaym Muḥammad Shaltūt, 4 vols. (Riyadh: Dār al-Iṣfahānī, 1973), 4: 1309 f. where he narrates ʿUthmān's assassination. I owe these two references to Michael Lecker.

44 See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 2: 656 and Ṭabarī, 2: 693. The duty of acting as the night guard was certainly an onerous and soporific task, but that the guards would be so utterly inept strains credulity.

45 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī maʿrifat asmāʾ al-rijāl*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, 35 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1980–1992), 20: 145 ff.

al-Wāqidī, ostensibly utilizes as his principal source on the affair (although he intersperses details from other *akhbārī*s into ʿAṭiyya's account). ʿAṭiyya relates his account from the perspective of an unnamed leader (*raʾs*) of one of the sorties sent by Mukhtār to save Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya. He vividly describes seeing Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, Ibn ʿAbbās and their companions upon Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's arrival in Mecca as gathered together "in houses (*dūr*) around which was gathered kindling that surrounded them until it reached the top of the walls (*ruʾūs al-judur*)—if a flame had fallen on it, not one of them would have been seen again until Judgment Day!"[46] ʿAṭiyya's colorful description of the dire straits in which the Kūfans found Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and his kinsmen, including their being surrounded by firewood and Ibn al-Zubayr's grim threats to burn them alive, appears to be quite early inasmuch as a number of accounts post-dating al-Wāqidī reproduce its details more or less to the letter.[47] Viewing ʿAṭiyya's testimony as paradigmatic (at least as transmitted by al-Wāqidī to Ibn Saʿd), one can see that, by the second/eighth century, fully developed, robust narratives of Ibn al-Zubayr's conflict with the Banū Hāshim in Mecca existed that omit any mention of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's imprisonment in ʿĀrim prison. Whence came, therefore, the assertion that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had been imprisoned in ʿĀrim prison?

The testimony of the third/ninth-century ʿAbbāsid historian al-Madāʾinī overwhelmingly dominates the camp of those *akhbārī*s who unambiguously assert that ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr had indeed imprisoned Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya in the jail known as Sijn ʿĀrim. Two reports transmitted from al-Madāʾinī, both redacted by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī in his *Aghānī*, convey this version of events. One al-Madāʾinī transmits from Abū Mikhnaf, who in turn cites the authority of a contemporary of his, a Medinese traditionist named ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq.[48] According to this report, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had been imprisoned in Sijn ʿĀrim by Ibn al-Zubayr upon Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's return to Mecca from Syria.[49] This causes a group a Kūfans, the account calls

46 Ibn Saʿd, 5: 74 f.; cf. Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-aʿlām*, ed. Basshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, 17 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2003), 2: 665.

47 E.g., see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 2: 658 f. and ibid., 4(1): 315; Ṭabarī, 2: 694.

48 His death date is unknown; however, Dhahabī places him in the fifteenth *ṭabaqa* (AH 141–150); see his *Tārīkh*, 3: 921. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 12 vols. (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1905–1907), 6: 428. Bukhārī states that he was numbered among the inhabitants of the Ḥijāz (*yuʿadd min ahl al-Ḥijāz*); see his *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, 3(1): 434.9.

49 This reference to a trip to Syria undertaken by Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya before Ibn al-Zubayr's defeat is obscure. I have not been able to locate a similar claim in parallel accounts.

them an army (*jaysh*), led by Abū l-Ṭufayl ʿAmr b. Wāthila, to march to Mecca to liberate Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya from his imprisonment. The forces were successful, claims the account, "and they destroyed [the jail] and removed [Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya] (*fa-kasarūh wa-akhrajūh*)."[50] The account is problematic in several respects. For one, another account transmitted on Abū Mikhnaf's authority, but this time by Ibn al-Kalbī, omits any reference to ʿĀrim prison and claims the Kūfans and the Khashabiyya, rather than destroying the *prison*, "broke down the boards of *Zamzam* (*kasarū aʿwād Zamzam*)."[51] This account also mentions a trip of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya to Syria prior to Ibn al-Zubayr's defeat, an assertion unconfirmed by any parallel account. Lastly, al-Madāʾinī's account places Abū l-Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b. Wāthila at the head of the army sent from Kūfa to help Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya escape, whereas most accounts place him alongside Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in the first wave of Kūfans who came to Mecca to inquire after al-Mukhtār's grandiose claims.[52] In most accounts, it is rather Abū l-Ṭufayl's son, al-Ṭufayl b. ʿĀmir b. Wāthila, whom al-Mukhtār sends from Kūfa as a minor commander embedded with the forces sent to liberate Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya.[53]

Al-Madāʾinī's second account comes to us on the authority of the Baṣran *akhbārī* Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī (d. ca. 167/783)[54] and also relates Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's imprisonment in ʿĀrim prison and subsequent rescue by the Kūfans; however, this time they are led by another of al-Mukhtār's partisans, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Jadalī, who in most accounts is named as the leader of the Kūfan cav-

50 Abū l-Faraj, *Aghānī*, 15: 150.

51 See Ṭabarī, 2: 694. Ṭabarī's account, however, is a combined account, culling materials from Ibn al-Kalbī's version of Abū Mikhnaf's account and combining them with an account also transmitted by al-Madāʾinī on the authority of Maslama b. Muḥārib, a grandson of Ziyād b. Abīhi through his son Salm mentioned above. On Maslama, see Wilferd Madelung, "Maslama b. Muḥārib: Umayyad Historian," in *Proceedings of the 20th Congress of the UEAI, Budapest, 10–17 September 2000, Part One*, edited by K. Dévényi; being *The Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic* 24–25 (2002): 203–214. Balādhurī's account, which also likely derives in large part from Abū Mikhnaf, confirms that Abū Mikhnaf's account originally omitted any mention of ʿĀrim prison; see *Ansāb*, 2: 652 ff.

52 Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 2: 655; Ibn Aʿtham, 6: 128 f.

53 E.g., Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 2: 656, 659. Abū l-Ṭufayl and his son, al-Ṭufayl, are often confused in the sources, with poems ascribed to father often being ascribed to the son as well. See al-Qāḍī, *Kaysāniyya*, 309 ff.

54 A companion of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, his reputation rested predominately on his knowledge of *ayyām al-ʿarab*. He was generally regarded as unreliable in his transmission of *ḥadīth*. See al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bil-Wafayāt*, vol. 15, ed. Bernd Radtke (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979) (Bibliotheca Islamica 60), 325; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 22: 45 f.

alry force that marched on Mecca.[55] This second account seems to reveal some cognizance of the varying versions of the story, which had no doubt entered into broad circulation by al-Madāʾinī's time. It reads:[56]

> Then [Ibn al-Zubayr] imprisoned Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in ʿĀrim prison. Later (*thumma*), he gathered [Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya] and the rest of the Banū Hāshim in his care together and placed them in a confined space, which he filled with kindling and set ablaze.[57]

The account concludes with the familiar, dramatic rescue: Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Jadalī arrives just in time to extinguish the fire and rescue the Banū Hāshim.[58] One of the more curious features of this account, however, is that it seems to both accommodate Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's imprisonment in ʿĀrim prison *and* the imprisonment occurring at Zamzam with the details (originating perhaps with ʿAṭiyya b. Saʿd's testimony) of the looming immolation of the Banū Hāshim and the Kūfans' last minute rescue. It provides a plausible scenario, but it is in all likelihood a synthetic harmonization undertaken by al-Madāʾinī and should be taken *cum grano salis*.

Clearly, therefore, there are a mass of reports that conveys an array of contradictory information regarding the imprisonment and (at times) the blockade of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and the Banū Hāshim by Ibn al-Zubayr. Al-Madāʾinī's harmonization demonstrates that these divergent accounts can be reconciled. But, inasmuch as the account bears the telltale marks of harmonization, the solution contained within al-Madāʾinī's version offers an artificial one and should not be taken as settling the issue definitively. However, his account does raise an important question, namely: Why would al-Madāʾinī feel the need to undertake such a harmonization?

The answer comes at the end of al-Madāʾinī's *khabar* as preserved in the *Aghānī* and provides the strongest evidence for suggesting that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had indeed languished in ʿĀrim prison. It comes in the form of several lines of poetry composed by the Kaysānī poet Kuthayyir ʿAzza (d. 105/723). Kuthayyir's verse stands as the most important testimony to these events, for

55 Balādhurī, 2: 658 f.; Ṭabarī, 2: 694 f.; Ibn Aʿtham, 6: 132, 134 ff.

56 *Aghānī*, 11: 16 f.; cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 4(1): 315. The accounts of al-Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, 3: 265), Abū l-ʿArab (*Miḥan*, 337), and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (*ʿIqd*, 4: 413), in my view, appear to be literary descendants of al-Madāʾinī's account.

57 *Fa-ḥabas Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya fī sijn ʿĀrim thumma jamaʿah wa-sāʾir man kān bi-ḥaḍratih min Banī Hāshim fa-jaʿalahum fī maḥbas wa-malaʾah ḥaṭab*^{an} *wa-aḍram fih al-nār*.

58 Abū l-Faraj, *Aghānī*, 9: 16. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 2: 658 ff.; Ṭabarī, 2: 694 f.

he was both a contemporary eyewitness and a close companion of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya throughout Ibn al-Zubayr's persecutions.[59] In one specific verse, Kuthayyir reproaches Ibn al-Zubayr:[60]

> You tell whomever you meet that you are a seeker of refuge (i.e., in Mecca)
> but the aggrieved seeker of refuge is in the prison of ʿĀrim!
>
> *tukhabbiru man lāqayta annaka ʿā'idhᵘⁿ*
> *bal al-ʿā'idhu l-maẓlūmu*[61] *fī sijni ʿĀrimī*[!]

Although "the aggrieved (*al-maẓlūm*)" in Kuthayyir's poem remains unnamed, it is generally assumed by ʿAbbāsid-era *akhbārī*s and modern scholars alike that this phrase alludes to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. Elsewhere in the poem, for instance, Kuthayyir also refers to "the namesake/legatee of the chosen Prophet and his cousin (*samiyyu/waṣiyyu l-nabiyyi l-muṣṭafā wa-bnu ʿammihi*),"[62] by which Kuthayyir clearly intends Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya (who shared both the Prophet's forename and *kunya*, Abū l-Qāsim) and Ibn ʿAbbās. Al-Madā'inī's account, at least as redacted in the *Aghānī*, construes this connection between Kuthayyir's poem and the historical reports that depict al-Ḥanafiyya's imprisonment. It would seem, then, that Kuthayyir's poem provides definitive proof of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's incarceration in Ibn al-Zubayr's Meccan prison.

However, another, lesser-known interpretation of the above lines contradicts the above interpretation and claims that the referent in the phrase "*al-ʿā'idh al-maẓlūm*" is not the imprisoned Ibn al-Ḥanafyya but rather his son, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. This interpretation appears in the *Murūj al-*

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59 Iḥsān ʿAbbās regarded Kuthayyir's attachment to the Kaysāniyya "a short, emotional interlude, to which he was driven by … his pity for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's imprisonment" (*EI*[2], s.v. "Kuthayyir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān"), but I believe there is a compelling case to be made for the attribution to him of at least one early 'Kaysānī' poem in which he speaks of the *ghayba* of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya included in ʿAbbās's own edition of the poet's *dīwān*. See *Dīwān Kuthayyir ʿAzza*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1971), 521 f.; cf. al-Qāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya*, 312–322 and P. Crone, *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 250.

60 See Abū l-Faraj, *Aghānī*, 9: 16.2. See also al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 3: 265; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 4(1): 315; Abū l-ʿArab, *Miḥan*, 337; and *Dīwān Kuthayyir*, 224 f.

61 Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, 4(1): 315.8) and Abū l-ʿArab (*Miḥan*, 336.2) read instead *al-ʿā'idh al-maḥbūs*, i.e., 'the imprisoned seeker of refuge'.

62 Abū l-Faraj, *Aghānī*, 9: 16.

dhahab of the ʿAbbāsid historian al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956). In his account, al-Masʿūdī relates a story of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya being imprisoned by Ibn al-Zubayr in ʿĀrim prison in which al-Ḥasan successfully escapes by means of a clever trick (*ḥīla*). After his escape, he flees via the winding passes of the mountains surrounding Mecca until he finds his way to his father in Minā (where the *shiʿb* of the Banū Hāshim is located).[63]

Al-Masʿūdī's account, although idiosyncratic at first glance, actually has much to recommend it over that of al-Madā'inī. Often neglected, for example, is Kuthayyir's depiction of the circumstances of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in one of the verses in the poem just cited above, which states:[64]

> Whoever sees this *shaykh* at the piedmont near Minā
> From among the people, knows that he is not unjust.
>
> *man yara hādhā l-shaykha bil-khayfi min Min^{an}*
> *mina l-nāsi yaʿlam annahu ghayru ẓālimī*

The assertion that this '*shaykh*'—undoubtedly Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya[65]—would be seen in Minā at the foot of the nearby mountain (*bil-khayf*) is directly at odds with the assertion that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was in ʿĀrim prison. Later, in another verse of the same poem, Kuthayyir declares,[66]

> By God's grace, we recite his Book
> Abiding at the lower slope of this mountain, the slope of the sacred ones
>
> *naḥnu bi-ḥamdi llāhi natlū kitābahu*
> *ḥulūl^{an} bi-hādhā l-khayfi khayfi l-maḥārimī*

Here, Kuthayyir clearly depicts himself as residing *with* Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, as well as others, near Minā on the lower slope of the mountain, i.e., the *khayf*, or what other accounts call the *shiʿb*.

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63 Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 3: 274 f. Perhaps, the incident involving al-Ḥasan's escape may lay some claim to historicity, but the association with the verses of Kuthayyir posited by Masʿūdī is certainly confused (see Qāḍī, *Kaysāniyya*, 313 n. 1).

64 Abū l-Faraj, *Aghānī*, 9: 15.14 and Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 3: 275.4; cf. *Dīwān Kuthayyir*, 224.

65 Cf. Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, ed. E. Levi-Provençal (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1953), 42.12.

66 Abū l-Faraj, *Aghānī*, 9: 15.17; *Dīwān Kuthayyir*, 224.

Hence, Kuthayyir's poem lucidly depicts a scenario wherein Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya resides in the *khayf* while another individual remains imprisoned by Ibn al-Zubayr in ʿĀrim prison. Al-Masʿūdī's assertion that this individual ought to be identified with al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya fits the content of Kuthayyir's poem in a manner far more compelling than, for instance, al-Madāʾinī's account. However, al-Masʿūdī remains a rather late source, so from whence does his information on al-Ḥasan derive? While the source of the account remains shrouded by anonymity in al-Masʿūdī's work, a similar tradition relating al-Ḥasan's misadventure with Ibn al-Zubayr appears in the *Akhbār Makka* of al-Fākihī (d. ca. 272/858–859) related on the authority of the Meccan traditionist ʿAmr b. Dīnār (d. 125/742)[67] directly from al-Ḥasan himself. In this account, al-Ḥasan narrates the story:[68]

> Ibn al-Zubayr took me and imprisoned me in the Dār al-Nadwa, in ʿĀrim prison, but I escaped from it still in my chains. I continued to traverse the mountains until I descended to my father in Minā.

ʿAmr's transmission of this story from al-Ḥasan proves an invaluable clue in deciphering not only Kuthayyir's poem, but also in uncovering the chronology of the conflict between Ibn al-Zubayr and al-Ḥasan's father, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya. ʿAmr b. Dīnār was a close intimate of al-Ḥasan, whose home he reputedly visited frequently; ʿAmr was, furthermore, one of the most prominent and admiring pupils of al-Ḥasan to have transmitted from his knowledge.[69] It seems quite unlikely that a scholar so intimately familiar with both the Hāshimids and the environs of Mecca would have erred in reporting al-Ḥasan's imprisonment in ʿĀrim prison.[70]

The question remains, however, as to when and why Ibn al-Zubayr had placed Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's son in ʿĀrim prison. The clue revealing the rationale

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67 Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8: 28 and Harald Motzki, *The Origins of Meccan Jurisprudence: Meccan Fiqh before the Classical Schools*, trans. Marion Katz (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 173–204 *et passim*.

68 Fākihī, *Akhbār Makka*, 3: 341: *akhadhanī Ibn al-Zubayr* (*r*) *fa-ḥabasanī fī dār al-nadwa fī sijn ʿĀrim fa-infalattu minhu fī quyūdī fa-lam azal atakhaṭṭā al-jibāl ḥattā saqaṭtu ʿalā abī bi-Minā*. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, 5: 473.

69 Yaʿqūb al-Fasawī, *Kitāb al-Maʿrifa wa-l-tārīkh*, ed. Akram Ḍiyāʾ al-ʿUmarī, 4 vols. (Baghdad: al-Irshād, 1974), 1: 543 f.; Abū Bakr b. Abī Khaythama, *al-Tārīkh*, ed. Ṣalāḥ b. Fatḥī Halal, 4 vols. (Cairo: al-Fārūq al-Ḥadītha, 2003), 2: 221.

70 Indeed, ʿAmr was himself imprisoned in Mecca by Khālid al-Qasrī; see Abū l-ʿArab, *Miḥan*, 344 f.

behind Ibn al-Zubayr's imprisonment of al-Ḥasan comes from a report transmitted by the Kūfan *akhbārī* ʿAwāna b. al-Ḥakam (d. 147/764–765 or 158/774–775). He briefly states:[71]

> After the murder of al-Mukhtār, [al-Ḥasan] travelled to Nisibis with a band (*nafar*) of the Khashabiyya. They made him their leader (*raʾʾasūh ʿalayhim*). Muslim b. al-Asīr, who was from the Zubayrid faction, marched against them, defeated them, and took al-Ḥasan captive. Al-Ḥasan was then sent to Ibn al-Zubayr, and he imprisoned [al-Ḥasan] in Mecca. It is said that he escaped from the prison and went to his father in Minā.

Al-Ḥasan's imprisonment, if ʿAwāna's account is to be trusted, can be placed sometime in the immediate aftermath of the Zubayrids' defeat of al-Mukhtār and their recapture of Kūfa on 14 Ramaḍān 67/3 April 687, after which the surviving remnant of al-Mukhtār's partisans fled to Nisibis and formed a short-lived, independent city-state.

With most of the data before us now, we can look back and attempt a rough chronology of Ibn al-Zubayr's conflict with Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and the Banū Hāshim. All accounts are unanimous in affirming that Ibn al-Zubayr attempts to proclaim himself Commander of the Faithful and leader of the Muslim *umma* had been severely attenuated by the Banū Hāshim living in Mecca who, under the leadership of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and Ibn ʿAbbās, refused to recognize Ibn al-Zubayr's claims to the caliphal office. Their resistance engendered a series of increasingly harsh reprisals, likely beginning with a general blockade (*ḥiṣār*) and leading up to the imprisonment of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, and perhaps his associates and family as well, near or around Zamzam. Although Ibn al-Zubayr did likely imprison these individuals, it is unlikely that he imprisoned them in the infamous "Ārim prison'; rather, according to most accounts and even one putative eyewitness, Ibn al-Zubayr gathered Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and his associates into makeshift houses (Ar. *dūr*; sg. *dār*), as one account describes the structure, or a large pen (Ar. *ḥaẓīra* and *ḥujra*) as other accounts claim. It was from these makeshift structures, and not from ʿĀrim prison, that the Kūfan forces dispatched by al-Mukhtār likely freed Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and his associates. The reports claiming that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had been imprisoned in ʿĀrim, likely originating with the ʿAbbāsid historian al-Madāʾinī, probably arose from a misreading of a poem attributed to one of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's devotees, Kuthayyir ʿAzza, which references the imprisonment of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's son,

71 Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, 2: 1083.

al-Ḥasan, several months following Ibn al-Zubayr's imprisonment of his father near Zamzam.

IV

ʿAwāna's otherwise isolated account of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammd b. al-Ḥanafiyya's ill-fated foray into the political fortunes of Mukhtār's partisans in Nisibis has received bad press from modern scholars, but this is rather undeserved. Josef van Ess, who was well-disposed to accept the account's veracity, famously put ʿAwāna's account to great use in his study of the *Kitāb al-irjāʾ*, an early epistle attributed to al-Ḥasan that, van Ess contends, represents the earliest surviving example of Islamic theology. ʿAwāna's account omits any reference to al-Ḥasan's epistle but, in van Ess's estimation, nonetheless offers a tantalizing backstory for the epistle. The epistle is as replete with polemics against the Kūfan Shīʿa (or, the Sabaʾiyya in al-Ḥasan's parlance) as it is with calls for *irjāʾ*,[72] and this led van Ess to conclude that the epistle marked a public conversion of sorts, implicitly renouncing al-Ḥasan's former ties with al-Mukhtār's partisans and explicitly rebuking the religious perversions of the Kūfan Shīʿa.[73] Those modern scholars apt to deny the epistle's authenticity have attacked van Ess's reconstruction as too dependent on ʿAwāna's account, which they deemed a spurious and fanciful scenario invented to cast aspersions against one of the alleged founders of the early Murjiʾa.[74]

Yet, the case of ʿĀrim prison represents one of those uncanny instances wherein social and intellectual history intersect. In light of the materials examined above, ʿAwāna's account (and, by extension, van Ess' hypothesis regarding the authenticity of the *Kitāb al-irjāʾ*) does not seem improbable at all. Its veracity, at least in terms of the plausibility of its broad outlines, finds confirmation not only in the testimony of a contemporary and sympathetic poet, Kuthayyir

72 I.e., the position generally defined by the postponing of judgment on who was right or wrong among the Prophet's Companions in the conflicts and strife that transpired during the first civil war (*al-fitna al-kubrā*).

73 J. van Ess, "Das *Kitāb al-Irǧāʾ* des Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya," *Arabica* 21 (1974): 20–52; cf. also idem, "Nachträge und Verbesserungen," *Arabica* 22 (1975): 48–51; idem, *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie: Zwei antiqadaritische Traktate aus dem ersten Jahrhundert der Hiǧra* (Beirut: Franz Steiner, 1977) (Beiruter Texte und Studien 14), 1–12.

74 Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma: A Source-Critical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 78; Patricia Crone and Fritz Zimmerman, *The Epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 259 f.

ʿAzza, but also in al-Ḥasan's own testimony of his imprisonment by Ibn al-Zubayr as transmitted by his student and friend, ʿAmr b. Dīnār.[75]

ʿĀrim prison's last mystery is why one hears nothing of the structure after the death of Ibn al-Zubayr. One finds mentions of prisons in Mecca thereafter, but never one named *sijn ʿĀrim*. It is possible that the prison simply ceased to be known under the same name.[76] Perhaps, one might speculate, the structure did not survive the famously brutal siege of Mecca conducted by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī in 72/692. While the fate of the prison remains a mystery, the prison itself reveals to modern historians many valuable insights into the carceral practices of the early Islamic Ḥijāz.

The institutional role of the prison can hardly be said to have been governed by any normative legal framework—oral, written, or otherwise. Rather, the prison served, as so often was the case during the conquest and Sufyānid periods, as a tool of the local governor/ruler to intimidate enemies, weaken rivals, and punish malefactors who offended not the law *per se* but, rather, the sensibilities of the authority (Ibn al-Zubayr, in this case) who wielded imprisonment as a tool to compel total compliance. It was, in essence, an *informal* institution at this early stage—an institution governed not by law, but by the whim of the parochial authority. Put another way, the institution of the prison was governed by the law as instantiated by the will of the local, governing authority, not by an impersonal, discrete body of law for which the authority acted merely as a steward and enforcer. It was, fundamentally, an extra-legal institution.

Reflecting this state of affairs as well is that the only incarcerated prisoners of whom the sources speak are the élites of the new Islamic polity, albeit élites who find themselves on the wrong side of the winds of political change and upheaval. The only non-élite, which is to say non-Arab, of whom we hear, is Zayd-ʿĀrim, the namesake of the prison itself. Yet, of the non-Arab populations and their relationship to the early prison next to nothing is known. As far as we can discern, the early Islamic prison functioned in this era as a profoundly personalized institution, one in which the incarcerated quite literally knows the incarcerator and in which one's incarceration results from a soured relationship with the latter. However, this moment in the history of the Islamic prison is ephemeral, and attitudes towards carceral institutions were destined to change just as swiftly as these institutions were adopted.

75 Cf. S.W. Anthony, *The Caliph and the Heretic: Ibn Saba' and the Origins of Shīʿism* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 294–299.

76 Fākihī, *Akhbār Makka*, 3: 340.

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CHAPTER 2

Fragments of Three Umayyad Official Documents

*Fred M. Donner**

At the end of the first/seventh century and the first decades of the second/eighth century the bureaucracy of the late Umayyad governors of Egypt produced thousands of official documents on papyrus. A few of these documents have survived in complete or almost complete form, and provide historians with important contemporary evidence about a variety of subjects, especially the state of economic and political affairs and the workings of the late Umayyad bureaucracy. Many more survive only in fragmentary form, but even these fragments sometimes yield precious clues about contemporary life.

The present note sets forth the remains of three such fragments,[1] previously unpublished, each of which was produced by or for a different governor of Egypt: Qurra b. Sharīk, who governed Egypt from 90/709 to 96/714; ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb, who was governor from 111/729 until 116/734; and his son al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh, who appears to have been governor from 116/734 until 124/742. I feel particularly fortunate to be able to place this little study of administrative papyri in a volume in honor of my distinguished colleague Wadad Kadi, who has done so much to enrich our understanding of Umayyad administration, and who has herself exploited evidence from the papyri with consummate skill.

1 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Pap. Vindob. A.P. 6672

Description

Eleven fragments of smooth, medium brown papyrus mounted in one frame, labeled here A–K. Fragment A (top left) 3.2 cm tall × 11.7 cm wide; Fragment B

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1 The following abbreviations are used in the article: *APEL* = Adolf Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, 6 vols. (Cairo: Egyptian Library Press, 1934–1962); *EI*(2) = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960–2004); *PSR* = C.H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1906); *TMD* = ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176), *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 80 vols., ed. ʿUmar al-ʿAmrawī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995–2000).

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FIGURE 2.1 *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Pap. Vindob. A.P. 6672*

FIGURE 2.2 *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Pap. Vindob. A.P. 6672*

(second down on left) 3.3 cm × 12 cm; Fragment C (third down on left) 1.7 cm × 2.4 cm; Fragment D (immediately to the right of C) 1.5 cm × 3.0 cm; Fragment E (immediately to the right of D) 1.5 cm × 4.3 cm; Fragment F (fourth down on the left) 1.7 cm × 2.6 cm; Fragment G (immediately to the right of F) 2.1 cm × 4.8 cm; Fragment H (immediately to the right of G) 1.3 cm × 1.4 cm; Fragment I (below H) 1.3 cm × 2.4 cm; Fragment J (top right) 3.5 cm × 9.0 cm; Fragment K (lower right) 6.3 cm × 7.7 cm. All fragments except for K are blank on reverse. Fragment H is probably mounted upside down.

Text

A Recto

١ ... البواب (؟) اليك الكتيـ ..

٢ .....

B Recto

١ العمال إلا لجمع ...

C Recto

]... الر ...[

D Recto

... ا ...

E Recto

... احم ...

F Recto

...

G Recto

... د ا ...

H Recto

...

I Recto

لم (؟)

J Recto

١ ... حركوا ولا تعمله ...
٢ ... لعمر (؟) ما تبعت ...

K Recto

١ بسم ا[لله الرحمن الرحيم]
٢ من قرة [بن شريك ... الى ...]
٣ صحب ا[شقوه ...]

K Verso

١ [الى ...] صحب اشقوه
٢ ...

Translation

Recto:

A.

1. ... the doorman (?) to you the writing (?) ...
2. .....

B.

1. ... the finance officers except to collect [...

C. through I.

no legible text. Fragment H, containing only a curved line, may be the sweep of a final *nūn* and is probably mounted upside down.

J.

1. ...] move, and do not work it/him [...
2. ...] ..... that which ? you followed? [...

K. Recto

1. In the name of G[od the Compassionate, the Merciful]
2. From Qurra [b. Sharīk ... to ...]
3. Master of A[shqawh/Aphrodito ...]

K. Verso

1. [To ...] Master of Ashqawh/Aphrodito
2. [Undecipherable, fragmentary Greek letters]

Discussion and Notes

The eleven fragments mounted together in one frame as A. P. 6672 appear to be from the same document. A note made on the framing material in 1980, evidently by the then-Director of the Papyrussammlung, Dr. Helene Loebenstein, states that the largest fragment (labeled K here) "probably does not belong with the other fragments."[2] No reason is given for this remark; however, as K seems comparable to A–J in texture, color, orientation of the fibers, and in handwriting style, size, and ink, it seems reasonable to assume that it did, in fact, come from the same document as the other fragments.

Fragment K is clearly the right edge of the *incipit* of the document, beginning in line K1 with the *basmala* and continuing in line K2 with the usual address line of late Umayyad official documents, "From [name of governor] to [addressee] ...." In this case, the fragment is so small that not even the full name of the governor survives, only his given name, Qurra. Comparison of the fragment with other more complete documents, however, leaves little doubt that this

2 "Gehört wahrscheinlich nicht zu den übrigen Fragmenten. 2.5.80. L."

piece was issued by the chancery of the famous governor Qurra b. Sharīk,[3] who ruled Egypt for the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik from Rabīʿ I 90/January 709 until Rabīʿ I 96/December 714.[4] The hand in these fragments seems very similar to that found in some of the other known documents from Qurra b. Sharīk's chancery, as does the size and spacing of the writing and the quality of the papyrus itself. For example, the *bism* with no teeth in the *sīn* is found in *PSR* XII, and the writing of Qurra's scribe here is very similar to its rendering by several chancery hands, including those of *PSR* I, II, and XV. The flattened form of the initial *kāf* in line J1, and the form of the initial *ḥ* with its slightly upraised tip in the same line, resemble very closely the writing of the scribe "Jarīr" found in *APEL* 3, no. 147 (Plate II); compare also the form of *min* in fragment K and *man* in line 15 of *APEL* 3, no. 147. We cannot be sure that Jarīr was the scribe in this case, because several scribes display very similar chancery hands (compare *APEL* 3, Plates I, II, III, and IV).

We can also propose that the words in line K3 refer to the same addressee mentioned in some of the other Qurra papyri, namely, Basīl, the pagarch of the village/district of Ashqawh or Aphrodito,[5] since the address line on the reverse of fragment K includes "… *ṣāḥib Ashqawh*."

Unlike Fragment K, the location of the other fragments in the original document can only be guessed at, as the bits of text they contain are too short and not adequately indicative of set formulae (such as opening or closing phrases) to reveal how they related to one another. Fragment C, for example, might be thought to contain the beginning of the word *al-raḥmān* and, if so, could be the continuation of the *basmala* in line 1 of Fragment K; however, this bit of text could just as easily be the first letter of any other word beginning with "r," in which case Fragment C might come from anywhere in the original document. Many of the other readings in Fragments A–J must remain conjectural (for example, *al-bawwāb* in line A1, which could also perhaps be read as *adrāb*, of unknown meaning).

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3 E.g., *PSR*; Nabia Abbott, *The Ḳurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938).

4 E. de Zambauer, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (Hannover: H. Lafaire, 1927), 25. Biographical sketches of Qurra b. Sharīk can be found in *EI*(*2*), "Ḳurra b. Sharīk" [C.E. Bosworth]; Abbott, *The Ḳurrah Papyri*, 57–69; and Henri Lammens, "Un gouverneur omayyade d'Égypte. Qorra ibn Šarīk, d'après les papyrus arabes," in his *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1930), 305–323.

5 See, for example, C.H. Becker, "Arabische Papyri des Aphrodito-Fundes," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 20 (1907): 68–104, no. 1, no. 2, and numerous others; C.H. Becker, "Neue arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes," *Der Islam* 2 (1911): 245–268, no. 5.

The extremely fragmentary character of this document makes it practically impossible to glean new information from it; although it evidently involved instructions for or about the finance-officers (*ʿummāl*) of Qurra's administration, mentioned in Fragment B, suggesting that the original document may have had contents similar to other known Qurra letters that discuss the gathering of the *jizya* (tax in gold), or the grain-tax, on various districts.[6] Although further details escape us, we can see in this fragmentary letter a confirmation of the consistent chancery practices of Qurra's administration, both in the general tenor of its contents and, in particular, in the distinctive writing of the scribes, which resembles that of a number of other known Qurra letters.

2 Bodleian Library, Oxford. Pap. Bodl. MS.Arab.d.92 (P)

Description

Four fragments of light brown papyrus of medium texture framed together, overall size ca. 9 cm × 27 cm. The largest fragment, labeled A here, contains three partial lines of majestic calligraphy in brown ink, using a very large hand and broad pen, characteristic of Arabic protocols, writing parallel to the fibers; of the three smaller fragments (labeled B–D here), Fragment B contains further traces of the protocol employing broad strokes. Fragments C and D have a bit of text written in a smaller hand, but too little survives to be read. Therefore only the text of Fragment A will be analyzed here.

Text

١ ... امير] المؤمنين[ا]صلحه الله ...

٢ هذا ما امر به الامير] عبيد الل[ه] بن الحبحاب

٣ ... في سنة ...] ومائة

6 Cf. Abbott, *Ḳurrah Papyri*, documents IV and V (Oriental Institute 13758 and 13759); or Becker, "Neue arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes," no. 3, lines 9–10: *bimā / qad jamaʿta min jizyati kūrati-ka*. Compare also *PSR* documents I, II, and III, and others, particularly III, which warns the pagarch against allowing the superintendants of granaries or the *qabbāl*s to cheat the "people of the land" of their fair measure (*PSR*, 69–77).

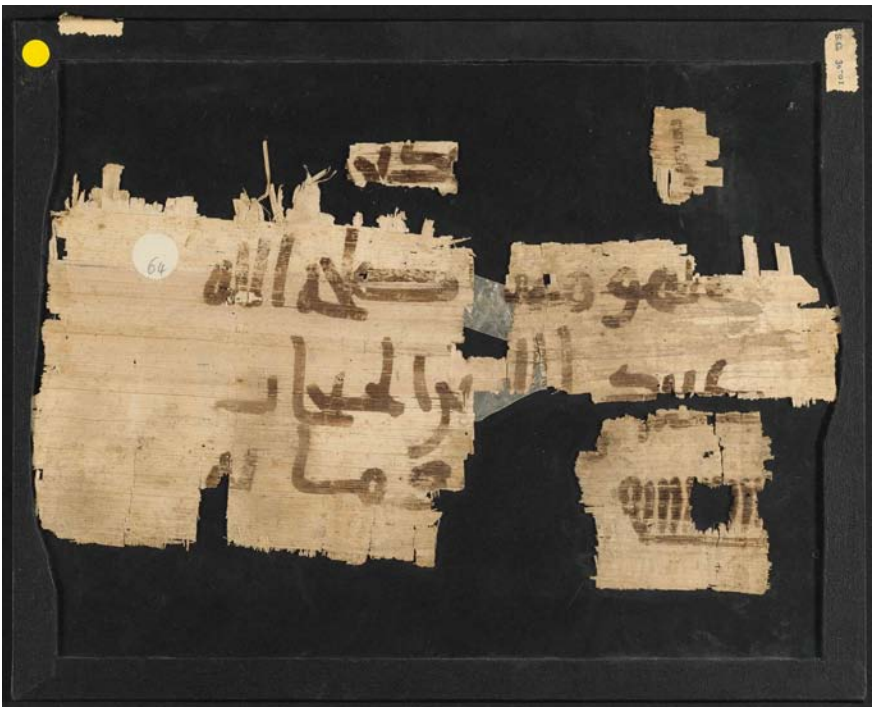

FIGURE 2.3 *Bodleian Library, Oxford. Pap. Bodl. MS.Arab.d.92* (*P*)

Translation

A.1 ... commander of] the Believ[ers] may God keep him sound [...

A.2 ... This is among the things ordered by the governor[7] ʿUbaydallā[h] b. al-Ḥabḥāb [...

A.3 ... in the year ...] and one hundred

Discussion and Notes

This fragment of a protocol conforms to other protocols from this period, many of which are entirely in Arabic; earlier protocols (e.g., those of the late first/early eighth century) are written in both Arabic and Greek.[8] ʿUbaydallāh is a well-

7 The restoration of the title *al-amīr* in the Arabic at this point is conjectural, but justified in view of its presence in this location in other published protocols, such as one of ʿAbd al-Malik of 89/707–708 (*APEL* I, 23–24, no. 13), and another of Qurra b. Sharīk (*APEL* I, 25–31, no. 14).

8 Cf. *APEL* I, no. 31, and the earlier protocol no. 12, which has both Greek and Arabic text. On Arabic and bilingual protocols in general, see the magisterial treatment of Adolf Grohmann,

known figure in the Umayyad administration who served the Caliph Hishām as governor, first over Egypt (ca. 111–116/728–734) and subsequently over Ifrīqiya.[9] Unfortunately the date in line 3 is partly effaced, so it cannot help us determine the chronology of this governor. The protocol confirms ʿUbaydallāh's existence and status as governor, already well-established, but otherwise adds nothing to our knowledge of him or of Umayyad administration, except the detail that by his time some protocols were recorded purely in Arabic. Pap. Bodl.MS.Arab.d.94 (P), not reproduced here, has three partial lines of protocol writing in what appears to be the same hand and ink, and may be part of the same document.

3 Bodleian Library, Oxford. Pap.Bodl.MS.Copt.b.7 (P) verso

Description

Light brown papyrus, ca. 23 × 38 cm. On the verso are 12 lines, three lines faintly written in small script (near the circular label, possibly an address line?) and nine lines of large early script, widely spaced, executed employing a medium pen point and grayish ink. In the upper left are a number of Greek letters/numerals that show that the fragment was later re-used for keeping accounts; these are not deciphered here. The recto contains Coptic text; this, but not the Arabic, was edited by Paul Kahle.[10] Only the Arabic will be edited here.

Text

١ الى القاسم [بن عبيد الله ؟]
٢ ...
٣ ...
٤ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Protokolle, Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, III Series Arabica, Tomus 1, Pars 2 (Wien: Burgverlag Ferdinand Zöllner, 1924).

9 On him see *EI*(2), "'Ubayd Allāh b. Ḥabḥāb" [R.G. Khoury] (where the date for his accession in Egypt is erroneously given as AH 108; cf. Zambauer, 26), and Nabia Abbott, "A New Papyrus and a Review of the Administration of ʿUbaid Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb," in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb*, ed. George Makdisi (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), 21–35.

10 Paul Kahle, *Bala'izah: Coptic Texts from Deir Al-Balā'izah in Upper Egypt* (London: Oxford University Press for the Griffith Institute, 1954), 2:744–746.

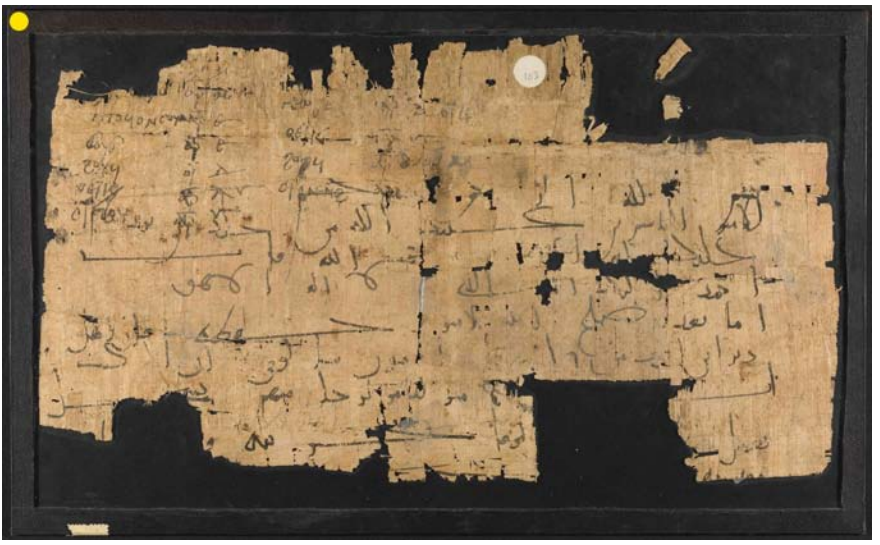

FIGURE 2.4 *Bodleian Library, Oxford. Pap.Bodl.MS.Copt.b.7 (P) verso*

٥ للامير القاسم بن عبيد الله من خلد بن يزيد وسلم
٦ عليك ..... رحمت الله فاني
٧ احمد اليك الـ[له] الذي لا اله الا هو
٨ اما بعد اصلح الله الامير وحفظه فان اهل
٩ دير ابن ايوب من ط.....علي (؟) ..... ا....عون (؟) مايومن (؟) ان اك (؟)
١٠ اب ... لامير ليامر لرجل منهم بشيء ... ل ...
١١ يعمل ..... يوما (؟) جزيته و ...
١٢ مقا ... ه .....

Translation

1. To al-Qāsim [b. ʿUbaydallāh ?]
2. ...
3. ...
4. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
5. To the *amīr* al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh from Khālid b. Yazīd. Peace
6. Upon you ... God's mercy. Verily I
7. Praise before you G[od], other than whom there is no god.

8. Now then: May God keep the *amīr* sound and protect him. Now the people of
9. The monastery of Ibn Ayyūb from …
10. … [the] *amīr* to order for one of their men (?) a thing …
11. … … his *jizya* (tribute? Tax in gold?)
12. …

Discussion and Notes

Line 2: the letter is addressed to al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh (b. al-Ḥabḥāb), son of the governor of Egypt whose chancery produced document 2. According to Zambauer (p. 26), ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb was governor of Egypt from 111 until 117, when he was replaced by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. Musāfir b. Khālid b. Thābit al-Fihrī, who governed until 119, followed by Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān b. Ṭawīl until 124, when al-Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd became governor. Adolf Grohmann, relying on information from al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, provides a similar sequence, inserting also the name of al-Walīd b. Rifāʿa, who is said to have replaced ʿUbaydallāh as governor in 117 but died the same year, to be followed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid.[11] Al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh is described by Kahle in his edition of the Coptic side of this text as "treasurer ca. AD 740,"[12] and Grohmann, in his edition of an all-Arabic protocol in the name of al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh, calls him "director of finances" from 116 until 13 Shaʿbān, 124 (= 734 until 22 June 742).[13]

However, the document before us clearly addresses al-Qāsim as *amīr*. The fact that the aforementioned protocol edited by Grohmann bears al-Qāsim's name also implies that he must have been governor, not merely finance director or treasurer, because protocols were issued in the name of the governors or caliphs, not of subordinate officials. It is worth noting, moreover, that no protocols seem to exist in the name of any of the three persons under whom, according to al-Maqrīzī, al-Qāsim served as subordinate: al-Walīd b. Rifāʿa, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid, or Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān. This is, of course, an argument from silence, but it seems likely more than just a coincidence that there survive no protocols for *all three* individuals. There is, moreover, one more bit of evidence to consider: Ibn ʿAsākir's entry on al-Qāsim states explicitly that he replaced his father as governor of Egypt: "[al-Qāsim] was with his father in Damascus, and went out with him to Egypt, and was put in charge of it as lieutenant (*khalīfa*) for his father during the caliphate of Hishām; then Hishām confirmed him over

11 Grohmann, *Protokolle*, 98.

12 Kahle, *Bala'izah*, 744.

13 *APEL*, 1:47–48 (no. 31); cf. also Grohmann, *Protokolle*, 94, 98 ff.

it [i.e., presumably as governor] when his father went out to be governor of Ifrīqiya." He also states that al-Qāsim was finally removed as governor of Egypt in the year 24 (i.e., 124/742) when Ḥafṣ was put in charge of "its *ʿarab* and its *ʿajam*."[14] There thus seems to be some confusion over the identity and dates of various governors of Egypt in the late Umayyad period, but our document appears to establish beyond any doubt that al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh served as Hishām's governor (*amīr*) of the province for at least a short period, during which this letter was addressed to him.

The identity of the sender of the letter is less certain. Reading the first name, understood here as "Khālid," is made difficult by the Greek letters/numerals that were written near it when the papyrus was re-used. The handwriting and state of preservation of the papyrus also contribute to the uncertainty over the sender's name. The medial *lām* is faint at the bottom of the stroke, and there seems to be a hook, somewhat resembling the letter *rāʾ*, following the *lām*. However, comparison of this cluster of letters with the word *ʿalayka* in line 6 shows that the scribe was in the habit of making a drooping ligature following a medial *lām*, which (presumably after refilling his pen in some cases?) he connected to the following letter. The *alif* in Khālid is, as usual in early texts, omitted. The reading "Khālid" thus seems fairly certain. The patronymic "Yazīd" is not affected by the overwriting and its reading can be considered secure.

Just who this Khālid b. Yazīd was remains unclear. He cannot be the best-known person with this name, Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, an Umayyad with close ties to the caliphs Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and ʿAbd al-Malik, because he died in 90/708–709, before this document was written.[15] The only likely possibility within the Umayyad family seems to be Khālid b. Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik; as nephew of the caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, he might be assumed to have had a role in the Umayyad administration and so to have been in a position to write to Hishām's governor of Egypt, al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh. However, we know almost nothing of this person except that he was executed in Damascus in 127/744–745 on orders of the caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad by the latter's governor there, Zāmil b. ʿAmr al-Saksakī, and crucified on the Jābiya gate.[16] This draconian penalty suggests that he may have been involved in some political

14 *TMD*, 49:116 (no. 5670).

15 On him see *TMD*, 16:301–315 (no. 1932); Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Jābir al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892), *Ansāb al-ashrāf* IVB, ed. M. Schloessinger (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1936), 65–71; Muḥammad b. Saʿd (d. 230/845), *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. E. Sachau et al., 9 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1917–1940), 5:28–30.

16 *TMD*, 16:315 (no. 1933).

intrigue against Marwān, but unfortunately our sources provide no hints and we know nothing of his earlier life. There is, of course, also the possibility that our Khālid b. Yazīd was not an Umayyad at all.

The fragment unfortunately breaks off shortly after the *incipit* formalities. It begins with a concern about the people of the monastery of Ibn Ayyūb,[17] and clearly involves tax questions—note the verb *yaʿmal/taʿmal* and the word *jizya* in line 11—but any further conclusions must remain speculative unless further bits of lines 9–12 can be deciphered. The writing in this fragment is also noteworthy in that it resembles very closely—indeed, is almost identical to—the hand of the scribe of Qurra b. Sharīk seen in document 1. This suggests that the document may originate from the governor's chancery in Egypt, perhaps even written by the same scribe, still working there fifteen years after Qurra's governorship; at least it suggests remarkable continuity (even in traditions of penmanship) in the Umayyad administration of Egypt.

In any case, this fragment is most significant; it provides documentary confirmation that al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb was actually governor of Egypt for a time, as suggested by his biographical entry in Ibn ʿAsākir.

4 Conclusion

The extremely fragmentary nature of these three documents prevents us, in most cases, from deriving much new historical information from them; we can take comfort in the knowledge that, even as fragments, they confirm the regularity and prevalence of chancery practices in Umayyad times. Naturally, we can also wish that more survived. However, even such fragments can occasionally yield important new tidbits of information that had escaped notice before, such as the fact that al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb served not merely as finance director, but as governor (*amīr*) of Egypt from about 117–124/735–742, as shown by Fragment 3.

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17 I have not been able to identify this monastery or its location.

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CHAPTER 3

Single *Isnād*s or *Riwāya*s? Quoted Books in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Tarjama* of Tamīm al-Dārī

*Jens Scheiner**

Historical writing in Islam consists of more than chronicles. A huge number of biographical dictionaries are also regarded as a branch of this genre.[1] This point was made more than once by Wadad Kadi who is an expert with profound knowledge in the field of biographical dictionaries[2] and to whom this paper is dedicated. Another point she stresses is the fact that biographical dictionaries are an "indigenous creation of the Muslim community."[3] Therefore, whoever is engaged with the historiography of the Islamic world (or with

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1 Of the vast amount of secondary sources on biographical literature see Hamilton A. Gibb, "Islamic Biographical Literature," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and Peter Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 54–58; Paul Auchterlonie, *Arabic Biographical Dictionaries: A Summary Guide and Bibliography* (Durham: Middle East Libraries Committee, 1987); M.J. Young, "Arabic Biographical Writing," in *Religion, Learning, and Science in the ʿAbbasid Period*, ed. M.J. Young, John D. Latham, and Robert B. Serjeant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990 [Reprinted in 2006]), 168–187, 534; Wadād al-Qāḍī, "Biography, Medieval," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. Julie Meisami and Paul Starkey (London: Routledge, 1998), 1:150–152; Michael Cooperson, "Biographical Literature," in *The New Cambridge History of Islam. Vol. 4: Islamic Cultures and Societies to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Robert Irwin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 458–473, 815–818; and the literature mentioned therein.

2 See for example: Wadād al-Qāḍī, "Biographical Dictionaries: Inner Structure and Cultural Significance," in *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, ed. George N. Atiyeh (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 94; and idem, "Biographical Dictionaries as the Scholars' Alternative History of the Muslim Community," in *Organizing Knowledge: Encyclopaedic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World*, ed. Gerhard Endreß (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 25. Furthermore, Wadad Kadi edited volume 16 of al-Ṣafadī's biographical dictionary *Kitāb al-wāfī bil-wafayāt* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1982).

3 Al-Qāḍī, "Biographical Dictionaries," 25.

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ḥadīth studies) will sooner or later consult the biographical dictionaries. These dictionaries are usually used, on the one hand, to obtain information about persons whose actions are described in them, or, on the other hand, to obtain information about persons who transmitted historical accounts to later generations. Biographical dictionaries offer information on the persons' *vitae*, their full names, death dates, or an evaluation of their characters. In addition, they usually include information about these individuals' lineage, their teachers and disciples, their scholarly discipline and their works. This kind of information helps contextualise a historical figure or a transmitter of *akhbār* and *ḥadīth*. Although approaching these dictionaries for biographical details can demand some caution, because the information cannot always be accepted at face value, it is still a valid approach which is undertaken regularly by scholars of Islamic studies.[4]

However, in a recent publication, Wadad Kadi offers a new and, in my eyes, very convincing reading of biographical dictionaries. She suggests understanding these works as a "communal historical alternative to the largely political chronicle."[5] Religious scholars (*'ulamā'*) developed biographical dictionaries as a counter-model to the political chronicles (*ta'rīkh*-works), in order to portray the history of the Muslim community through the achievements of non-political figures.[6] Given their scope, structure and style, these dictionaries served the scholars' needs best. By focusing on individual biographies rather than political events, the scholars who authored biographical dictionaries placed their precursors (and themselves) in the spotlight of the Muslim community and offered an alternative interpretation of its major players.

A well-known example of these biographical dictionaries which helped shape this alternative interpretation of Islamic history is the one by ʿAlī b. ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176).[7] Although this work, authored by a very famous scholar from Damascus, bears the title *History of the City of Damascus* (*Ta'rīkh madī-*

4 See Cooperson, "Biographical Literature," 459; and recently Jonathan Brockopp, "Contradictory Evidence and the Exemplary Scholar: The Lives of Sahnun b. Saʿid (d. 854)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43 (2011): 115–132.

5 Al-Qāḍī, "Biographical Dictionaries," 25.

6 Al-Qāḍī, "Biographical Dictionaries," 32.

7 On Ibn ʿAsākir, see Nikita Elisséeff, "Ibn ʿAsākir," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 3:736; Clifford E. Bosworth, "Ibn ʿAsākir (499–571/1105–76)," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. Julie Meisami and Paul Starkey (London: Routledge, 1998), 1:313; James E. Lindsay, "Ibn ʿAsākir, His Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq and Its Usefulness for Understanding Early Islamic History," in *Ibn ʿAsākir and Early Islamic History*, ed. James E. Lindsay (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 2001), 1–9.

nat Dimashq), it is in fact a voluminous biographical dictionary that includes biographies of scholars, rulers, and other important figures who lived in the city or in Greater Syria. Thus, Ibn ʿAsākir is telling the history of his city according to individual biographies and, by doing so, is in addition shaping an identity of Damascene scholarship.[8]

Among the persons Ibn ʿAsākir included in his work are several *quṣṣāṣ*, a term which is usually translated as 'storytellers.' One of the most famous among these *quṣṣāṣ* is Tamīm al-Dārī (d. 40/660–661), an early companion of the Prophet Muḥammad who is credited with many unique accomplishments.[9] Tamīm was a Christian who converted to Islam, had received a grant of land from the Prophet, was a very sincere believer and made several new contributions to Islam. Whereas his introduction of oil-lamps and a pulpit of three steps in the mosque of Medina made him an artisan,[10] his oratorical activities gave him a reputation as the first *qāṣṣ*.[11] Based on his maritime travels for trade, he became a literary figure in a seven-year journey of adventures which developed into a well-known popular epic.[12] Ibn ʿAsākir's *tarjama* on Tamīm amounts to thirty pages in the printed Beirut edition.[13] This means that Tamīm is not a

8 Zayde Antrim has analyzed the role of Ibn ʿAsākir's topological introduction to the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* in the shaping of Damascene identity. See Zayde Antrim, "Ibn ʿAsakir's Representation of Syria and Damascus in the Introduction to the Taʾrikh Madinat Dimashq," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38 (2006): 109–129.

9 On this companion to Muḥammad see G. Levi Della Vida, "Tamīm ad-Dārī," in *Enzyklopaedie des Islam. Geographisches, ethnographisches und biographisches Wörterbuch der muhammedanischen Völker* (Leiden: Brill, 1934), 4:700–702; Wadīʿa Ṭāhā al-Najm, "Tamīm al-Dārī: Awwal qāṣṣ fī l-Islām?!" *Majallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb al-ʿIrāqiyya* 5 (1962): 293–314; Michael Lecker, "Tamīm al-Dārī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 10:176.

10 Avinoam Shalem, "Tamīm al-Dārī: A Portrait of Him as the First Muslim Artisan," *Oriente moderno* 84 (2004): 507–515.

11 See below, section 5 on Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

12 For an Arabic version of this epic, see René Basset, "Les aventures merveilleuses de Temim ed Dāri," *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 5 (1891): 3–26. For an earlier Tamil version and an overview of its content, see David Shulman, "Muslim Popular Literature in Tamil: The Tamīmancāri Mālai," in *Islam in Asia. Volume I: South Asia*, ed. Yohanan Friedmann (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1984), 182–187.

13 ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176), *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. ʿUmar al-ʿAmrawī and ʿAlī Shīrī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1415–1421/1995–2001), 11:52–82. In the Damascus edition, Tamīm al-Dārī's *tarjama* is found in Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Damascus: Maṭbūʿāt al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī, 1383/1963), 10:446–482. For this article I made use of the Beirut edition.

marginal figure in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*,[14] but is treated as an important early Muslim instead.[15]

1 Ibn ʿAsākir's *tarjama* of Tamīm al-Dārī

What does Ibn ʿAsākir tell us about Tamīm al-Dārī? Ibn ʿAsākir's *tarjama* can be divided into roughly four thematic parts and displays a structure which is in accord with other biographies in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*.[16] In the first part, he gives an overview of the most important biographical information about Tamīm, starting with his full name: Tamīm b. Aws b. Khārija b. Suwād b. Judhayma b. Dirāʿ b. ʿAdī b. al-Dār […]. Then Ibn ʿAsākir informs the reader that Tamīm was a companion of the Prophet (*lahu ṣuḥba*), and that he transmitted sayings from the Prophet. After that Ibn ʿAsākir lists fifteen persons who had transmitted *ḥadīth* on the authority of Tamīm (*rawā ʿanhu*). Among them is the Prophet Muḥammad, who uniquely transmits the *Ḥadīth al-Jassāsa* from Tamīm al-Dārī.[17] Ibn ʿAsākir finishes his introductory remarks on Tamīm by stating that Tamīm used to live either in Palestine or, according to others, in

14 Besides, there are many other traditions mentioning Tamīm in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* which can easily be found using an electronic database, such as the *Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*. However, these traditions will not be taken into account in this article.

15 For another extensive account on Tamīm al-Dārī, see Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), *Kitāb Ḍawʾ al-sārī li-maʿrifat khabar Tamīm al-Dārī*, which has been published in Charles Matthews, "Maqrīzī's Treatise "Ḍauʾ as-Sārī" on the Tamīmī Waqf in Hebron," *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 19–20 (1939–1946): 147–179; and most recently in *Ḍawʾ al-sârî li-maʿrifat ḫabar Tamîm al-Dârî: On Tamīm al-Dārī and His Waqf in Hebron*, ed. Y. Frenkel (Leiden: Brill, 2014). Al-Maqrīzī, who mentions most of the material discussed below and also quotes Ibn ʿAsākir by name (Matthews, "Maqrīzī's Treatise," 169), furthermore states his legal opinion regarding the Dārī *waqf* in the final part of this treatise.

16 This topical arrangement was already observed by Steven Judd, who describes the typical structure of Ibn ʿAsākir's biographical entries for scholars. See Steven Judd, "Ibn ʿAsākir's Sources for the Late Umayyad Period," in *Ibn ʿAsākir and Early Islamic History*, ed. James E. Lindsay (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 2001), 96–97. For a similar analysis of Ibn ʿAsākir's structure see James Lindsay, who studied the *tarjama* of one of Ibn ʿAsākir's main teachers, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Kattānī (d. 466/1074), in James Lindsay, "Damascene Scholars during the Fāṭimid Period: An Examination of ʿAlī b. ʿAsākir's Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashq," *Al-Masāq* 7 (1994): 46–54; and Fred Donner, "ʿUthmān and the Rāshidūn Caliphs in Ibn ʿAsākir's Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq: A Study in Strategies of Compilation," in *Ibn ʿAsākir and Early Islamic History*, ed. James E. Lindsay (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 2001), 51.

17 Lecker, "Tamīm al-Dārī," 10:176.

Damascus, which is why he included him in his *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*. In the next part of his *tarjama*, Ibn ʿAsākir quotes verbatim the *ḥadīth*s Tamīm al-Dārī is said to have transmitted. Among them is first the *Ḥadīth al-Jassāsa*, according to which Tamīm and his companions who when shipwrecked on an island, were taken by a man, called al-Jassāsa, to a monastery. There they were questioned by another man who is later identified as the Dajjāl. During their interrogation Tamīm testifies to Muḥammad as his Prophet.[18] Ibn ʿAsākir, who was a *ḥadīth* scholar by training, comments on this *ḥadīth* by saying: "This tradition is strange, but preserved (*hādhā ḥadīth gharīb wa-l-maḥfūẓ*)."[19] The second *ḥadīth* is a prophetic tradition, which Ibn ʿAsākir quotes in five variants. Therein, Muḥammad says: "In fact religion is faithful counsel (*innamā al-dīn al-naṣīḥa*)." The third *ḥadīth*, also a prophetic tradition which speaks of the Angel of Death (*malak al-mawt*), covers four pages.[20]

After quoting these traditions the rest of Tamīm's *tarjama* covers biographical information Ibn ʿAsākir received from earlier authorities. In the third part, he gives parallel traditions on Tamīm's name on the authority of, e.g., Ibn Isḥāq (d. 151/767) and Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ (d. 240/854), and thirteen versions on the Dārī delegation to the Prophet and on the land the Prophet granted to Tamīm in or near Hebron[21] on the authority of, e.g., Muḥammad al-Wāqidī (d. 207/822) and Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838). Then Ibn ʿAsākir quotes three traditions which can be understood as evaluations of Tamīm's character, among them the *ḥadīth* in which Tamīm misappropriates the bequest of a man from the Banū Sahm.[22] In the fourth and final part, he lists traditions that describe Tamīm's religious life, e.g., his conversion to Islam. In addition Tamīm is said in three traditions to have been part of the committee for the collection of the

18 For other references regarding this *ḥadīth*, see David Cook, "Tamīm al-Dārī," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 61 (1998): 20, n. 3. The version in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is given in Shulman, "Muslim Popular Literature," 180.

19 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 11:52.

20 This *ḥadīth* warrants being explored in more detail. However, space and time do not allow a deeper analysis here.

21 On this fictitious land grant which often played a role in legal debates until Ottoman times, see F. Krenkow, "The Grant of Land by Muḥammad to Tamīm ad-Dārī," *Islamica* 1 (1925): 529–532; al-Najm, "Tamīm al-Dārī," 306–314; Nazmi al-Jubeh, *Hebron* (*al-Ḫalīl*). *Kontinuität und Integrationskraft einer islamisch-arabischen Stadt* (Tübingen: [s.n.], 1991), 110–118, 125–160. The first scholar who, according to my knowledge, expressed his skepticism about this land grant was Julius Wellhausen. See Julius Wellhausen, "Ibn Saʿd, die Schreiben Muhammads und die Gesandtschaften an ihn," in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten: Viertes Heft*, ed. Julius Wellhausen (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1889), 90, n. 1.

22 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 11:69.

Qur'ān. Another five *ḥadīth*s mention him reading the whole Qur'ān in eight consecutive nights. Then he is said to have recited the Qur'ān in a loud voice, while two traditions describe a particular place in the mosque of Medina, at which Tamīm used to pray. He is further portrayed as an exegete of the Qur'ān, as an ascetic, and as a man who read the Qur'ān diligently. One tradition shows Tamīm's way of preaching, whereas four other traditions note that he preached wearing a special cloak. Another subset of traditions describes Tamīm al-Dārī as a *qāṣṣ*. Among them is the famous *ḥadīth* according to which Tamīm was the first *qāṣṣ* (*kāna awwal man qaṣṣa Tamīm al-Dārī*), that Ibn ʿAsākir quotes in two versions.[23] In four other versions Ibn ʿAsākir presents the tradition according to which Tamīm asked ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb for permission to practice *qaṣaṣ* and which ʿUmar cautiously granted. Then, in another tradition, Ibn ʿAsākir notes ʿUmar's assessment of Tamīm as *qāṣṣ*. Ibn ʿAsākir's *tarjama* of Tamīm ends with a tradition according to which Tamīm asks ʿUmar about shortening the length of prayers while seafaring and with two versions of the *ḥadīth* that herald Tamīm for illuminating the mosque of Medina.[24]

Ibn ʿAsākir's *tarjama* is the longest and most comprehensive biographical account on Tamīm al-Dārī that is available to us. It includes most of the information we know about Tamīm.[25] Ibn ʿAsākir makes use of a long tradition of biographical writing for this *tarjama*.[26] This becomes obvious in particular in the last two parts, where he quotes numerous earlier scholars, such as Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), Muḥammad al-Wāqidī, Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, al-Madā'inī (d. 228/843), Muḥammad b. Saʿd (d. 230/845), Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn (d. 233/847), Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), Muslim b. Ḥajjāj (d. 261/875), al-Nasā'ī (d. 303/915), Ibn Manda (d. 395/1005), and ʿAlī b. Mākūlā (d. ca. 470s/1077–1087).[27] These scholars are mainly early historians (*akhbāriyyūn*), genealogists, *ḥadīth* scholars or writers who authored biographical dictionaries and lexicons.

23 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 11:80.

24 The repetition of several traditions was identified by Fred Donner as a textual strategy ("strategy of repetition") of Ibn ʿAsākir aiming at stressing the respective point included in these traditions. See Donner, "Strategies of Compilation," 58.

25 For further information, see Lecker, "Tamīm al-Dārī," 10:176.

26 For a general appreciation of this fact and the significance of Ibn ʿAsākir's *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq* in this regard, see Gerhard Conrad, "Zur Bedeutung des Ta'rīḫ madīnat Dimašq als historische Quelle," in *XXIV. Deutscher Orientalistentag. Vom 26. bis 30. September 1988 in Köln. Ausgewählte Vorträge*, ed. Werner Diem and Abdoldjavad Falaturi (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), 273.

27 This list is not exhaustive, but only mentions the most important early scholars.

Ibn ʿAsākir does not quote these authorities with a short *isnād*, such as *qāla* Ibn Saʿd, rather he provides for almost every tradition a full *isnād* which is five and more generations deep (see figures 1 to 5). In this *tarjama* he also does not refer to earlier books, e.g., by giving their titles. This lack of direct reference to earlier works is in accord with other *tarjama*s in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, as Steven Judd has already observed.[28] Therefore, one major problem that everyone has to face who studies Ibn ʿAsākir's sources is how to understand these *isnād*s. Do they show individual paths of transmission for the *matn* or are they in fact *riwāya*s for works authored by previous authorities whose manuscripts were available to Ibn ʿAsākir? The remaining part of the article is devoted to the exploration of this question and thus helps to sort out the concern Judd has identified, namely, to "distinguish between written sources and other types of reports" found in Ibn ʿAsākir's biographical dictionary.[29] This problem can be addressed by comparing the individual quotations in Ibn ʿAsākir's *tarjama* of Tamīm with extant works by the authors quoted. For instance, comparing Ibn ʿAsākir's quotations with Abū ʿUbayd's *The Book about the Imposts* (*Kitāb al-amwāl*) yields insight into Ibn ʿAsākir's method of citation. Furthermore, it answers the question of whether he had Abū ʿUbayd's book at hand. The closer Ibn ʿAsākir's quotations resemble the text in the *vorlage* the higher the probability that he made use of a completed book (*syngramma*) by the author quoted. If the two texts resemble one another very closely or even verbatim, then the chain of the transmitters showing the transmission of the tradition from the author to Ibn ʿAsākir is hypothetically Ibn ʿAsākir's *riwāya* of the work and not an individual *isnād* for that tradition. This hypothesis can be supported by comparing the *isnād* from the tradition in discussion with other examples in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*.[30] The more often a particular *isnād* arises, the more probable is the assumption that the *isnād* is the *riwāya* of a previous written source.[31] An assessment of the *isnād*s of this kind then allows for some remarks on the availability of books, for instance in a library, from the side of Ibn ʿAsākir.

28 Judd, "Ibn ʿAsākir's Sources," 95.

29 Judd, "Ibn ʿAsākir's Sources," 95.

30 Such a comparison can best be undertaken with a digital version of the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*.

31 This criterion was also used by Atassi who studied the transmission of Ibn Saʿd's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*. See Ahmad N. Atassi, "The Transmission of Ibn Saʿd's Biographical Dictionary Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 12 (2012): 58.

Since we do not have all the works authored by the early authorities who are named above, a complete assessment of Ibn ʿAsākir's sources is impossible.[32] This is why I am going to scrutinize five of the sources still available, so that this case study might allow for some cautious generalizations on Ibn ʿAsākir's method of citation. These five scholars are: Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, Muḥammad b. Saʿd, al-Bukhārī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and ʿAlī b. Mākūlā. All of them authored a work that is available to us today. Ibn ʿAsākir quotes in the *tarjama* of Tamīm al-Dārī at least one tradition transmitted via these five scholars. This allows for a comparison of the scholars' works with Ibn ʿAsākir's traditions quoted in their names and adds evidence to the sources Steven Judd has already studied using a similar approach.[33] It will become clear from this comparison that, on the one hand, Judd's findings that Ibn ʿAsākir most often quoted these authors faithfully are supported through another angle of investigation.[34] On the other hand, the question raised by Judd on distinguishing between Ibn ʿAsākir's written sources and other reports is answered in the present study which argues that Ibn ʿAsākir at least in several cases gave the *riwāya* for a number of these earlier scholars' works. Both results are interrelated, of course. Only because Ibn ʿAsākir had these works at hand, could he quote them that faithfully. Finally, I will comment on Ibn ʿAsākir's access to books and future research perspectives along these lines.

32 Steven Judd even argues that there are "a plethora of sources that remain [...] in some cases unidentifiable" (Judd, "Ibn ʿAsākir's Sources," 99).

33 In his study on Ibn ʿAsākir's sources, Steven Judd focused on Abū Zurʿa al-Dimashqī (d. 281/894), Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), Ibn Saʿd, Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/939), Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī (d. 403/1013), al-Bukhārī and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) (Judd, "Ibn ʿAsākir's Sources"). Ibn Saʿd and al-Bukhārī are also studied in this paper and facilitate checking the results with Judd's analysis.

34 Whereas Steven Judd analyzed the sources which occurred in the biographical entries of four scholars, i.e., al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/773), Makḥūl al-Shāmī (d. ca. 113/731), Thawr b. Yazīd (d. 153/770), ʿAmr b. Muhājir (d. 139/756), and four caliphs, i.e., Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 105/744), al-Walīd b. Yazīd (d. 126/743), Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd (d. 127/744), Marwān b. Muḥammad (d. 132/750), from the Umayyad period, I study one long *tarjama* of a companion in greater detail. For Judd's approach, see Judd, "Ibn ʿAsākir's Sources," 79–82. For his results, see ibid., 95, 97.

2 Ibn ʿAsākir and Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām

Ibn ʿAsākir quotes six traditions from Abū ʿUbayd in the *tarjama* of Tamīm al-Dārī.[35] Five of them concern land grants, whereas the sixth gives Tamīm's affiliation to the tribes of Lakhm or Judhām.[36] I did not find a parallel for the latter in Abū ʿUbayd's *Kitāb al-amwāl*, although its style and structure makes it probable that it was included therein at some point.[37] The other five traditions, however, are found in the *Kitāb al-amwāl*, which is not a biographical dictionary proper, but a work on taxation.[38] However, one can be sure that Abū ʿUbayd was the author of the *Kitāb al-amwāl* as it is known today.[39] Based on previous research it is to be expected that Ibn ʿAsākir quotes Abū ʿUbayd very thoroughly.[40] In fact this is also the case in the *tarjama* of Tamīm al-Dārī. Regarding the five traditions, Ibn ʿAsākir quotes Abū ʿUbayd literally, although the sequence of the traditions differs from that in the *Kitāb al-amwāl*.[41] This literal quotation also includes the *isnād*s from Abū ʿUbayd to the first transmitter.[42] The chain of transmitters from Abū ʿUbayd to Ibn ʿAsākir is the one which Ibn ʿAsākir always uses when quoting material from the *Kitāb al-amwāl* (see figure 1).[43] Because of its regular occurrence in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* this chain of transmitters is the *riwāya* according to which Ibn ʿAsākir quotes the

35 On Abū ʿUbayd, see Andreas Görke, *Das Kitāb al-amwāl des Abū ʿUbaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām. Entstehung und Überlieferung eines frühislamischen Rechtswerkes* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 2003); Jens Scheiner, "Steuern und Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen ʿAbbāsidenzeit. Das Kitāb al-amwāl des Abū ʿUbaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 162 (2012): 53–93, 317–352.

36 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 11:66–67.

37 It could also be a tradition Ibn ʿAsākir transmitted from Abū ʿUbayd independently from the *Kitāb al-amwāl*. However, this possibility seems less likely.

38 Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838), *Kitāb al-amwāl*, ed. Muḥammad Khalīl Harrās, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1406/1986), 288; idem, *The Book of Revenue*, trans. Imran Khan Nyazee (Reading: Garnett Press, 2003), 270–271.

39 Görke, *Das Kitāb al-amwāl*, 169 and 89.

40 See Görke, *Das Kitāb al-amwāl*, 112–119; Jens Scheiner, *Die Eroberung von Damaskus. Quellenkritische Untersuchung zur Historiographie in klassisch-islamischer Zeit* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 29.

41 The slight differences in the wording are only transmission variants, like *ṣallā Allāh* instead of *ṣalawāt Allāh*, editing mistakes, like *qilāya* instead of *fulāna*, or a replacement of the expressions *fīhā* and *lahu*.

42 However, there is an editorial mistake in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*. In the first tradition Ibn Jurayj is referred to as "Ibn Abī Jurayj" (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 11:66).

43 For further examples, see Scheiner, *Die Eroberung von Damaskus*, 27, 31, 53, 158.

Kitāb al-amwāl and not an *isnād* for an individual tradition.[44] One can therefore conclude that Ibn ʿAsākir had Abū ʿUbayd's *Kitāb al-amwāl* at hand and extracted the traditions which mention Tamīm al-Dārī and the land grants.

3 Ibn ʿAsākir and Muḥammad b. Saʿd

Ibn ʿAsākir quotes eight traditions[45] in his biographical entry on Tamīm al-Dārī which he traces back to Ibn Saʿd.[46] In traditions nos. 1 and 4, the *tarjama* of Tamīm is very similar to the *tarjama* in Ibn Saʿd's biographical dictionary, the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*,[47] which Wadad Kadi has classified as a "restricted biographical dictionary."[48] Although there are some minor additions found in Ibn ʿAsākir's quotations[49] and a slightly different word order in tradition no. 4, the content and wording is exactly the same in both versions. Tradition no. 2,

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44 This conclusion is supported by Görke's findings and the several verbatim quotations of Abū ʿUbayd's *Kitāb al-amwāl*. See Görke, *Das Kitāb al-amwāl*, 114.

45 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 11:59 (nos. 1 and 2), 63 (no. 3), 68 (no. 4), 73 (no. 5), 74 (nos. 6 and 7), 75 (no. 8). Atassi counted more than 250 traditions from Ibn Saʿd which are quoted in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*. See Atassi, "The Transmission," 61.

46 On Muḥammad b. Saʿd, see Otto Loth, *Das Classenbuch des Ibn Saʿd. Einleitende Untersuchungen über Authentie und Inhalt nach den handschriftlichen Überresten* (Leipzig: G. Kreysing, 1869); Johann Fück, "Ibn Saʿd," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 3:922–923; ʿIzz al-Dīn Mūsā, *Ibn Saʿd wa-ṭabaqātuhū* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1407/1987); Michael Cooperson, "Ibn Saʿd (784–16 February 845)," in *Arabic Literary Culture, 500–925*, ed. Michael Cooperson and Shawkat Toorawa (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2005), 193–204.

47 Muḥammad b. Saʿd (d. 230/845), *Biographien Muhammeds, seiner Gefährten und der späteren Träger des Islams bis zum Jahre 230 der Flucht*, ed. Eduard Sachau et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1918), 7–2:129–130. The new edition, including the later discovered section, is *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā: hādhih al-ṭabʿa fīhā al-qism al-mutammim li-tābiʿī ahl al-Madīna wa-man baʿdahum min rubʿ al-ṭabaqa al-thālitha ilā muntaṣaf al-ṭabaqa al-sādisa*, ed. Suhayl Kayyālī, 6 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1994). On the structure of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, see al-Qāḍī, "Inner structure," 97–99.

48 Al-Qāḍī, "Inner structure," 102. Wadad Kadi is currently preparing a forthcoming complete edition and an English translation of Ibn Saʿd's work. See Wadād al-Qāḍī, "In the Footsteps of Arabic Biographical Literature: A Journey, Unfinished, in the Company of Knowledge," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 68 (2009): 252.

49 The major addition in Ibn ʿAsākir's tradition no. 1 (i.e., Mālik b. ʿAdī b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Adad [b. ?] Yashjib b. ʿArīb) before Tamīm's full name seems to be a copyist's mistake, because this *nasab* has nothing to do with Tamīm. It could have been someone else's name and mistakenly included in this *tarjama*.

which states that Tamīm stayed in Medina until ʿUthmān's death, is another example of a literal quotation from Ibn Saʿd's work. Since it offers the same information as no. 4 (using another *isnād*), it seems to be a parallel version to the latter. Tradition no. 3 provides more details on the Dārī delegation to the Prophet, which is included in a shorter version in the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*. However, Tamīm's *nasab* which is also included in tradition no. 3 is equal to the *nasab* in Ibn Saʿd's work. Tradition no. 5 clearly goes beyond the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*. Whereas Ibn Saʿd simply states that Tamīm converted to Islam, Ibn ʿAsākir cites a long tradition in which Tamīm met a *jinnī* in an empty *wādī* and finally went to Medina to convert at the hands of the Prophet. Traditions nos. 6 to 8 depict Tamīm as a collector and reciter of the Qurʾān. Nos. 6 and 7 are found in the edition of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, however, not in Tamīm's *tarjama*, but in the section speaking of *Those who Collected the Qurʾān during the Lifetime of the Prophet* (*Dhikr man jamaʿ al-Qurʾān ʿalā ʿahd rasūl Allāh*).[50] Ibn ʿAsākir quotes these two traditions literally. Tradition no. 8 however contains additional material which Ibn ʿAsākir includes in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*.[51] Thus, evidence from the *matn*s is mixed. There are major literal quotations from Ibn Saʿd's work in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, a parallel version, an extension and an additional tradition. Obviously, Ibn ʿAsākir did not only mine the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, but (re)shaped the material in a creative manner.

Looking at the *isnād*s of these eight traditions, some interesting points can be made. Traditions nos. 1 and 2 stop at the level of Ibn Saʿd, i.e., they do not name Ibn Saʿd's informants. This suggests that Ibn ʿAsākir quoted them directly from the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, a hypothesis which is supported by the additional information he gives in both cases: "[Muḥammad b. Saʿd said] in the fourth layer (*fī l-ṭabaqa al-rābiʿa*)."[52] The usage of Ibn Saʿd's work is also supported by the transmission terminology Ibn ʿAsākir uses when introducing

50 Ibn Saʿd, *Biographien Muhammeds*, 2–2:113.

51 Ibn ʿAsākir excludes other information on Tamīm al-Dārī which is found in the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*. From Tamīm's *tarjama* in the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* he does not quote the sentence *wa-ṣaḥiba Tamīm rasūl Allāh* (Tamīm was a companion of the Messenger of God). It should have been a part of tradition no. 4. Ibn ʿAsākir probably leaves it out here because he gives the information in the beginning of Tamīm's *tarjama*. Furthermore, he does not quote Ibn Saʿd's traditions about the Prophet's new pulpit (*minbar*), the horse Tamīm presented to the Prophet and Tamīm's place of prayer in the mosque of Medina.

52 Tradition no. 1 is even more precise: *fī l-ṭabaqa al-rābiʿa min Lakhm*. This information cannot be confirmed by Sachau's edition of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*. Therein Tamīm is listed under the companions who settled in Syria (7–2:111) without mentioning the *ṭabaqa*.

tradition no. 1: "I read in the presence of (*qara'tu ʿalā*)." Tradition no. 4 is in many ways similar to nos. 1 and 2. It also starts with the phrase *qara'tu ʿalā* and does not give a full *isnād* from Ibn Saʿd to the first transmitter. However, it identifies Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (i.e., al-Wāqidī) as Ibn Saʿd's source. If this ascription of the information is true, then some of the things we know about Tamīm are derived from al-Wāqidī.[53] However, al-Wāqidī's name could also be a later addition to the *isnād* made by someone who knew about the close relationship between both scholars (Ibn Saʿd is usually referred to as *ṣāḥib* or *kātib* al-Wāqidī). I assume this is the case, because, in wording, tradition no. 4 resembles the report in the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* very closely, in which al-Wāqidī is not mentioned in this context.

The *isnād* of tradition no. 2 stands out from all the others.[54] It represents another recension, i.e., the one via Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (d. 281/894), which was also familiar to Ibn ʿAsākir. He might have quoted this *isnād* here, in order to show that he knew more than one line of transmission for this tradition.[55] All other traditions (nos. 1 through 8, except for 2) show a high degree of overlap in their *isnāds*. Ibn ʿAsākir received them either from his teacher Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Anṣārī al-Sulamī al-Qāḍī (d. 535/1141) (nos. 3, 6, 7) or from his other teacher Abū Ghālib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Bannā (d. 527/1132) (nos. 1, 4, 5, 8). The *isnād* then continues to Ibn Saʿd via Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Jawharī (d. 454/1062) > Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās b. Ḥayyawayh al-Khazzāz (d. 382/992) > Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Maʿrūf b. Bishr b. Mūsā al-Khashshāb (d. 332/934) > Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Fahm (d. 289/901) or—depending on the content—Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad b. Abī Usāma al-Tamīmī (d. 282/895) > Muḥammad b. Saʿd (see figure 2). Two anomalies from this standard *isnād* occur: tradition no. 3 names al-Ḥārith al-Tamīmī instead of Ibn al-Fahm as Ibn Saʿd's transmitter; and tradition no. 4 includes three additional transmitters in the *isnād* between Abū

53 On the relationship between Ibn Saʿd's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* and al-Wāqidī's works, see Otto Loth, "Ursprung und Bedeutung der Ṭabaḳāt, vornehmlich der des Ibn Saʿd," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 23 (1869): 604.

54 It reads as follows: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Shujāʿ [al-Laftiwānī] > Abū ʿAmr [ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq] b. Manda > Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar > Abū Bakr b. Abī l-Dunyā > Muḥammad b. Saʿd, *qāl fī l-ṭabaqa al-rābiʿa*.

55 This evidence correlates with Steven Judd's observation that Ibn ʿAsākir relied on more than one recension of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*. In Steven Judd's sample Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's recension was used more often (and more prominently) than the others. See Judd, "Ibn ʿAsākir's Sources," 89–90, 96.

Muḥammad al-Jawharī and Ibn Ḥayyawayh.[56] The difference in the *isnād* of tradition no. 3 can be explained by the assumption that this tradition which describes the Dārī delegation to Muḥammad could have been part of the *sīra* section of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* which was—in contrast to the *ṭabaqāt* sections—transmitted by al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāma.[57] Regarding the anomaly in tradition no. 4, it cannot be ruled out that the *isnād* is corrupt, due to the fact that al-Jawharī's name is given twice. The *isnād*s of traditions nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8 are traced back to earlier scholars, such as al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) or Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110/728). The *isnād*s of traditions nos. 1, 4, 5, and 8 are introduced by Ibn ʿAsākir using the phrase *qara'tu ʿalā*.

The *isnād* common to all but one tradition going back to Ibn Saʿd and described above is the standard *isnād* for the transmission of the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*. It was already discussed by Otto Loth in his *habilitationsschrift* which he wrote in 1869, when he was 19 years old.[58] According to Loth, Abū Bakr al-Bāqī received an *ijāza* from Abū Muḥammad al-Jawharī while still a child.[59] Al-Jawharī transmitted the work in a written version from Ibn Ḥayyawayh, who was responsible for the "final form" of Ibn Saʿd's work, in particular for the division in various parts (*ajzāʾ*).[60] Ibn Ḥayyawayh attended lectures by Ibn Maʿrūf who was responsible for the "form, the scope, and the arrangement" of the work.[61] Ibn Maʿrūf had chosen Ibn Saʿd's *sīra* as transmitted by al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāma and Ibn Saʿd's *ṭabaqāt* sections as transmitted by al-Ḥusayn b. al-Fahm and joined them into what today is known as *Great Book of Classes* (*Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*).[62] This means that al-Ḥusayn b. al-Fahm is the redactor of Ibn Saʿd's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* proper and the one who "published" it during his lectures.[63] Ibn al-Fahm undertook this redactional work in ca. 238/853.[64] This also included adding a few biographical entries, among which was the one mentioning Ibn Saʿd as Wüstenfeld has already observed in his discussion of the *Kitāb*

56 They are: al-Jawharī's uncle > Ibn Yūsuf > al-Jawharī.

57 Loth, *Das Classenbuch*, 27.

58 Loth, *Das Classenbuch*, 18–34. In a recent article Ahmad Atassi mostly repeats Loth's findings and further illumes the transmission process. See Atassi, "The Transmission," 61–78.

59 Loth, *Das Classenbuch*, 18.

60 Loth, *Das Classenbuch*, 24.

61 Loth, *Das Classenbuch*, 26.

62 Loth, *Das Classenbuch*, 27.

63 Loth, *Das Classenbuch*, 30.

64 Loth, *Das Classenbuch*, 31.

al-ṭabaqāt's Gotha manuscript.[65] However, Loth stresses that the "intellectual property" of the work belonged to Ibn Saʿd.[66]

From these findings one can infer that the above-mentioned chain of transmitters represents the *riwāya* according to which Ibn ʿAsākir received Ibn Saʿd's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*. This is the case of traditions nos. 1, 4, 6, and 7, the *matn*s of which are mostly literal quotations from Ibn Saʿd's work. This interpretation also holds true for tradition no. 3 which originated from Ibn Saʿd's *sīra* section.[67] However, what can be made of traditions nos. 5 and 8 which clearly go beyond the information preserved in the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*? Why are they not included in the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* if their chain of transmitters was the *riwāya* of this work? One explanation could be that the *isnād*s of these two traditions are later additions to the *matn*s which did not have a complete *isnād* from Ibn Saʿd to Ibn ʿAsākir. This would suggest that Ibn ʿAsākir (or a later transmitter of his work) transferred the standard *isnād* of Ibn Saʿd's work to individual traditions which were transmitted in Ibn Saʿd's name.[68] This hypothesis is supported by the observation that traditions nos. 5 and 8 also offer an *isnād* from Ibn Saʿd to the first transmitter. These parts of the *isnād*s which are also not found in the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* are difficult to check. Traditions nos. 5 and 8 hence resemble individual *ḥadīth*s which were not excerpts from Ibn Saʿd's book. If this is the case, then the chains of transmitters of traditions nos. 5 and 8 do not represent the *riwāya* but are individual *isnād*s for these traditions.

In summing up, the evidence from Ibn Saʿd's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* shows that Ibn ʿAsākir had a written manuscript of the work at hand from which he copied traditions nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, and 7. He had received this manuscript through the *riwāya* which is the standard way of transmission for Ibn Saʿd's work. In addition, Ibn ʿAsākir seems to have also known the work in another recension from which he quotes a parallel version (i.e., tradition no. 2). Apart from that, Ibn ʿAsākir offers additional information about Tamīm al-Dārī which is not found in the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* (traditions nos. 5 and 8). These traditions are equipped with a full *isnād* from the level of the *tābiʿūn* to Ibn ʿAsākir, which

65 Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, "Über das Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kabīr vom Sekretär des Wāḳidī," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 4 (1850): 193–194.

66 Loth, *Das Classenbuch*, 32.

67 It should be repeated here that tradition no. 2 is a parallel version of tradition no. 4, based on the evidence from *matn* and *isnād*.

68 Steven Judd, who commented upon this phenomenon, argued for another possible explanation, i.e., that these traditions belonged to the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, but were lost during the transmission process of the manuscripts on which the edition is based. See Judd, "Ibn ʿAsākir's Sources," 89.

in its upper part is similar to the standard *riwāya*. It is therefore possible that Ibn ʿAsākir (or a later transmitter of his work) amended these two individual *isnāds* according to the well-known chain of transmission.

4 Ibn ʿAsākir and al-Bukhārī

In his *tarjama* on Tamīm al-Dārī, Ibn ʿAsākir also quotes a tradition[69] from the famous *ḥadīth* scholar al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870).[70] This tradition gives a short version of Tamīm's name (*Tamīm b. Aws Abū Ruqayya al-Dārī*), states that Tamīm settled in Syria, and names Tamīm's brother (*Abū Hind al-Dārī*). A similar tradition is found in al-Bukhārī's biographical dictionary,[71] *The Great Biographical Dictionary* (*al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*),[72] which contains approximately 11,500 brief biographical entries of *ḥadīth* transmitters[73] and therefore belongs to the "restricted biographical dictionaries," according to al-Qāḍī's classification.[74] As Melchert noted, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr* is "strikingly independent" of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*,[75] because it includes many figures who do not appear in any of al-Bukhārī's *ḥadīth* collections.[76] Although Melchert has identified some corrections and additions to *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr* after al-Bukhārī's death, he argues that al-Bukhārī did assemble the work "in about the size and form in which we have it."[77]

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69 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 11:61.

70 On al-Bukhārī, see James Robson, "al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1960), 1:1296–1297; Christopher Melchert, "al-Bukhārī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Three* (Leiden: Brill, 2007–. Online version; last accessed 03.09.2013); Ghassan Abdul-Jabbar, *Bukhari* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007); Christopher Melchert, "Al-Bukhārī and His *Ṣaḥīḥ*," *Le Muséon* 123 (2010): 425–454.

71 See Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr* (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1941–1959), 1:150–151 (no. 2016).

72 On *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, see F. Krenkow, "The Tarikh of the Imam al-Bukhari," *Islamic Culture* 8 (1934): 643–648; Christopher Melchert, "Bukhārī and Early Hadith Criticism," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121 (2001): 7–19.

73 The figure is in accordance with the numbering in the edition. See al-Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*. According to Melchert's count, the dictionary includes 12,300 entries. See Melchert, "Bukhārī and Early Hadith," 8.

74 Al-Qāḍī, "Inner structure," 102. For the structure of *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, see idem, "Inner structure," 104–105.

75 Melchert, "Bukhārī and Early Hadith," 12.

76 Melchert, "Bukhārī and Early Hadith," 10.

77 Melchert, "Bukhārī and Early Hadith," 10.

I do not know of a study which compares al-Bukhārī's *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr* systematically with later quotations in other works. In the case of Tamīm's *tarjama* one can observe a very close connection between al-Bukhārī's and Ibn ʿAsākir's biographical entries. Ibn ʿAsākir quotes al-Bukhārī's work verbatim,[78] leaving out however the two prophetic traditions[79] al-Bukhārī had included for reasons Ibn ʿAsākir did not mention.[80] Although there is only one tradition from al-Bukhārī in Ibn ʿAsākir's *tarjama* of Tamīm, the evidence in the *matn*s allows for the hypothesis that Ibn ʿAsākir had al-Bukhārī's work at hand—a hypothesis which is supported by the *isnād*. As in the case of Ibn Saʿd's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, the *isnād* in Ibn ʿAsākir's work stops at the position of al-Bukhārī, therefore suggesting that this chain of transmitters is the *riwāya* rather than an individual *isnād*. The textual history of *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr* has not yet been studied in depth. Melchert, however, noted that al-Bukhārī's biographical dictionary survived, similar to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*,[81] only through the transmission of one of his students, Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Muqriʾ (n. d.) who met al-Bukhārī in al-Baṣra in 246/860–861.[82] In his description of the Istanbul manuscript of *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Krenkow also notes its *riwāya*: Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (n.d.) > Abū l-Ghanāʾim Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maymūn al-Nursī (d. 510/1116) > Abū Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ghandajānī (d. 447/1055) > Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān b. Muḥammad b. al-Faraj al-Shīrāzī (d. 388/998) > Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Muqriʾ (n. d.) > Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Bukhārī al-Juʿfī (d. 256/870).[83] Ibn ʿAsākir uses a very similar chain of transmission in his quotation on Tamīm, which is more complex (see figure 3). He seems to have attended lectures of his teacher Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir (d. 550/1155) who had received three *ijāza*s for

78 This was already observed by Steven Judd. See Judd, "Ibn ʿAsākir's Sources," 93.

79 In the first tradition, Tamīm functions as a transmitter from the Prophet Muḥammad, whereas the second can be interpreted as making a positive value statement about Tamīm.

80 According to Fred Donner this is one of Ibn ʿAsākir's textual strategies which he called the "strategy of selection." See Donner, "Strategies of Compilation," 47.

81 For the transmission history of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, see Johann Fück, "Beiträge zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von Buḫārī's Traditionssammlung," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 92 (1938): 60–87; Rosemarie Quiring-Zoche, "How al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* Was Edited in the Middle Ages," *Bulletin d'études orientales de l'Institut français de Damas* 50 (1998): 191–222.

82 Melchert, "Bukhārī and Early Hadith," 9.

83 Krenkow, "The Tarikh," 644–645. I harmonized the names' spellings and added the death dates to Krenkow's list.

al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr, the first from Ibn Khayrūn (d. 448/1056), the second from Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Ṭuyyūrī (d. 500/1106), and the third from Abū l-Ghanā'im al-Nursī (d. 510/1116). According to Ibn ʿAsākir, it was al-Nursī's book[84] which Abū l-Faḍl b. Nāṣir read aloud to him, suggesting that the right strand of figure 3 represents the major way of transmission of the book to Ibn ʿAsākir.[85] All three scholars had received the book via two different strands from Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān al-Shīrāzī (d. 388/998), one of Muḥammad b. Sahl's students.[86] This chain of transmitters is to be found quite often in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*.[87] Further evidence comes from al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *tarjama* of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ghandajānī. Therein he says that ʿAbd al-Wahhāb brought a manuscript (*aṣl*) of al-Bukhārī's *al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr* to Baghdad which he had gotten from Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān al-Shīrāzī.[88] For all these reasons it is therefore reasonable to assume that the chain of transmission resembles the *riwāya* according to which Ibn ʿAsākir had received a version of al-Bukhārī's biographical dictionary and from which he had extracted and shortened the *tarjama* of Tamīm al-Dārī.

84 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 1:52 (*fī kitābihi*).

85 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 1:71 (*ḥaddathanāhu* [= *kitāb* al-Nursī] Abū l-Faḍl […] *ʿanhu*).

86 Ibn ʿAsākir's chain of transmitters in the tradition under discussion is somewhat simplified in figure 3. Although he makes clear that it is al-Nursī's version he is quoting (*wa-l-lafẓ lahu*), it obscures the two different strands from the three scholars to Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān al-Shīrāzī. I understand the phrase *akhbaranā Aḥmad zād Aḥmad wa-Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan qālā* contained in the *isnād* as a later comment to show the two paths of transmission via Aḥmad, who actually is Abū Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ghandajānī, and Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Iṣbahānī. The naming of several Aḥmads exemplifies how difficult it can be to understand Ibn ʿAsākir's *isnād*s correctly. The complexity of this *isnād* was already noted by Steven Judd. See Judd, "Ibn ʿAsākir's Sources," 92.

87 For example, Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 1:52, 17:452, 33:198.

88 Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), *Ta'rīkh Baghdād aw Madīnat al-Salām* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1931), 11:34, ll. 6–7.

5 Ibn ʿAsākir and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal

Ibn ʿAsākir also quotes a tradition via Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal[89] in his *tarjama* on Tamīm.[90] This is the famous tradition according to which Tamīm al-Dārī was the first *qāṣṣ*.[91] It reads as follows:

> No one conducted *qaṣaṣ* (*lam yakun yaquṣṣ*) neither during the time of the Prophet nor during the time of Abū Bakr. The first who conducted *qaṣaṣ* was Tamīm al-Dārī. He asked ʿUmar for permission to conduct *qaṣaṣ* for the people standing (*an yaquṣṣ ʿalā l-nās qā'iman*). ʿUmar gave him the permission [to do so].[92]

The same tradition is found in Ibn Ḥanbal's *ḥadīth* collection, *al-Musnad* ([*The Tradition*] *Based* [*on a Chain of Transmitters Going Back to the Prophet*]).[93] This work which Ibn Ḥanbal wrote in the form of lecture notes after 204/819–820[94] contains almost 28,000 traditions about religious laws, moral edification and historical events.[95] He organized it according to the names of the first transmitters who are sometimes geographically categorized according to regions.

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89 On Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, see (among many other publications) Henri Laoust, "Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1960), 1:272–277; Livnat Holtzman, "Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Three* (Leiden: Brill, 2007–. Online version, last accessed 03.09.2013); Christopher Melchert, *Ahmad ibn Hanbal* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2006); Michael Cooperson, "Ibn Ḥanbal and Bishr al-Ḥāfī: A Case Study in Biographical Traditions," *Studia Islamica* 86 (1997): 71–101; Walter M. Patton, *Aḥmed Ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna: A Biography of the Imâm including an Account of the Moḥammedan Inquisition Called the Miḥna, 218–234 A.H.* (Leiden: Brill, 1897).

90 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 11:79–80.

91 On Tamīm al-Dārī as *qāṣṣ*, see al-Najm, "Tamīm al-Dārī," 293–314. This paper includes rich evidence from the sources and focuses on Tamīm's *qāṣṣ*-ship in general.

92 On this tradition and Ibn Ḥanbal's attitude towards the Quṣṣāṣ, see Jens Scheiner, "Teachers and Ḥadīth Transmitters: The Quṣṣāṣ in Ibn Ḥanbal's Musnad," in *The Place to Go: Contexts of Learning in Baghdād, 750–1000 C.E.*, ed. Jens Scheiner and Damien Janos (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 2014).

93 Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), *al-Musnad*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnaʾūṭ (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1993–2001), 14:489–499 (no. 15715). On the *Musnad*, see Ignaz Goldziher, "Neue Materialien zur Litteratur des Ueberlieferungswesens bei den Muhammedanern," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 50 (1896): 465–506; Christopher Melchert, "The *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal: How It Was Composed and What Distinguishes It from the Six Books," *Der Islam* 82 (2005): 32–51.

94 Melchert, "The *Musnad*," 41.

95 For the discussion about the exact figure, see Melchert, "The *Musnad*," 37.

Al-Musnad also includes a section with *ḥadīth*s transmitted via the first transmitter Tamīm al-Dārī.[96] Ibn Ḥanbal dictated his lecture notes to his son ʿAbdallāh. Although ʿAbdallāh edited the work and added some glosses and additional *ḥadīth*s to it,[97] Ibn Ḥanbal's authorship is not disputed.[98]

Again, to my knowledge, there is no previous systematic study on quotations from *al-Musnad* in later works. In the case of the *ḥadīth* which describes Tamīm as the first *qāṣṣ* a very close relationship between *al-Musnad* and the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* can be observed. Ibn ʿAsākir quotes an almost identical version of the *ḥadīth*.[99] This high degree of commonality speaks in favor of assuming that Ibn ʿAsākir had a version of *al-Musnad* at his disposal from which he extracted the tradition.

This hypothesis is further substantiated when considering the *isnād*s which Ibn ʿAsākir gives as part of this tradition. Regarding the textual history of *al-Musnad*, we know that ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad transmitted the manuscript he had established on the basis of his father's notes to his student Abū Bakr ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Qaṭīʿī (d. 368/979) who also included some minor additions.[100] In the case of Ibn ʿAsākir, the chain of transmission also proceeds via al-Qaṭīʿī: Ibn ʿAsākir > Abū l-Qāsim [Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad] b. al-Ḥusayn [al-Shaybānī al-Kātib] (d. 525/1130) > Abū ʿAlī [al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Tamīmī al-maʿrūf bi-] Ibn al-Madhhab [al-Wāʿiẓ] (d. 444/1052) > Abū Bakr ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Qaṭīʿī (d. 368/979) > ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal] (d. 290/903) > my father [i.e., Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal] (see figure 4, the bold strand). This *isnād* appears in the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* quite often. In addition, several scholars in this *isnād* are renowned for having transmitted Ibn Ḥanbal's *al-Musnad*. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī says in his *tarjama* on Ibn al-Madhhab that it was him who transmitted *al-Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal from al-Qaṭīʿī during his time.[101] Of Abū l-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn is known that he transmitted *al-Musnad* from Ibn al-Madhhab.[102] Therefore, it seems that the above-mentioned chain of transmit-

96 Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 28:138–157 (nos. 16940–16958). Furthermore Ibn Ḥanbal included in his work several versions of the *Ḥadīth al-Jassāsa*. See Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 45:53–60; 314–315; 335–339 (nos. 27100, 27101, 27431, 27348, 27350).

97 Goldziher, "Neue Materialien," 504–505; Melchert, "The *Musnad*," 47–49.

98 Melchert, "The *Musnad*," 32.

99 The only differences which occur are the replacement of the original *rasūl Allāh* with *al-nabī*, the shortening of the name ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to ʿUmar, and the repetition of the expression *ʿalā ʿahd* before Abū Bakr.

100 Laoust, "Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal," 1:272–277.

101 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, 7:390, ll. 21–22.

102 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. al-Nuqṭa al-Ḥanbalī (d. 629/1231), *al-Taqyīd li-*

ters resembles the *riwāya* according to which Ibn ʿAsākir quotes traditions from *al-Musnad*. This interpretation is supported by the evidence that Ibn ʿAsākir quotes also the lower part of the *isnād*, i.e., from Ibn Ḥanbal to al-Sāʾib b. Yazīd (see figure 4), as it is found in *al-Musnad*.[103]

However, this is only one of four *isnād*-strands which Ibn ʿAsākir uses to trace the tradition back to the first transmitter. Another *isnād*-strand (see figure 4, right strand) represents the *riwāya* of Abū Zurʿa's *Taʾrīkh*, as argued by Steven Judd.[104] This suggests that Ibn ʿAsākir not only had Abū Zurʿa's *Taʾrīkh* at hand (a thesis proven without doubt),[105] but also that he had received the tradition about Tamīm being the first *qāṣṣ* independently from Ibn Ḥanbal's *al-Musnad* via Abū Zurʿa's *Taʾrīkh*. Unfortunately, Ibn ʿAsākir does not indicate which of the two *isnād*s he is following for the quotation of the *matn*.[106] This makes the tradition's *isnād*s far more difficult to understand and interpret. Two of the four *isnād*-strands join at Ibn Ḥanbal's position; whereas all *isnād*s mention Saʿīd al-Zubaydī (d. 158/774), whom Ibn ʿAsākir names as the last transmitter in the two *isnād*-strands. However, since all strands progress via Baqiyya b. al-Walīd (d. 197/812) to Saʿīd al-Zubaydī, the first could be regarded as the common link of this *isnād*-bundle (see figure 4). This is then a good example in support of the point that traditional *ḥadīth* scholars were aware of common links in *isnād*-bundles. Baqiyya's function as a common link makes him the first systematic collector of this tradition and the one responsible for its wording. Calculating from Baqiyya's death date, this tradition was consequently taught in scholarly circles from the last quarter of the second/eighth century onward (at the latest). Given Ibn ʿAsākir's emphasis on Saʿīd al-Zubaydī, one could even argue that it was al-Zubaydī who shaped the basic version of the tradition. This would allow for a dating of the tradition to the second quarter of the second/eighth century.

If Baqiyya was the common link in the transmission of the tradition, then the commonalities between Ibn ʿAsākir's and Ibn Ḥanbal's (and Abū Zurʿa's)

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maʿrifat ruwāt al-sunan wa-l-masānīd, ed. Kamāl al-Ḥūt (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1989), 1:475. On Ibn al-Nuqṭa see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1943–1949), 1:439.

103 There is an editing mistake in this part though. The transmission particle *ʿan* was omitted, so that Ibn Ḥanbal's name was conflated with Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's.

104 Judd, "Ibn ʿAsākir's Sources," 84–85.

105 Judd, "Ibn ʿAsākir's Sources," 95.

106 There is one statement about the transmission history included in the *isnād*s: "Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal reported to us: He [= ʿAbd Rabbih?] narrated it to us on the authority of him [= Baqiyya?]. I [= Ibn Ḥanbal] met him [= ʿAbd Rabbih?] and heard him say: Baqiyya b. al-Walīd narrated to us […]."

versions could be explained by the assumption that Baqiyya fixed the wording of the tradition and his three students Muḥammad b. Muṣaffī al-Ḥimṣī (d. 246/860), ʿAbd Rabbih al-Ḥimṣī (d. 224/838), and Ḥayywa b. Sharīḥ al-Ḥimṣī (d. 224/838), transmitted it without major changes in the text. If so, Ibn ʿAsākir received the tradition through the four strands from at least two written books, recognized its textual homogeneity and therefore did not quote its *matn*s four times.

But why then would he mention the other two *isnād*-strands? The answer to this question could be that he did so because he received two *ijāza*s for Ibn Ḥanbal's work, in addition to the reception through an independent path.[107] Thus he wanted to list all ways of transmission he knew in order to be comprehensive.[108] Since the *matn*s of all four strands were similar, he would not have hesitated to combine all chains of transmitters into one *isnād*.

6 Ibn ʿAsākir and Ibn Mākūlā

A final example from Ibn ʿAsākir's *tarjama* of Tamīm is the tradition[109] he quotes from the *ḥadīth* scholar Abū Naṣr ʿAlī b. Hibat Allāh al-Baghdādī, known as Ibn Mākūlā.[110] This tradition starts with Tamīm's *kunya* (*Abū Ruqayya*) and its correct vocalization, gives a short form of Tamīm's name, and says that he was a companion to and transmitted from the Prophet. Then it says that Tamīm went to Egypt and names several persons, Egyptians and non-Egyptians, who transmitted from Tamīm. Finally, Ibn ʿAsākir introduces Nimāra b. Lakhm who was a member of the Dārī delegation to the Prophet together with Tamīm's brother Abū l-Hind. A similar tradition is found in Ibn Mākūlā's lexicon *The Completion in Resolving the Doubt* (*al-Ikmāl fī rafʿ al-irtiyāb*).[111] This lexicon

107 Whether the left strand is another *riwāya* or a single *isnād* has to be judged by further research.

108 The idea that Ibn ʿAsākir wanted to present his broad knowledge was also expressed by Zayde Antrim. See Antrim, "Ibn ʿAsakir's Representation of Syria," 111.

109 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 11:63.

110 On ʿAlī b. Hibat Allāh b. Mākūlā, see J.-C. Vadet, "Ibn Mākūlā," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 3:860–861; Manuela Marin, "Biografías de andalusíes en la obra de Ibn Mākūlā," in *Actas de las II Jornadas de Cultura Arabe e Islámica (1980)* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1985), 353–364.

111 Abū Naṣr ʿAlī b. Hibat Allāh Ibn Mākūlā (d. ca. 470s/1077–1087), *al-Ikmāl fī rafʿ al-irtiyāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Muʿallimī al-Yamānī (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1962–1970), 4:88–89 and 7:149.

emphasizes the correct spelling and pronunciation of proper names, thereby "resolving the doubt." However, according to al-Qāḍī's classification this is not a proper biographical dictionary, because "the essential format is not that of biographical dictionaries."[112] This lexicon contains several thousand biographical entries of *ḥadīth* scholars[113] and has not been studied in detail yet.

A comparison between the information on Tamīm in Ibn ʿAsākir's and Ibn Mākūlā's works shows a close connection between both *tarjama*s. Ibn ʿAsākir joins the *tarjama*s of Tamīm al-Dārī and Nimāra b. Lakhm which Ibn Mākūlā listed in two different volumes. This is a typical element of Ibn ʿAsākir's methods in reshaping his information, as Steven Judd has explained.[114] Although Ibn ʿAsākir had shortened the section on Nimāra to the information relevant to Tamīm, he quoted Tamīm's biographical entry in its entirety.[115] Ibn ʿAsākir even included the pronunciation remarks for the *kunya* Abū Ruqayya that are missing in the edition of *al-Ikmāl*. Such remarks are a central aspect of Ibn Mākūlā's text. Therefore, I assume that they were lost during the transmission process of *al-Ikmāl* and that Ibn ʿAsākir had preserved them correctly. These verbatim quotations make it highly probable that Ibn ʿAsākir had used a manuscript of *al-Ikmāl* as a template. This hypothesis is also supported by the *isnād* which stops at the position of Ibn Mākūlā and which Ibn ʿAsākir introduces with the words *qara'tu ʿalā* Abī Muḥammad al-Sulamī.[116] This scholar was one of Ibn ʿAsākir's main teachers. As he states later in the *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, Ibn ʿAsākir held al-Sulamī in high esteem and attended his funeral. He also read many texts (*masmūʿāt*) in his presence and received a number of *ijāzāt* from him.[117] Therefore, the relatively short chain of transmitters, Abū Muḥammad [ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ḥamza] al-Sulamī (d. 526/1131) > Abū Naṣr ʿAlī b. Hibat Allāh al-Baghdādī, known as Ibn Mākūlā (d. ca. 470s/1077–1087) (see figure 5), represents the *riwāya* according to which Ibn ʿAsākir received one copy of the manuscript of *al-Ikmāl*.

112 Al-Qāḍī, "Inner structure," 96.

113 For a short description of *al-Ikmāl*, see Auchterlonie, *Arabic Biographical Dictionaries*, 13.

114 Judd, "Ibn ʿAsākir's Sources," 96.

115 Two minor differences can be explained as misreadings during the transmission process. First, Ibn ʿAsākir uses the past tense to name Tamīm's transmitters (*rawā*), whereas in *al-Ikmāl* the present tense is found (*yarwī*). Second, Ibn ʿAsākir starts his *matn* with the words *ammā* Ruqayya, which is obviously a misreading of *Abū* Ruqayya, as it is found in *al-Ikmāl*.

116 For another reference to this *riwāya* see Lindsay, "Damascene Scholars," 48.

117 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 36:436.

7 Conclusion

This study had two aims. First, to introduce the most extensive extant biographical entry available on Tamīm al-Dārī, who was a companion of the Prophet, a *qāṣṣ*, and to whom various religious activities and functions were ascribed over time. This *tarjama* which covers thirty pages in print is found in Ibn ʿAsākir's biographical dictionary *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*. Since Ibn ʿAsākir extensively refers to earlier scholars therein, the second aim was to try to evaluate these references by investigating the *isnād*s they are mentioned in. As Steven Judd has already noted, Ibn ʿAsākir rarely lists the book titles of scholars' works or refers otherwise to a direct written transmission of the information he quotes in their name.[118] Taking up this problem, I investigated whether Ibn ʿAsākir quotes traditions from these scholars on an individual basis or by means of referring to their books with a *riwāya*. In other words, do the chains of transmitters which are attached to traditions portraying Tamīm represent individual *isnād*s or do they show the way of transmission of a written manuscript? If the latter was the case, then evidence would have been apparent for the works of earlier scholarship Ibn ʿAsākir had at hand. Furthermore, Ibn ʿAsākir's method of citation can be remarked upon.

For assessing whether a path of transmission represents an individual *isnād* or the *riwāya* of a manuscript several criteria can be adduced. Most of these indicators can be derived from the chain of transmitters itself. The first and most obvious indicator is the reference to a book title and its author at the end of such a path. After naming several transmitters Ibn ʿAsākir sometimes notes, for instance, x said in his *Taʾrīkh* (*qāla fulān fī l-Taʾrīkh*). A second indicator for having extracted information from a written source and thus having quoted a *riwāya* is Ibn ʿAsākir's statement that he had read the text in front of someone (*qaraʾtu ʿalā*), as was the case with Ibn Mākūlā's *al-Ikmāl*. This technical term hints at the standard way of transmitting books, i.e., by reading them in front of a *shaykh* or a wider audience. This traditional academic method blossomed during Ibn ʿAsākir's lifetime, in particular, in Damascus.[119] A third indicator for a *riwāya* is the stopping of the chain of transmitters at the name of a person who is credited with authoring a book, as was the case with al-Bukhārī. Although this is not a strong argument in itself, if combined with the fourth indicator, i.e., the frequent repetition of the same *isnād* throughout the *Taʾrīkh madīnat*

118 Judd, "Ibn ʿAsākir's Sources," 95.

119 Stefan Leder, "Dokumente zum Ḥadīṯ in Schrifttum und Unterricht aus Damaskus im 6./12. Jhdt.," *Oriens* 34 (1994): 58, 61.

Dimashq, quite a safe hypothesis can be put forward that this respective chain represents a *riwāya*. Focusing on the *matn*, a verbatim quotation of a tradition in Ibn ʿAsākir's work also indicates that the attached chain of transmitters is the *riwāya* of a book. However, clarity in this regard can only be achieved when combining several of these indicators or comparing Ibn ʿAsākir's quotations of a work with the modern edition of the same work. The more they match regarding their chains of transmitters and their *matn*s, the more likely is it that Ibn ʿAsākir had used the work and had noted down the work's *riwāya*.

An analogous comparison of the traditions Ibn ʿAsākir traced back to Abū ʿUbayd, Ibn Saʿd, al-Bukhārī, Ibn Ḥanbal, and Ibn Mākūlā with the independently transmitted works of these scholars lead to insightful results. Ibn ʿAsākir employed all these works for his *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*. From Abū ʿUbayd's and Ibn Saʿd's works he quotes five traditions each, from al-Bukhārī's and Ibn Ḥanbal's one tradition each and from Ibn Mākūlā's work two traditions. For all five works, Ibn ʿAsākir gives the *riwāya* in the chain of transmission according to which he has received the manuscript. In Ibn Ḥanbal's case, the *riwāya* is supported by three additional paths of transmission (one of them being another *riwāya* of Abū Zurʿa's *Taʾrīkh*), rendering the first difficult to detect. In Ibn Saʿd's case, Ibn ʿAsākir additionally quotes one tradition via another, i.e., Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's, recension and provides additional material not extant in the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*. Therefore, one can conclude that Ibn ʿAsākir had Abū ʿUbayd's *Kitāb al-amwāl*, Ibn Saʿd's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, al-Bukhārī's *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Ibn Ḥanbal's *al-Musnad*, and Ibn Mākūlā's *al-Ikmāl* at hand and had mined these works, which must have been available as completed books (*syngrammata*), for his biographical entry on Tamīm al-Dārī.

Focusing on Ibn ʿAsākir's way of citation, a very thorough scholar becomes recognizable. Ibn ʿAsākir provides a chain of transmitters (most of the time in the form of the *riwāya*) for every tradition he quotes about Tamīm al-Dārī. Thus, it was possible to check each of these traditions with the work from which it was quoted. One could argue that this clear way of citation resembles detailed footnoting in current scholarship. Additionally, Ibn ʿAsākir also quotes the *matn*s most of the time literally. This is further proof for his use of written sources, which he transmitted unaltered and reproduced faithfully. Based on this assessment, it is highly probable that Ibn ʿAsākir also quotes the works of other earlier scholars with the same fidelity and thoroughness, even if they cannot be checked through a comparison with existing editions. Thus, it seems worth trying to use his biographical dictionary as a quarry for earlier sources which have not come down to us.

Be this as it may, this analysis (in addition to previous studies on Ibn ʿAsākir's written sources) has shown which books Ibn ʿAsākir had at his disposal. Rather

than giving priority to Syrian sources,[120] a corpus of books becomes recognizable which is important for the daily life of a *ḥadīth* scholar. In other words, Ibn ʿAsākir being a *muḥaddith* by training and occupation made use of the books for his *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* which he knew best and which he was allowed to transmit.[121] However, the number of sources that he used and studied in detail is still quite limited. Thus a wider approach is needed to fully understand the scope of the books that were available to Ibn ʿAsākir. Through this approach, it will be not only possible to add to the list of Ibn ʿAsākir's sources, but also to reconstruct the extent of his book collection which may represent Ibn ʿAsākir's own academic library in Damascus.

Appendices

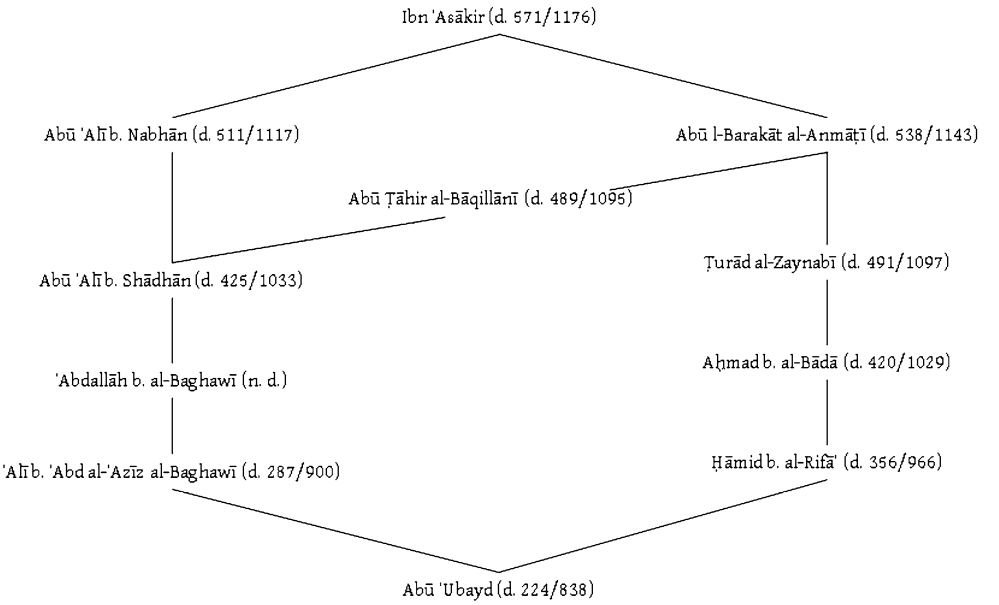

FIGURE 3.1 *Ibn ʿAsākir's* riwāya *of the* Kitāb al-amwāl *by Abū ʿUbayd*

120 Judd, "Ibn ʿAsākir's Sources," 94.

121 The works of Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, and Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, which Ibn ʿAsākir had used as demonstrated by Steven Judd, also suited a *ḥadīth* scholar's occupation.

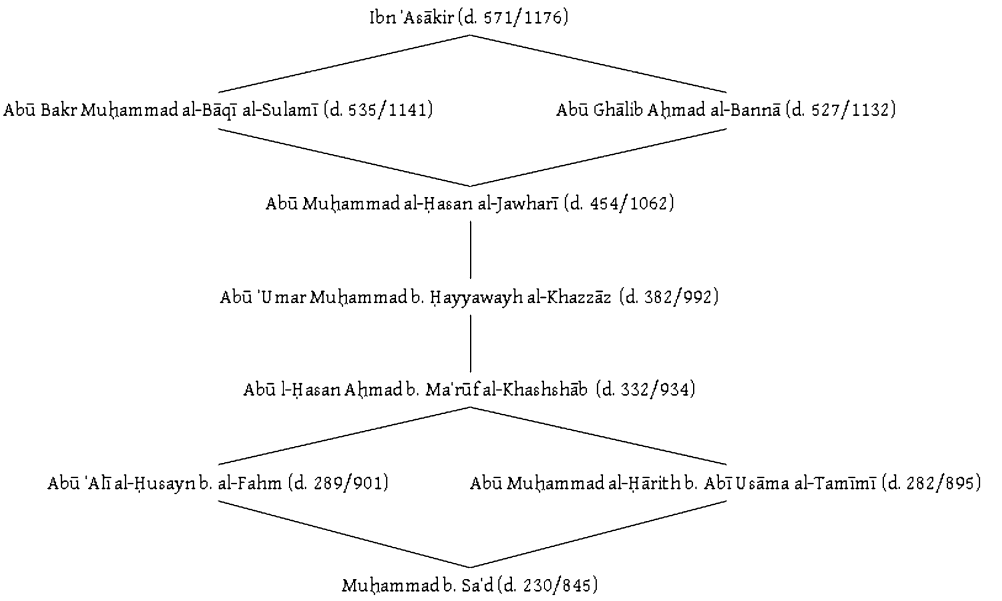

FIGURE 3.2 *Ibn 'Asākir's* riwāya *of the* Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr *by Ibn Sa'd*

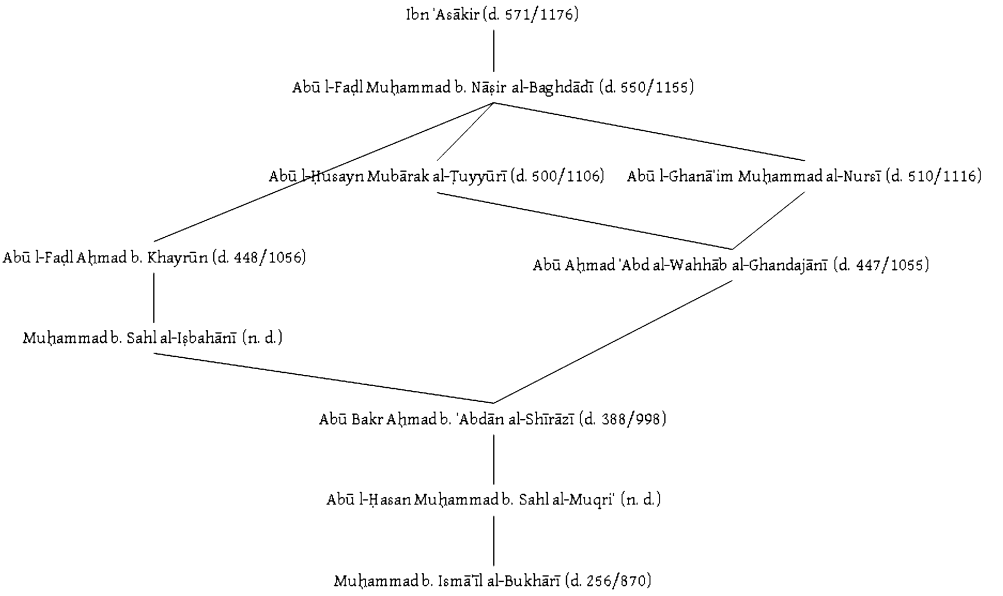

FIGURE 3.3 *Ibn 'Asākir's* riwāya *of the* al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr *by al-Bukhārī*

FIGURE 3.4 *Ibn ʿAsākir's transmission of the Tamīm-is-the-first-*qāṣṣ*-tradition*

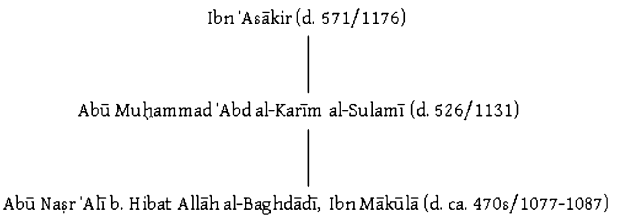

FIGURE 3.5 *Ibn ʿAsākir's* riwāya *of the* al-Ikmāl fī rafʿ al-irtiyāb *by Ibn Mākūlā*

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CHAPTER 4

Friendship in the Service of Governance: *Makārim al-Akhlāq* in Abbasid Political Culture

Paul L. Heck

In honoring the career of Professor Wadad Kadi, it is fitting to speak of noble character (*makārim al-akhlāq*) as part of the humanistic heritage of Islamic civilization. Whatever the endeavor (politics, academics), rules of professionalism, while important, are not enough to animate the venture in question. Noble character is also required of the people involved: magnanimity, a willingness to forego personal interest for a greater purpose, generosity, patience, altruistic regard. It is these qualities as much as formal professional standards that hold a venture together and keep it going. It is this ethical disposition, prominent as an ideal in much of the Arabic and Islamic literature to which Professor Kadi has devoted her scholarly pursuits, that has also marked her relations with colleagues and students alike. It is in this sense, I believe, that her character as much as her scholarly talents have contributed to the growth of Arabic and Islamic studies during the last decades in the United States.

I will suggest in what follows that Ibn Ḥamdūn (d. 562/1166) recognized the importance of noble character for the mechanics of good governance. This can be seen in the lengthy chapter on noble character (*makārim al-akhlāq*) in his voluminous literary anthology, *al-Tadhkira al-Ḥamdūniyya*, which, among other things, was written as a code of ethics for the ruling class.[1] There, through the reports he stitches together, Ibn Ḥamdūn describes the magnanimity and compassion of a beneficent character as the mark of the kind of friendship that is necessary for the wheels of governance to run effectively. His point is this: magnanimity of a certain kind must characterize not only the attitude of the rulers towards the ruled but also the interrelations among the members of the ruling class; a polity will not flourish in the absence of ethical dispositions of this kind. Ibn Ḥamdūn is thus building upon a tradition that goes back to Aristotle, who makes friendship among the political elite a *sine qua non* of effective governance. This is not to say that Ibn Ḥamdūn and those who wrote simi-

1 *Al-Tadhkira al-Ḥamdūniyya*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās and Bakr ʿAbbās, 10 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1986). For the section on noble character (*makārim al-akhlāq*), see 2:167–254.

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lar works simply followed Aristotle's ideas without adaptation. Ibn Ḥamdūn's work actually offers insight into the way in which the makers of Islamic civilization reconfigured this aspect of the Aristotelian heritage. These scholars would develop the link between friendship and governance known from the Greco-Hellenistic tradition by adding to it the concept of noble character (*makārim al-akhlāq*), which finds its origins in the *milieu* of pre-Islamic Arabia. The concept took on a new and religiously-colored meaning with the coming of Islam and would then be integrated into the political culture of those responsible for governance in the Abode of Islam.

With the work of Ibn Ḥamdūn, we face three important questions that have received only limited scholarly attention. First, friendship featured prominently in Muslim self-consciousness as a vital part of good governance. Second, the concept of noble character was at least one way in which this kind of friendship was designated as specific to Islam. Third, those who gave literary expression to the political culture of Islam, as far back as ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 132/750), created a humanistic heritage of sorts, embodied in a kind of literature (*adab*), thereby demonstrating the significance of such a heritage in the venture of Islam. The first and second questions will feature in the body of this paper. The third question I will treat first and only in a suggestive way in light of its vastness.

The idea that Islam has a humanistic heritage has been the object of some debate.[2] When it comes to Islam, one has to speak of a religious humanism. The humanistic heritage in Islam cannot be conceived in secularist terms, which is no less true of other religious traditions. Also, Islam in the pre-modern period had no specific term for humanism. One can find 'humanity' (*insāniyya*) in philosophically-colored literature from the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries, but it is used in reference to what is distinctively 'human' about the human species, namely, rationality, in contrast to other animals. It does not carry the sense of humanistic education (*studia humanitatis*) in the sense used by Cicero or the writers of the Renaissance and their heirs in Western civilization.

Nevertheless, the central features of what is commonly referred to as the humanistic heritage in the West, beginning with the Italian Renaissance, can all be found in Islam in its classical period in one form or another. The bulk of the writers of the Renaissance—however one defines its chronological boundaries—were hardly atheist or even secularist, although they were anti-

2 For a brief overview of the debate and one viewpoint, see Alexander Key, "The Applicability of the Term 'Humanism' to Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī," *Studia Islamica* 100/101 (2005): 71–112.

scholastic and sometimes anti-clericalist.[3] One should remember that some of the key figures in the humanistic developments of the Italian Renaissance, such as Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) and Lorenzo Valla (1406–1457), were also papal secretaries. All of this is not to overlook differences between the origins of the humanistic heritage of Christian Europe and those of Islam, but one can, I believe, speak of a religiously-imbued humanism in the case of both Islam in its classical period and Christianity of the Italian Renaissance. It will be enough here to note only two features of the Renaissance that also had place in Islam.

First is the rise of Neo-Platonic thinking, which, by emphasizing affinity between humanity and divinity, fostered a rather optimistic view of what humanity—or at least its elite members—could achieve by virtue of being human.[4] A similar development can be seen in the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries in Islam in the writings of a range of learned and pious figures, notably but by no means limited only to those associated with Isma'ilism. The literature that emerged from this 'humanistic' trend includes the so-called visionary recitals of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) (d. 428/1037), the philosophical tale of Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 581/1185), and the mystical epic of Farīd al-Dīn al-'Aṭṭār (d. 618/1221). One can speak here of a religious (or even theistic) humanism where allegorical literature serves to allude to if not wholly explicate the divine dimension of the human experience.

Second—and more relevant to our topic—is the emergence of a literary culture within political circles, notably of Florence, for whom effective governance was closely connected to the art of writing (*ars dictaminis*). It should be remembered that the first impulse towards humanistic studies (i.e., the studies of the classics) in Renaissance Italy was felt among judges, lawyers, and notaries, that is, those groups in society who dominated the political life of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They found in the grammatical and literary training of a humanistic education precisely what they needed to prepare their sons to govern. We are thus speaking of a culture of learning and letters as a vital part of the world of the governing class. It is a case of rhetoric and grammar in the service of the ruling elite. In Islam, too, a humanistic education of sorts arose in response to the bureaucratic needs of political administration in its varied facets that would foster a literary heritage with a life of its own even if remaining inextricably bound to the concerns of the ruling elite. It was a body of literature

3 Charles G. Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

4 Michael Allen Gillespie, *The Theological Origins of Modernity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). See especially chapter three, "Humanism and the Apotheosis of Man."

designed to enable individuals to participate in governance, but it also had literary qualities that could be appreciated apart from political considerations.

This humanism of Islam was thus connected to a kind of literature that was not simply about the establishment of bureaucratic standards (i.e., the art of writing, *ṣināʿat al-kitāba*) for the needs of governance. It was also about persuasion, eloquence, moving the souls of men for the sake of a political formation. It included grammar, poetry, rhetoric, history, and ethics. It was not about the absolute certainty sought by scholastic theologians but rather the viable decision-making needed for the health of the polity. In short, it was *adab*. This term, although not appearing in the Qur'ān, is central to Islam, featuring in *ḥadīth* no less than in the works of Sufism. However, despite its varied appearances, it constituted the defining mark of the political culture of Islam, embodied in various treatises by the likes of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. ca. 139/756) and al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869) and in literary anthologies compiled by the likes of Ibn Qutayba (d. 286/889) and Ibn Ḥamdūn.

Ibn Ḥamdūn (Abū l-Maʿālī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn),[5] the compiler of *al-Tadhkira al-Ḥamdūniyya*, came from a family of leading administrators (*min shuyūkh al-kuttāb*). According to his son, the family traced its lineage to Sayf al-Dawla (r. 334–356/945–967) of the Ḥamdānid Dynasty of Aleppo. Ibn Ḥamdūn (d. 562/1166) was born in 495/1101 during the caliphate of al-Mustaẓhir (r. 487–512/1094–1118) and lived through the caliphates of al-Mustarshid (r. 512–529/1118–1135), al-Rāshid (r. 529–530/1135–1136), al-Muqtafī (r. 530–555/1136–1160), and a portion of the caliphate of al-Mustanjid (r. 555–566/1160–1170). His anthologies display ʿAlid leanings, but this is hardly enough to explain his fall from favor after three years as overseer of the bureau of comptroller (*dīwān al-zimām*) under al-Mustanjid. It is reported that parts of the anthology had displeased al-Mustanjid, landing Ibn Ḥamdūn in prison, but it is not clear what the caliph found offensive. Was it the ʿAlid overtones that occasionally feature in his anthology? Or could it have been the compiler's use of literary material in a way that suggested a critique of the political establishment?

Whatever the case may be, in the introduction to the anthology, Ibn Ḥamdūn expresses his disappointment in the corruption of the age and the betrayal of

5 By way of background, see Lawrence I. Conrad, "A Nestorian Diploma of Investiture from the *Tad̲kira* of Ibn Ḥamdūn: The Text and its Significance," in *Studia Arabica et Islamica: Festschrift for Iḥsān ʿAbbās on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1981), 83–104; and Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuwwar, "*al-Tadhkira al-Ḥamdūniyya* li-Ibn Ḥamdūn," in *Fī Miḥrāb al-Maʿrifa: Dirāsāt Muhdāh ilā Iḥsān ʿAbbās*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Saʿāfīn (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir 1997), 325–336.

the bonds of brotherhood. (This seems to be a foil to convince his readers that the only real comfort and genuine advice available to them in such circumstances is the book before them.) By brotherhood Ibn Ḥamdūn means a kind of friendship meant to prevail among the political elite, that is, those in the service of the caliphal dynasty.

It is worth recalling that the idea of friendship in Islam is variously conceived.[6] The Qur'ān says God took Abraham as his bosom friend (*khalīl*, Q 4:125). Muḥammad attracted a group of companions (*ṣaḥāba*) from diverse backgrounds, uniting them in support of his divinely revealed message. Over the centuries, Muslims who have excelled in piety have been known as the friends of God (*awliyā' Allāh*). The confidante or boon companion (*nadīm*) was a common figure in the courtly life of Islam over the course of centuries. Ironically, "brotherhood" (*ukhuwwa*) is the term most commonly used to refer to "friendship," that is, non-biological association that results from a willing choice to be with others and not from the simple accident of birth or coincidence of living or working together in a single location. With a basis in the Qur'ān (e.g. Q 3:103), the concept of brotherhood in Islam, implying a shared outlook, speaks to the idea of a voluntary association or what is generally known as friendship for a common purpose. It is in this sense that Ibn Ḥamdūn uses the term. When he speaks of the brethren (*al-ikhwān*), he means the circle of "friends" constituting the governing class. Thus, despite—or perhaps because of—his disquiet over the political climate of his day, his anthology comes across as a defense (or at least assertion) of a code of ethics (*ādāb*), including the nobility of character (*makārim al-akhlāq*) that is to guide the political elite in their mutual dealings. This code of ethics, of which Ibn Ḥamdūn's anthology is but one version, was a defining mark of Abbasid culture. If the governing class did not pursue their affairs with a spirit of "friendship" as embodied in the concept of noble character, the polity would not be able to cohere, let alone flourish.

It is clear from the writings of those in the service of the governing class that Muslims of the classical period were very aware of the requirements of sustainable politics: justice, equity, strong rule, religion. While in reality Islam's rulers were pragmatic as conditions warranted, and even ruthless in some cases, the littérateurs who articulated the vision of rule in Islam saw it as part and parcel of the "salvific" enterprise of Islam. By this we do not mean salvation from sinfulness, even if these writers would have had a concern for the ritual

6 See Paul L. Heck, "Friendship: The Case of Islam," (forthcoming), currently available online (http://new.oberlin.edu/office/friendship/philosophy-of-friendship.dot) in *The Oberlin Friendship Project* (under the direction of Jafar Mahallati).

duties of Islam, including their expiatory value. Rather, it was a question of achieving the good society in Islam. The treatise of al-Jāḥiẓ, "Life in This World and the Return to God," illustrates the idea.[7] He depicts Islam as a project at once political and religious: It is the task of the governing class not only to keep peace and order but also to direct people's natural impulses away from baser purposes towards nobler ones, ensuring that society as a whole function in view of its final destiny on Judgment Day. Al-Jāḥiẓ writes:

> Affairs lie in their consequences … and these affairs are intelligible, form the basis of social intercourse; and make governance (*siyāsa*) upright. […] Allah created people with natures that seek to accumulate benefits and ward off harms.[8]

The challenge, then, is to get people to see that the greatest benefit is paradise and the greatest harm hell and then to persuade them to act accordingly in this world, that is, with the righteousness of Islam. Thus, knowledge of the things that push and pull men's hearts (*dawāʿī al-qulūb*) is intimately tied to the task of governance (*siyāsa*).[9] It is therefore the role of learned figures (such as al-Jāḥiẓ) to instruct the governing classes in human nature. If the shapers of society understand the impulses of people, they will understand how to govern them effectively.[10]

This project was not to be accomplished by a simple recitation of scripture. Knowledge of a humanistic sort was needed. As is well known, al-Jāḥiẓ lived at a time when the ruling class, among others, showed marked interest in other cultures (Greek, Persian, Indian), and this fascination is reflected in his own writings. But he was not solely interested in the business of culture. A religio-political purpose went hand-in-hand with his cultural endeavors. He was a highly learned figure concerned first and foremost with the salvation of the *umma* in the form of a polity shaped according to a broad set of religiously-oriented virtues. It was thus up to him to educate the ruling elite in rhetoric and culture, thereby giving them the tools to communicate clearly so as to move men's hearts and redirect their fears and desires from worldly to otherworldly

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7 Al-Jāḥiẓ, "al-Maʿāsh wa-l-Maʿād," in *Rasāʾil al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 4 vols. in 2 (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1991): 1:87–134.

8 Ibid., 102.

9 Ibid., 105: *fa-taʿallaqat qulūb al-ʿibād bil-raghba wa-l-rahba fa-ṭṭarada bil-tadbīr wa-staqāmat al-siyāsa li-muwāfaqatihimā mā fī l-fiṭra … fa-l-raghba wa-l-rahba aṣlā kull tadbīr wa-ʿalayhimā madār kull siyāsa.*

10 Ibid., 98: *idhā ʿarafta al-ʿilal wa-l-asbāb ka-annaka shāhid li-ḍamīr kull imriʾ.*

ends. It is thus good speech that stands at the basis of the good society in Islam. For this reason, al-Jāḥiẓ was deeply interested in the classical past, including philosophers, such as Aristotle, who drew a connection between being good and being good at speaking.[11] It was thus necessary for the elite to undergo a kind of "humanistic" education in order to be able to govern society in the purposes of Islam:

> Know that *ādāb* are tools that it is valid to use in *dīn* and in *dunyā*. The *ādāb* have been established in accord with the origins of natures (*ʿalā uṣūl al-ṭabāʾiʿ*), and the origins of the affairs of governance (*uṣūl umūr al-tadbīr*) in *dīn* and *dunyā* are the same. Were that not so, no realm (*mamlaka*) would be founded, no dynasty established, and governance would not be upright.[12]

All of this is not to suggest that al-Jāḥiẓ and Ibn Ḥamdūn share a single religio-political vision. It is rather to say that that the literary heritage of Islam in its varied incarnations is very much tied up in the "salvific" enterprise of Islam inclusive of the role of governance.[13] It is in this light that we should read the *Tadhkira*. This is not to overlook the centrality of *sharīʿa* for the coherency of society in Islam. Law in Islam extends to oaths and contracts. Its emphasis on fidelity to promises and agreements works to strengthen bonds within and across already existing social groupings in society. However, people at large in the classical period, the historical sources suggest, felt that the rulings of *sharīʿa*, despite their importance, were not enough.[14] The fact that society contains base (i.e., criminal) elements makes strong rule necessary for the establishment of good society in Islam along with *sharīʿa*. Among the many qualities of effective governance (and thus one of the bases of the wellbeing of the polity)

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11 James E. Montgomery, "Al-Jāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn*," in *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam*, ed. Julia Bray (London: Routledge, 2006), 91–152.

12 "Al-Maʿāsh wa-l-Maʿād," 99.

13 For another perspective, see Julia Bray, "Practical Muʿtazilism: The Case of al-Tanūkhī," in *ʿAbbasid Studies*, ed. James E. Montgomery (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 111–126. Bray (120) describes al-Tanūkhī's *al-Faraj baʿd al-Shidda* as an anthology of salvation stories in which persons of all sorts and conditions, from prophets downwards, find deliverance from varied afflictions. These stories involve lovers, poets, and scholars, but also statesmen and caliphs. The great political figures are shown in their capacity as patrons, extending their protection to the less powerful and acquiring merit by bringing about their *faraj*.

14 Roy Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

is noble character among the political elite. This is Ibn Ḥamdūn's point in the lengthy chapter on noble character in his anthology. The brethren are to exhibit a shared character, and the brethren he has in mind are the members of the governing class: viziers, high-ranking secretaries, and various dynastic servitors. This includes Christians in the employ of the dynasty, but the frame is that of Islam. Governance is the affair of the men of the dynasty (*rijāl al-dawla*), not the men of religion (*rijāl al-dīn*), but the purpose of this political brotherhood, no less than the religious scholars, involves the "salvific" goals of Islam, the pursuit of which requires a shared appreciation for the traits of noble character.

Before turning to the *Tadhkira*, it is worth thinking a bit about the place and meaning of *makārim al-akhlāq* in Islam in general. The concept is epitomized in the *ḥadīth* in which Muḥammad says that he has been sent to complete *makārim al-akhlāq*.[15] It was enthusiastically taken up in the circles of Sufism where it refers to the interior disposition of selflessness that life in God fosters. Sufism, while acknowledging *sharīʿa* as its point of departure, expands the scope of religion in Islam beyond a set of rulings to include spiritual insight into the divine reality (*ḥaqīqa*) behind all things. Is this what the Prophet meant when he said he had been sent to complete *makārim al-akhlāq* as ethical fruit of the spiritual life such that his interior life conformed to *ḥaqīqa* no less than his outer life did to *sharīʿa*?

This is the point that al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) makes in describing the character of the Prophet in one of the chapters of *The Revival of the Religious Sciences* on the ethics of prophethood (*Ādāb al-maʿīsha wa-akhlāq al-nubuwwa*). Muḥammad is there depicted as a person who not only complies with the ruling of *sharīʿa* but also lives in light of the realities of the other world. This allows him to be detached from this world's allurements, imbuing him with a fully altruistic disposition in his relations with others. It is thus a selfless kindness that al-Ghazālī sees as the mark of the Prophet's noble character, and it is this ethical ideal that he incorporates into his broader theological and philosophical vision of Islam.

The supporters of Sufism were not the only ones to elaborate upon *makārim al-akhlāq*. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (d. 281/894) wrote a work with this very title.[16] The work, a compilation of reports from the Prophet and his companions, offers evidence that the first Muslims did not distinguish the ethics of Islam from those already known from pre-Islamic Arabia. The former built upon the latter. It is in

15 Al-Bukhārī, *al-Adab al-Mufrad*, no. 273.

16 Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *Kitāb Makārim al-Akhlāq*, ed. James A. Bellamy (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1973).

this sense that Islam came to complete the concept of noble character marking the ethics of Arabia. This is illustrated by a story of a beautiful woman, a member of a tribal group (Ṭayy') taken captive by the Muslims. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, cousin and son-in-law of the prophet, was apparently so struck by her appearance that he hoped to have her as his share of the spoils. However, when she speaks, he is even more impressed at her eloquence and character. Describing herself as the daughter of her tribe's leading family, she recounts the ethics of her father, a man known for freeing captives, protecting people's honor, extending hospitality, satisfying the hungry, comforting the sorrowful, spreading peace, and never rejecting a petitioner in need. The Prophet responds by identifying these traits as the traits of believers. He commands her release, saying that her father loved noble character and so, too, does God. If he had been a Muslim, he adds, he would have invoked the mercy of God upon his soul.

What did noble character mean for Ibn Abī l-Dunyā? From the above example, he seems to have viewed the ethics of Islam as rooted in a tribal heritage, but this needs to be seen in its historical context. The beginnings of Islam were primarily urban, and the call to Islam was a call to leave the norms of tribal life for a new way of relating with others on the basis of piety in so-called abodes of emigration (*dūr al-hijra*). The ethics of tribal Arabia—generosity, magnanimity, clemency, and fortitude—were given a religious orientation by Islam. It was no longer a question of tribal reputation, group pride, and individual honor, but heavenly reward. It is in this sense that Islam gave birth to a new understanding of brotherhood, potentially universal in scope even if essentially Arab in its beginnings. It was defined in terms of piety before God apart from strategies for maximizing tribal standing and personal reputation. The ethical traits were the same as those of pre-Islamic Arabia, but the motive was different, now struggle and sacrifice in the way of God. This would expand the ethical horizons of the culture of Arabia into which Islam was born. God's demand for exclusive devotion apart from tribal deities was a religious formula that reworked the scope and depth of one's ethical obligations.

Ibn Abī l-Dunyā begins his compilation of reports on noble character with a *ḥadīth* that says that "a man's generosity is his religion, his virility is his intellect, and his stature is his ethical character."[17] Another *ḥadīth* describes God as "generous and loving generosity, magnanimous and loving magnanimity."[18] All this underscores the fact that Islam's revelation of God initiated a new standard for action, namely, self-denial for the sake of a final destiny in God, as one report

17 Ibid., 1 (no. 1).

18 Ibid., 2 (no. 8).

indicates: "Strive for truthfulness. Even when it leads to destruction [in this world], it leads to salvation [in the other world]. Put lying aside. Even when it leads to salvation [in this world], it brings destruction [in the other world]."[19]

The ethics of pre-Islamic Arabia thus took on new meaning beyond worldly calculations of gain or loss, as indicated in a *ḥadīth* included in Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's collection: "A believer will not attain purity of faith until he repairs relations with those who cut him off (i.e., shun him), gives to those who have deprived him, forgives those who have insulted him, and acts kindly to those who have harmed him."[20] Ibn Abī l-Dunyā then goes on to record the top-ten list of character traits in Islam as narrated by ʿĀ'isha, wife of the Prophet and leading figure in the strife that inflicted Islam subsequent to the death of Muḥammad. These ten traits are: honest speech, sincere fortitude in obeying God, giving to the suppliant, repaying good deeds, strengthening family ties, fulfilling trusts, acting honorably to neighbors, acting honorably to friends, extending hospitality to guests, and—most important of all—modesty (*ḥayā'*).[21] Modesty, which might better be translated as humility, is the product of a piety whereby one is conscious of God and gives him his due as creator and lord of all. Another *ḥadīth* equates a lack of modesty with unbelief (*kufr*).[22] Modesty is described by Ibn Abī l-Dunyā as a kind of forbearance and clemency, even chastity, that is, modesty in one's dealings with others as opposed to immodesty and greed—traits that undermine harmony in society, as signaled in another *ḥadīth*, "Ask God for relief (i.e., from greed) … and so (be free) of discord, enmity, covetousness, and spite. Be servants of God as brothers."[23]

Thus, with Islam, one's standing in this world, which in pre-Islamic Arabia was based on material possessions (*amwāl*) as sign of prestige and power, was no longer the final measure of success. The new outlook was to reorient the soul's relation to the things of this world, as noted in a statement that Ibn Abī l-Dunyā attributes to one of the first Muslims: "The believer is not content to see his neighbor injured or a relation in need but is rich-hearted without possessing anything in this world. He is not misled in his religion or deceived. This world is, for him, no compensation for the next, nor miserliness for magnanimity."[24] With reports such as these, Ibn Abī l-Dunyā sought to cultivate the spirit of

19 Ibid., 30 (no. 137).
20 Ibid., 5 (no. 22).
21 Ibid., 8 (no. 36).
22 Ibid., 18 (no. 84).
23 Ibid., 26 (no. 120).
24 Ibid., 85 (no. 436).

noble character in the *umma* in general.[25] However, the very same system of ethics—and many of the same reports—featured in Ibn Ḥamdūn's anthology. In other words, a willingness to sacrifice for one's tribe in pre-Islamic Arabia, which would become with Islam a willingness to sacrifice for God, would, in turn, become a willingness to sacrifice for the welfare of the polity on the part of the ruling class. It was not a question of regime preservation but rather the character of the "brethren" whose task it was to bring about the purposes of Islam in this world. In this way, the Greco-Hellenistic understanding of good governance in terms of friendship would be enhanced with the concept of noble character from the Arabo-Islamic tradition.

The idea that the concept of noble character as construed by Islam works to enhance and solidify naturally existing traits of human character can be found in a wide range of treatises from Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) in eleventh-century Andalusia to Wahba al-Zuḥaylī in contemporary Syria.[26] This is not the place to detail the many ways in which Muslims over the centuries have delineated the concept of noble character, but it is worth noting that it often serves as a foil to social and political as well as religious corruption. In this way, the concept offers Muslims the possibility of a moral order in which fruitful relations can be pursued in contrast to the existing conditions in which they may live. This, I suggest, is the motive behind Wahba al-Zuḥaylī's work, written at a time (prior to the Arab Spring) when much of the Arab World was under the control of ethically bankrupt political systems. It is also the motive, I believe, behind al-Ghazālī's writings on noble character, not only in the chapter on the ethics of prophethood, mentioned above, but also in another chapter of *The Revival of the Religious Sciences* on brotherhood in Islam (*Ādāb al-ulfa wa-l-ukhuwwa wa-l-ṣuḥba wa-l-muʿāshara*). There, al-Ghazālī constructs the image of a community of believers whose commitment to God is embodied in radically altruistic attitudes towards one another. The point is to encourage Muslims to act for God rather than worldly interests, and the key concept is *makārim al-akhlāq*.

Ibn Ḥamdūn draws on reports shared with the spiritual circles of Sufism and other pious groups in Islam such as those to which Ibn Abī l-Dunyā

25 Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, while advocating a kind of asceticism among believers, had been associated with the Abbasid court as mentor of future caliphs. See, in general, Leonard Lirande, "Ibn Abī al-Dunyā: Certainty and Morality," *Studia Islamica* 100/101 (2005): 5–42.

26 Ibn Ḥazm, "Risāla fī Mudāwāt al-Nafs wa-Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq wa-l-Zuhd fī l-Radhā'il," in *Rasā'il Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 4 vols. (Beirut: al-Muʾassasa al-ʿArabiyya lil-Dirāsāt wa-l-Nashr, 1983), 1: 322–415; Wahba al-Zuḥaylī, *Akhlāq al-Muslim: ʿAlāqatuhā bil-Mujtamaʿ* (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 2002).

likely belonged, but he shapes the heritage of *makārim al-akhlāq* for political purposes. He does this by adding reports of various personages known from varied dynasties (Umayyad, Abbasid) to those of the first Muslims. However, this does not mean the concept is completely malleable. Even if now a standard of behavior for the governing class, *makārim al-akhlāq* still has the sense of selflessness, generosity (now towards the ruled), and a willingness to sacrifice all (now for fellow members of the ruling elite.)

Literary anthologies were composed prior to Ibn Ḥamdūn, notably those by Ibn Qutayba (d. 286/889) and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940). While they cannot be reduced to a single purpose, they all offer important insight into the political culture of Islam, including the relation of ethical character to statecraft. The *Tadhkira* is a voluminous compendium of fifty chapters on various kinds of *ādāb* with a lengthy section on *makārim al-akhlāq*. The first chapter after the introductory remarks is devoted to religious *ādāb* as exemplified by the first Muslims; the second to worldly *ādāb*, that is, norms of governance; the third to those with honor and standing in society; and the fourth, reaching nearly one hundred pages, to noble and ignoble character (*fī makārim al-akhlāq wa-masāwiʾihā*). The remainder of the anthology continues to survey a vast array of ethical issues by marshaling a variety of literary material: aphorisms, testimonies, anecdotes, stories, poetry.

What comes across especially in the chapter on noble and ignoble character is the assumption of a brotherhood based on shared ethics and common purpose.[27] It is a question first and foremost of the cultivation of character as measured by a code of ethics that is to prevail among the governing class as the foregrounding of harmony in the polity. Governance, then, is not just a matter of formal standards of fairness and justice but also depends on noble character, including such traits as discretion, generosity, forbearance, sincerity, devotion, magnanimity, liberality, clemency, altruism, thinking well of others despite rumors to the contrary, willingly helping others even if it requires great sacrifice of wealth. The absence of such virtues among the governing class is a sign that the polity may be on the verge of a breakdown. Without a measure of noble character on the part of the powerful, it becomes difficult to secure the rights of the weak. A stable society needs generosity (i.e., a willingness to forego

27 Since writing the original draft of this paper, I was able to read the dissertation of Maurice Pomerantz on al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād. The "brotherhood" (*ikhwāniyyāt*) letters of al-Ṣāḥib seem to reflect the sense given to brotherhood in the *Tadhkira*. See Maurice Alex Pomerantz, "Licit Magic and Divine Grace: The Life and Letters of al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 385/995)," (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2010), especially chapter six, "Ikhwānīyāt: Letters of Friendship," 174–196.

personal interests) no less than equity, especially on the part of the powerful in their dealings both with the masses but also with one another. Noble character, as cultivated by the political elite, fosters bonds of friendship that ensures the smooth running of governmental affairs upon which the welfare of society depends.

Despite his apparent disappointment with the political conditions of his day, Ibn Ḥamdūn did not exploit *makārim al-akhlāq* to conjure a perfect order of piety as others before and after him would do. He uses it for a vision that is still worldly as much as it is religious. Unlike al-Ghazālī, who understood noble character more in terms of the City of God, Ibn Ḥamdūn was firmly rooted in the Earthly City. He compiled his anthology in order to reassert the system of ethics by which the Earthly City might prosper, infusing the political culture of his day with *makārim al-akhlāq*. It may be for this reason that great efforts were made to suppress the *Tadhkira* even after the death of its compiler.[28]

In the remainder of the paper, we will illustrate our reflections with a handful of examples from the chapter on noble character in the *Tadhkira*. Many reports that Ibn Ḥamdūn includes in his anthology can also be found in the works of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Ibn Ḥazm, al-Ghazālī, and Wahba al-Zuḥaylī. A single heritage can be constructed in different fashions. Again, Ibn Ḥamdūn diverges from the others in terms of material he includes from the Umayyad and Abbasid periods.

The reports he stitches together include aphorisms, anecdotes, and short stories. For example, an anecdote states that those who are envious only harm themselves.[29] Another exhorts its audience to scrutinize the character traits of others, to determine whether they possess modesty, before associating with them.[30] Yet another anecdote, an exchange between two figures from the early Abbasid period, suggests the importance of clemency and discretion between members of the political elite:

> Ibn al-Sammāk (Abbasid courtier, d. 183/799) said to Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (Abbasid prince and one-time governor of Basra) upon seeing him turn away from him, "Why do you turn away from me?" He (Muḥammad b. Sulaymān) said, "I have heard something I detest about you." He (Ibn al-Sammāk) said, "Then I pay you no attention." Muḥammad b. Sulaymān said, "Why?" Ibn al-Sammāk said, "If it is a sin, you would forgive it. And if false, you would not accept it." [i.e., in either case, he

28 Conrad, op. cit., 86–87.

29 Ibn Ḥamdūn, *al-Tadhkira*, 2: 182 (no. 421).

30 Ibid., 2: 183 (no. 438).

> should have the forbearance not to change his opinion of the other.] Muḥammad b. Sulaymān thereupon returned to intimate terms with Ibn al-Sammāk.[31]

The effect of character on the behavior of those in power is exemplified in a rather striking anecdote about Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik (Umayyad prince and military commander, d. 121/738).[32] Apparently, Maslama would become vexed when too many petitioners crowded around him. At such moments, he would instruct courtly companions who were learned in *adab* to speak of *makārim al-akhlāq* and recount tales of virility (*murūʾa*), whereupon he would feel overjoyed and dole out allowances in abundance to all in need.

One trait given considerable space in the chapter is the willingness to sacrifice wealth for fellow members of the governing class who are in need. One story involves the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (r. 833–842).[33] Ibn Abī Duʾād (Abū ʿAbdallāh, lead inquisitor against those who refused to acknowledge the created nature of the Qurʾān, d. 240/854), was invited to lunch with the caliph, who complained to him of a man who had obtained for himself twenty million *dirham*s from the province of Fars in the days of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Qummī (from a notable family in Qumm and governor of Fars). The caliph said he was determined to seize this wealth and kill the perpetrator. Ibn Abī Duʾād, asking the person's name, is told it is Yaʿqūb b. Farādūn, the Christian secretary in the employ of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā. Hearing this, Ibn Abī Duʾād refuses to wash his hands, claiming he has no need to eat. As it turns out, Yaʿqūb b. Farādūn is an intimate friend of Ibn Abī Duʾād, who makes this point by saying, "His house is my house." He is chagrined at the caliph's disregard for the bonds of brotherhood that bind the governing class together in harmony. By refusing to eat, he is using the code of ethics against the caliph to shame him into living up to its standards. To get Ibn Abī Duʾād to eat, the caliph offers him a cut of the proceeds, but Ibn Abī Duʾād is adamant. The caliph goes so far as to place food in front of him, but he still refuses. The caliph begins eating alone but can only manage three small bites—and cannot even get those down. He finally relents, exclaiming, "O Abū ʿAbdallāh, draw near and eat for I give you all of the wealth and his life (i.e., the life of Yaʿqūb b. Farādūn)." At this, Ibn Abī Duʾād lauds the caliph, "By God—the only God—I have never seen or heard of a caliph or ruler nobler than you in forgiveness, more open-handed, more full of affection, or

31 Ibid., 2: 186 (no. 442).

32 Ibid., 2: 190 (no. 453).

33 Ibid., 2: 193–194 (no. 462).

loftier in *akhlāq*." When the news reached Yaqūb b. Farādūn, he began to thank Ibn Abī Du'ād who stopped him, saying, "I did it not for thanks but for *ḥurma* (that is, the inviolability of a brother's life)."

Interestingly, such vignettes are able to convey the ideal character traits expected of the ruling class without papering over the historical reality of the gross failures of the governing class: nepotism, extortion, ambition. Ibn Ḥamdūn lays out the ideal traits of noble character while also showing keen appreciation for the historical realities of rule in Islam. One trait, reminiscent of noble character in the circles of Sufism, is freedom from material attachments. In the writings of Sufism, such detachment signals one's devotion to the other world. Here, it is a trait vital for the harmony of political culture. One is to show detachment from wealth and a corresponding readiness to sacrifice it for fellow officials even when the beneficiary shows no signs of gratitude! In other words, the code of ethics is to be maintained whether or not all follow its dictates, for the alternative is worse, namely, a loss of faith in the ethical standards that hold the polity together.

This can be seen in a story about none other than Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak (d. 190/805),[34] who is praised for his intelligence and character. It happened one time that the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786–809) became annoyed with his secretary, Manṣūr b. Ziyād, and ordered that ten million dirhams be demanded of him—or his head. A messenger was sent to Manṣūr to convey the news to him. He had no choice but to acquiesce to his own death. Swearing that he does not have even three hundred thousand *dirham*s, he asks how he could come up with ten million. He enters his house to make out his will but then thinks better of it, requesting, instead, to be brought to Yaḥyā. When he hears of Manṣūr's situation, Yaḥyā gathers the money together from a combination of his funds, those of his sons, and those of his concubine! The messenger takes the money and returns with Manṣūr who, upon reaching the city gate, recites a verse mocking Yaḥyā for being obliged to make such a sacrifice as a result of his lofty standing in society. The messenger, who later meets up with Yaḥyā, informs him of his beneficiary's remark, "You have granted favors to an ingrate." But Yaḥyā only makes excuses for Manṣūr, saying, "Perhaps his tongue was quicker than his conscience, for the man is of great station." In other words, despite rogue members of the ruling class, the code of ethics holding it together must be maintained at all costs. The social order on which the polity is based would be in jeopardy if people were to lose faith in its standards of selflessness, as indicated in the following anecdote: "Fathers store away for sons—and the

34 Ibid., 2: 190–192 (no. 454).

dead preserve for the living—nothing better than the production of *maʿrūf* (that is, good behavior) among the people of *adab* and *ḥasab* (that is, society's elite)."[35]

Over the course of the chapter, all sorts of tales recount amazing feats of magnanimity, generosity, and clemency. These stories work to cultivate a certain ethos of character among the brethren. One can appeal to this ethos when needed so as to maintain a sense of dignity among the elite. Again, the ethics in question goes beyond the justice of rights and duties, that is, what one owes and is owed, and it was not meant to be a system of ethics that worked only to the benefit of the elite as illustrated in the above examples. The magnanimity that the elite expected in their mutual dealings could have positive results for other levels of society, including the needy. We saw this earlier in the anecdote about Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik. It is also exemplified in a story about Abū Dulaf al-ʿIjlī,[36] whom Hārūn al-Rashīd reprimands for failing to govern the province of Jabal effectively. However, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib al-ʿAlawī, who happened to be at court at the time, intervenes on behalf of Abū Dulaf, causing the caliph to honor him instead of reprimanding him, and out of gratitude, Abū Dulaf tries to give al-ʿAbbās ten thousand *dīnār*s, but al-ʿAbbās refuses to accept, stating that he would never take a reward for a *maʿrūf*. This only agitates Abū Dulaf, who wants the benefit (*niʿma*) he received to be "completed" with some kind of reciprocity in kind. As a result of his insistence, al-ʿAbbās agrees to "possess" his gift but on condition that he leave it with Abū Dulaf to distribute to a people whose "rights" al-ʿAbbās is obliged to meet (*lazimatnī ḥuqūq li-qawm*), presumably the poor. Of course, the fact that an ʿAlid is the agent of welfare in society may have specifically religious significance, but the principle holds in general, namely, the wide-reaching magnanimity of the elite. This can be seen in a vignette about al-Walīd b. ʿUtba,[37] who, while governor of Medina during the caliphate of Muʿāwiya (r. 41–60/661–680), was known for freeing captives and meeting the obligations of debtors. He was also famed for looking on those around him "with an eye gentler than water" and for addressing them "with speech sweeter than fruit." Once, during lunch at his palace, the baker approached with a platter only to trip on a pillow. The platter fell from his hand, landing on the governor's lap. At this, the governor got up, went to change his clothes, and returned with a radiant face. Anticipating the baker's terror at what awaited,

35 Ibid., 2: 193 (no. 459).

36 Ibid., 2: 196–197 (no. 471).

37 Ibid., 2: 199 (no. 478).

he turned to him and set him and his children free "for the face of God." The magnanimity of the mighty works to the benefit of all, high and low.

To conclude, *makārim al-akhlāq* is a pervasive feature of Muslim society. With Ibn Ḥamdūn, we see how it features as a vital part of the political thinking of Islam as to what makes for a good society, not simply in a philosophical sense, but in a religio-political sense. This thinking is embodied in literature, belles-lettres, and a humanistic education as represented by the *Tadhkira*. Ibn Ḥamdūn's anthology thus brings a particular vision to bear on the way it shapes Islam's heritage of *makārim al-akhlāq*, defining it as the distinguishing mark of the friendship that holds a ruling class together in harmony. This makes noble character integral to the wellbeing of the polity as a whole. To understand the political thinking of Islam in the Abbasid period, much is to be gained from taking a closer look at 'humanistic' types of literature in addition to political treatises, administrative manuals, mirrors-for-princes, and the like. Such literature indicates that the cultural shapers of the day very consciously understood that noble character, as a prophetic ideal, was also vital for the statecraft by which Muḥammad's *umma* was to be governed and made to prosper.

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CHAPTER 5

Prinzen, Prinzessinnen, Konkubinen und Eunuchen am fatimidischen Hof

Heinz Halm

Am letzten Tag des Monats Ramaḍān des Jahres 516 (2. Dezember 1122) – einen Tag vor dem Fest des Fastenbrechens – wurden am Hof des Fatimidenkalifen al-Āmir die „für das Fest bestimmten Textilien" (*al-kiswa al-muḫtaṣṣa bil-ʿīd*) an die Mitglieder des Hofes verteilt. Für die Verteilung zuständig war der Wesir al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī (amtierte 515–519/1122–1125), dessen Sohn Mūsā b. al-Maʾmūn uns die Nachricht darüber in seiner dem Andenken des Vaters gewidmeten Chronik, den *Aḫbār Miṣr* („Nachrichten über Ägypten"), überliefert hat.[1] Der Text ist eine ausgezeichnete – und in diesem Umfang einzigartige – Quelle für die Zusammensetzung des fatimidischen Hofes, gibt er uns doch eine Art *nomenclatura* der Höflinge des Kalifen al-Āmir.

Solche Verteilungen kostbarer Textilien aus den fatimidischen *ṭirāz*-Werkstätten fanden regelmäßig anlässlich bestimmter Feste und Anlässe statt und dienten offenbar dem Zweck, die Höflinge zu entlohnen. Unsere Quelle – Mūsā b. al-Maʾmūn – berichtet darüber, wenn auch nicht in gleicher Ausführlichkeit, bei mehreren Gelegenheiten; seine Absicht dabei ist wohl, die verschwenderische Freigebigkeit seines Vaters besonders hervorzuheben. Die Verteilung der *kiswa al-muḫtaṣṣa bil-ʿīd* war die wichtigste und umfangreichste, so dass man das Fest des Fastenbrechens bei Hofe geradezu das „Fest der Gewänder" (*ʿīd al-ḫulal*) nannte, „da die Gewänder an alle verteilt wurden, an anderen [Festen] nur an besondere Würdenträger". Das Eintreffen der Textilien am Vorabend des Festes wird eigens in der Chronik vermerkt; im Jahr 516/1122 wird ihr Wert auf fast 20.000 Dinar veranschlagt.[2]

Die Zuteilung bei den festlichen Anlässen zweiter Ordnung waren, wie gesagt, auf einen bestimmten Personenkreis beschränkt; so wurden zu Beginn des Ramaḍān die Festgewänder für die Freitage des Fastenmonats (*al-kiswa al-muḫtaṣṣa bi-ġurrat šahr Ramaḍān*) nur an den Kalifen al-Āmir, seinen Bruder

1 Mūsā b. al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, hrsg. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (Kairo: IFAO, 1983), 48–54.

2 Al-Baṭāʾiḥī, *Aḫbār*, 38 und 48.

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und seine Konkubinen sowie an den Wesir al-Baṭā'iḥī vergeben.[3] Die Verteilungen erfolgten zum Schlachtopferfest am 10. Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa (*kiswat ʿīd an-naḥr*) und zum schiitischen Fest zur Erinnerung an die legendäre Designation ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālibs zum Nachfolger des Propheten am Teich von Ḫumm (*kiswat ʿīd ġadīr Ḫumm*) am 18. Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa; bei letzterem wurden im Jahr 516/1122 den Kommandeuren (*azimma*) der einzelnen Heeresabteilungen 144 Gewänder zugeteilt.[4]

Zu den religiösen Festen des islamischen Mondjahres kamen die weltlichen des Sonnenjahres hinzu. Zum Jahresanfang (*naurūz*) wurden neben Lebensmitteln und eigens geprägten Dinaren auch Textilien (*al-kiswa al-muḫtaṣṣa bin-naurūz*) verteilt.[5] Anlässlich der Salbung des Nilometers bei Erreichen der erforderlichen Nilhöhe wurde wiederum nur ein kleiner Kreis von Personen bedacht: neben dem Kalifen, seinen Brüdern und vier seiner Konkubinen der Wesir und seine Söhne sowie der Wärter des Nilometers, der traditionell den Namen Ibn Abī r-Raddād trug.[6] Derselbe Personenkreis erhielt anlässlich der gegen Ende der Nilschwelle gefeierten Kanalöffnung spezielle Kleidung, die *kiswa al-muḫtaṣṣa bi-fatḥ al-Ḫalīǧ* genannt wurde.[7] Außerdem werden noch die Textilien für den Winter (*al-kiswa liš-šitā'*) erwähnt, mit denen ein sehr viel größerer Kreis bedacht wurde.[8]

Die verschiedenen Textilien, die unsere Quelle ausführlich benennt, können hier nicht untersucht werden; sie bedürften einer Spezialstudie. Dagegen sollen die verschiedenen Personengruppen am Hofe betrachtet werden, auch wenn sie in den Qullen zu den *kiswa*-Verteilungen nicht immer alle erwähnt werden.[9]

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3 Al-Baṭā'iḥī, *Aḫbār*, 54 f.

4 Al-Baṭā'iḥī, *Aḫbār*, 42 f.

5 Al-Baṭā'iḥī, *Aḫbār*, 58, 65, 67.

6 Al-Baṭā'iḥī, *Aḫbār*, 71, 73. Zum Zeremoniell s. Heinz Halm, *Die Kalifen von Kairo. Die Fatimiden in Ägypten 973–1074* (München: C.H. Beck, 2003), 54 ff.

7 Al-Baṭā'iḥī, *Aḫbār*, 55, 74. Zum Zeremoniell s. Halm, *Die Kalifen*, 64 ff.

8 Al-Baṭā'iḥī, *Aḫbār*, 48 gibt nicht weniger als 14 305 Stück an; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafā bi-aḫbār al-aʾimma al-Fāṭimīyīn al-ḫulafā* 111, hrsg. Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad (Kairo: al-Maǧlis al-Aʿlā liš-Šuʾūn al-Islāmīya, Laǧnat Iḥyāʾ at-Turāṭ al-Islāmī, 1393/1972), 82 ult. erscheint mit 4 305 Stück wahrscheinlicher.

9 Siehe dazu auch Werner Diem, *Ehrendes Kleid und ehrendes Wort. Studien zu* tašrīf *in mamlūkischer und vormamlūkischer Zeit* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2002); sowie Stewart Gordon, hrsg., *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

1 Die Prinzen (*al-umarāʾ al-ašrāf*)

Da sind zunächst die Prinzen, also die Angehörigen der Fatimiden-Familie, die Onkel, Brüder, Neffen und Söhne des regierenden Kalifen und deren Nachkommen. Ihre Zahl muss beträchtlich gewesen sein; für den ersten Kalifen al-Mahdī und seinen Sohn al-Qāʾim sind jeweils sechs Söhne namentlich bezeugt, für al-Manṣūr fünf, für al-Muʿizz vier, für al-Mustanṣir nicht weniger als zwölf und für al-Ḥāfiẓ acht. Die Prinzen bewohnten in Kairo ein eigenes Viertel, die *ḥārat al-umarāʾ al-ašrāf al-aqārib*,[10] doch besaßen einige von ihnen auch Villen am Ufer des Kanals (*al-Ḫalīǧ*).[11] Auffällig ist, dass sie niemals als Gouverneure von Provinzen oder gar als Heerführer in Erscheinung treten – ganz im Gegensatz zu den Prinzen der nachfolgenden Ayyubiden-Dynastie, die alle mit bedeutenden Apanagen oder Kommandos ausgestattet werden. Eine Ausnahme bildet – allerdings nur in den Anfängen der Dynastie – der designierte Thronfolger (*walī ʿahd al-muʾminīn*): al-Qāʾim führt als Kronprinz die Feldzüge gegen Ägypten, al-Manṣūr den gegen den „Mann auf dem Esel" Abū Yazīd; Muʿizz' Sohn ʿAbdallāh schlägt im Jahre 363/947 die Qarmaṭen vor den Toren von Kairo, zieht danach unter dem Sonnenschirm in Kairo ein und wird öffentlich als Thronfolger proklamiert. Danach kommt das allerdings nicht mehr vor, wohl vor allem deshalb, weil die Kalifen seit al-Ḥākim meist als Kinder oder Jugendliche auf den Thron kommen: al-Ḥākim war elf, aẓ-Ẓāhir sechzehn, al-Mustanṣir sieben, al-Mustaʿlī neunzehn oder zwanzig, al-Āmir knapp fünf, aẓ-Ẓāfir siebzehn, al-Fāʾiz fünf und al-ʿĀḍid neun oder elf Jahre alt. Das Fernhalten der Prinzen von politischen Ämtern und militärischen Kommandos hatte offenbar Methode: man wollte wohl familieninterne Macht- und Nachfolgekämpfe vermeiden.[12]

Doch trotz aller Vorsichtsmaßregeln kam es immer wieder zu Versuchen einzelner Prinzen, sich an die Macht zu putschen, zumal dann, wenn sie kein Vollbruder (*šaqīq*) des Thronanwärters waren oder als Ältere zugunsten eines Jüngeren übergangen wurden, was beim Fehlen eines Primogeniturrechts durchaus möglich war und unter den späteren Wesir-Sultanen seit Badr al-Ǧamālī mehrfach vorkam. Der bekannteste Fall ist die Entmachtung von al-Mustanṣirs

10 Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār bi-ḏikr al-ḫiṭaṭ wa-l-āṯār* (= *Ḫiṭaṭ*) (Būlāq: Dār aṭ-Ṭibāʿa al-Miṣrīya, 1853–1854), II: 16, 3 f.

11 Ibn Muyassar, *al-Muntaqā min Aḫbār Miṣr*, hrsg. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (Kairo: IFAO, 1981), 97, 6 (= al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 107, pu); al-Baṭāʾiḥī, *Aḫbār*, 100, 13.

12 Das Problem der Designation – *naṣṣ* – des Thronfolgers durch den Vorgänger kann hier nicht erörtert werden; es scheint jedenfalls, dass der nach der religiösen Lehre der Ismailiten zur Übertragung des Charismas von Imam zu Imam unabdingbare *naṣṣ* ein Postulat blieb und in der Praxis anscheinend selten wirklich vorkam.

Sohn, Nizār, und seinen Brüdern ʿAbdallāh und Ismāʿīl, die im Jahr 487/1094 von dem Wesir al-Afḍal Badr al-Ǧamālī zugunsten des kleinen Aḥmad *al-Mustaʿlī* verdrängt wurden. Nizār selbst wurde nach seiner Rebellion in Alexandria gefangen genommen und umgebracht; seine Brüder Ṭāhir, Ismāʿīl und Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad sowie sein Sohn al-Ḥusain flohen in den Maġrib.[13] Al-Ḥusain b. Nizār unternahm im Jahre 525/1131 den Versuch, von dort aus die Herrschaft in Ägypten zurückzugewinnen; das Unternehmen endete mit seinem Tod; 543/1148–1149 versuchte ein Sohn Nizārs die berberischen Luwāta-Stämme im westlichen Nildelta aufzuwiegeln, und ebenso scheiterte ein Putschversuch des Nizār-Enkels Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. Nizār, der 556/1161 oder 557/1162 in der Cyrenaika (Barqa) unter dem Thronnamen *al-Mustanṣir* auftrat; er wurde in Kairo hingerichtet.[14]

Bei der Thronbesteigung al-Ḥākims im Jahr 386/996 geriet der Prinz ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, ein Enkel al-Mahdīs, in Verdacht, „Propagandisten" (*duʿāt*) beherbergt zu haben; sein Haus wurde daraufhin beschlagnahmt.[15] Im Jahr 393/1003 ließ sich der Prinz ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, ein weitläufiger Verwandter al-Ḥākims, im Kreise seiner Zechgenossen von einem Sterndeuter die Erhebung zum Imam-Kalifen prophezeien; als al-Ḥākim davon erfuhr, ließ er ihn im Bad ermorden.[16] 528/1134 erhob sich Ḥasan, der Sohn al-Ḥāfiẓ', gegen den Vater und den Bruder, den als Nachfolger designierten Ḥaidara Abū Turāb; die Folge waren schwere Straßenkämpfe zwischen den verschiedenen Truppenteilen und eine zeitweilige Machtübernahme Ḥasans, die andauerte, bis der Vater ihn 529/1135 vergiften ließ.[17] Und im Jahr 539/1144–1145 versuchte ein Sohn al-Mustanṣirs, Abū l-Ḥusain, den *ṣāḥib al-bāb* (den höchsten Hofbeamten nach dem Wesir) Ḫumārtāš al-Ḥāfiẓī zu einem gemeinsamen Coup gegen den Kalifen al-Ḥāfiẓ zu überreden, indem er ihm das Wesirat versprach, doch der verriet ihn an den Kalifen, der ihn inhaftieren ließ.[18]

In unserem Text über die Textilverteilung des Jahres 516/1122 wird zunächst ein Bruder des regierenden Kalifen al-Āmir, Abū l-Faḍl Ǧaʿfar, besonders reich ausgestattet.[19] Seine Bevorzugung hat wohl ihren Grund darin, dass er ein Voll-

13 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 15 und 147.

14 Ibn Muyassar, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, 139; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 147; 186; 246.

15 Ibn Saʿīd al-Maġribī, *an-Nuǧūm az-zāhira fī ḥulā ḥaḍrat al-Qāhira: al-qism al-ḫāṣṣ bil-Qāhira min Kitāb al-Muġrib fī ḥulā l-Maġrib* I/2, hrsg. Ḥusain Naṣṣār (Kairo: Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Kutub, 1970), 55, 1.

16 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, II: 47 und 59 pu.

17 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 149–154.

18 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 179.

19 Al-Baṭāʾiḥī, *Aḫbār*, 49 unten.

bruder (*šaqīq*) des Kalifen war.[20] Er ist derselbe, den der Wesir al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī dann ein Jahr später angeblich zur Ermordung gegen al-Āmir anzustiften versuchte, was zum Sturz und zur späteren Hinrichtung des Wesirs führte.[21] Erst weiter unten im Text – nach den Konkubinen des Kalifen – sind mit weit geringerer Ausstattung die Prinzen Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad b. al-Mustaʿlī und Dāwud genannt, die wohl nur Halbbrüder des Kalifen waren, und dann folgen „die Söhne und Töchter der Vettern".[22]

2 Die Prinzessinnen (*as-sayyidāt*)

Über die Frauen am Hof der Fatimiden haben Delia Cortese und Simonetta Calderini in ihrem schönen Buch *Women and the Fatimids in the World of Islam* ausführlich gehandelt; ich möchte mich daher hier auf einige Beobachtungen beschränken.[23]

Von besonderem Interesse sind natürlich die Töchter der regierenden Kalifen. Von al-Mahdīs sieben Töchtern kennen wir nicht einmal die Namen.[24] Al-Qāʾims vier Töchter hießen: Umm ʿĪsā, Umm ʿAbdallāh, Umm al-Ḥusain und Umm Sulaimān;[25] die fünf Töchter al-Manṣūrs: Hiba, Arwā, Asmāʾ, Umm Salama und Manṣūra.[26] Ob aber die mit *Umm* gebildeten *kunan* tatsächlich eine Mutterschaft bezeichnen, ist zweifelhaft; es hat vielmehr den Anschein, dass die Kalifentöchter grundsätzlich nicht verheiratet wurden. Von den sieben Töchtern des Muʿizz[27] sind drei namentlich bekannt: ʿAbda al-Kubrā, ʿAbda und Rašīda; alle drei häuften riesige Reichtümer an, so dass man, begierig auf ihr Erbe, ihr Ableben ungeduldig erwartete.[28] Auch al-ʿAzīz' Tochter Sitt al-

20 Ibn Muyassar, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, 99, 3.

21 Ibn Muyassar, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, 103 pu.; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 110.

22 Al-Baṭāʾiḥī, *Aḫbār*, 50 unten.

23 Delia Cortese/Simonetta Calderini, *Women and the Fatimids in the World of Islam* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).

24 Ibn Ẓāfir, *Aḫbār ad-duwal al-munqaṭiʿa*, hrsg. André Ferré (Kairo: IFAO, 1972), 12 pu.

25 Ibn Ẓāfir, *Aḫbār*, 16 ult.; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, I: 86 pu.; ders., *Kitāb al-Muqaffā l-kabīr*, hrsg. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī (Beirut: Dār al-Ġarb al-Islāmī, 1991), VI: 180.

26 Ibn Ẓāfir, *Aḫbār*, 20, 3; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, I: 91; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, II: 178.

27 Ibn Ẓāfir, *Aḫbār*, 28, 6.

28 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, II: 40 und 294; Anonym, *Kitāb al-Ḏaḫāʾir wa-t-tuḥaf*, hrsg. Muḥammad Ḥamīdallāh (Kuwait: Dāʾirat al-Maṭbūʿāt wa-n-Nashr, 1959), 241–243; Ghāda al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, *Book of Gifts and Rarities* (Cambridge, MA: Distributed for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University by Harvard University Press, 1996), §§ 355–358; Cortese/Calderini, *Women*, 155 f. Siehe dazu auch W. Landry, *Kitab l-Hadaya wa at-*

Mulk – die Schwester al-Ḥākims – und al-Ḥākims Tochter Sitt Miṣr blieben unverheiratet[29] und für keine der späteren Kalifentöchter ist ein Ehemann bezeugt. Wenn diese Beobachtung zutrifft, dann darf man auch dahinter eine bestimmte Absicht vermuten: Nachkommen aus einer weiblichen Nebenlinie wollte man offensichtlich vermeiden. So ist denn auch der einzige Versuch, diesen Usus außer Kraft zu setzen, gescheitert. Als nach dem plötzlichen Tod des Kalifen al-ʿAzīz am 13. Oktober 996 (28. Ramaḍān 386) der Eunuch Barǧawān den elfjährigen al-Ḥākim als Nachfolger inthronisierte, unternahm dessen sechsundzwanzigjährige Schwester Sitt al-Mulk eine Art Putschversuch: „Sie kam auf den Gedanken, durch einen Handstreich die Macht zu ergreifen und ihren Vetter ʿAbdallāh, in den sie sich verliebt hatte, auf den Thron zu setzten". Doch der Eunuch verhinderte den Coup und ließ die ehrgeizige Prinzessin einsperren.[30]

Gewöhnlich treten die Kalifentöchter nur dann aus dem Schatten der Palastmauern, wenn es gilt, Krisen der Dynastie zu bewältigen. Die Rolle der Sitt al-Mulk nach dem Verschwinden ihres Bruders al-Ḥākim im Jahre 411/1021 ist wohlbekannt; sie setzte die Thronfolge ihres erst sechzehnjährigen Neffen ʿAlī *aẓ-Ẓāhir* durch, für den sie auch bis zu ihrem Tod im Jahr 413/1023 die Regentschaft übernahm, und sicherte damit den Fortbestand der Dynastie und des Imamats.[31]

Eine weitere Nachfolgkrise wurde ausgelöst durch die Verdrängung des ältesten Mustanṣir-Sohnes Nizār und die Einsetzung des neunzehnjährigen al-Mustaʿlī durch den Wesir-Sultan al-Afḍal im Jahre 487/1094. Sie führte nicht nur zum Abfall der „Nizariten" von Alamūt unter Ḥasan-e Ṣabbāḥ und – wie wir oben sahen – zur Flucht von Nizārs Brüdern und seinem Sohn nach dem Maġrib, von wo aus sie wiederholt bewaffnete Züge gegen Ägypten unternahmen,

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Tuḥaf: A Unique Window on Islamic Textiles, in *Textile Society of America Symposium 2010, Paper 32*, Online-Publication (http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1031&context=tsaconf; aufgerufen am 25. März 2014).

29 Zu Sitt al-Mulk s. Heinz Halm, „Le destin de la princesse Sitt al-Mulk," in *L'Egypte fatimide – son art et son histoire*, hrsg. Marianne Barrucand (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), 69–72; Art. *Sitt al-Mulk*, in EI² (H. Halm). Zu Sitt Miṣr: Anonym, *al-Ḏaḫā'ir wa-t-tuḥaf* 240 und 242; al-Ḥǧǧāwī al-Qaddūmī, *Book of Gifts*, § 354.

30 Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Tārīḫ Abī Yaʿlā Ḥamza ibn al-Qalānisī al-maʿrūf bi-Ḏail ta'rīḫ Dimašq*, hrsg. H.F. Amedroz (Beirut: Maṭbaʿat al-Ābā' al-Yasūʿiyīn, 1908), 44, 20–22; Halm, „Le destin de la princesse," 70.

31 Die Frage, ob sie an der Beseitigung ihres Bruders beteiligt war, muss hier unerörtert bleiben; ich halte es für eher unwahrscheinlich. Vgl. im Weiteren Halm, *Die Kalifen*, 300 ff.; Cortese/Calderini, *Women*, 120; 124.

sondern sie stieß offenbar auch innerhalb des Schlosses von Kairo auf heftige und anhaltende Opposition. Man musste in den Reihen der fatimidischen Prinzen selbst mit Illoyalität rechnen, so dass sich im Jahr 516/1122 al-Mustaʿlīs Sohn al-Āmir – geleitet von dem neuen Wesir al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī – zu einem außergewöhnlichen Schritt veranlasst sah. In einem Saal des Schlosses versammelte er um sich die Prinzen, Gelehrten und Emire sowie den Obersten Qāḍī, den Obersten Dāʿī (*dāʿī d-duʿāt*) und den Leiter des „Hauses der Weisheit" (*dār al-ʿilm*). In einem angrenzenden Raum, hinter einem Vorhang verborgen – doch durch ihre Brüder und Vettern aufgrund der Stimme identifiziert – befand sich eine Vollschwester (*šaqīqa*) Nizārs, die, wie gewünscht, bezeugte, dass ihr Bruder nie als Thronfolger designiert worden sei. Dieses Zeugnis wurde in einem Manifest nicht nur in der ʿAmr-Moschee von Fusṭāṭ Miṣr öffentlich verkündet, sondern auch brieflich nach Alamūt gesandt; das Sendschreiben wird unter dem Titel *al-Hidāya al-Āmirīya* (*Die Āmirsche Rechtleitung*) bis heute von den Ismailiten tradiert.[32]

Einen letzten Auftritt hatten die Kalifentöchter in den Jahren 555–556/1160–1161, als die beiden Töchter des Ḥāfiẓ – Schwestern des Ẓāfir und Tanten des Fāʾiz – erfolgreich gegen die mächtigen armenischen Wesir-Sultane, die Banū Ruzzīk, intrigierten. Beide führten nacheinander den Namen – oder vielmehr Titel – *Sitt al-Quṣūr*, „Herrin der Schlösser", der wohl der jeweils ältesten lebenden Kalifentochter zustand; schon al-Āmirs Tochter hatte so geheißen.[33]

Als der junge Kalif aẓ-Ẓāfir durch seinen Liebhaber im Jahre 549/1154 ermordet worden war und dann auch seine älteren Brüder Yūsuf und Ǧibrīl dem Wüten des Wesirs ʿAbbās zum Opfer fielen, wandten deren Schwestern sich mit einem dramatischen Appell an den Gouverneur der beiden oberägyptischen Provinzen al-Bahnasā und al-Ušmūnain, den Armenier Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk; ihrem Brief fügten sie als Zeichen ihrer äußersten Not ihre abgeschnittenen Haare bei. Ṭalāʾiʿ marschierte daraufhin nach Kairo und übernahm die Macht als Wesir-Sultan des fünfjährigen Kalifen al-Fāʾiz, des Neffen der beiden Prinzessinnen. Doch der Armenier machte sich trotz seines energischen und erfolgreichen Regiments bald missliebig, wohl nicht nur durch sein nicht-ismailitisches,

32 Ibn Muyassar, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, 98 pu.–101; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āẓ*, III: 84 f. Die *Hidāya* ist ediert von Asaf A.A. Fyzee, *al-Hidayatu'l-amiriya, Being an Epistle of the Tenth Fatimid Caliph al-Amir bi-ahkāmi'l-lāh* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938); Nachdruck in Ǧamāl ad-Dīn aš-Šayyāl, *Maǧmūʿat al-waṯāʾiq al-fāṭimīya* ([1]Kairo: Maṭbaʿat Lajnat at-Taʾlīf, 1958; [2]Kairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1965), 203–230. Dazu ausführlich S.M. Stern, „The Epistle of the Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir (al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya) – Its Date and Its Purpose," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1950), 20–31.

33 Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āẓ*, III: 123 apu.

zwölferschiitisches Bekenntnis, sondern vor allem durch seine unumschränkte Machtausübung, so dass die ältere Tante des Fāʾiz bald gegen ihn zu intrigieren begann und auf seinen Sturz hinarbeitete. Sie korrespondierte heimlich mit dem Gouverneur des oberägyptischen Qūṣ, und sie wandte an die 50.000 Dinar auf, um die Ermordung des Wesirs Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk zu organisieren, doch der kam ihr zuvor und ließ sie durch die Eunuchen umbringen.[34]

Die Fürsorge für den kleinen Kalifen übernahm daraufhin seine jüngere Tante; ihr gelang dann auch, was ihrer Schwester misslungen war: sie plante das Attentat, dem Ṭalāʾiʿ schließlich 556/1161 zum Opfer fiel. Doch einer von dessen Söhnen soll sie mit einem Turbantuch erwürgt haben. Eine dritte Schwester schwor, von dem Mordplan nichts gewusst zu haben, und überlebte.[35]

Bei der Verteilung der Textilien zum Fastenbrechen des Jahres 516/1122 werden nur zwei Prinzessinnen genannt, anscheinend Tanten des Kalifen al-Āmir: die namenlose „Prinzessin Tante" (*as-sayyida al-ʿamma*) und die „Prinzessin Tante al-ʿĀbida"; beide rangieren hinter den Konkubinen des Kalifen.[36]

3 Die Konkubinen (*al-ǧihāt*)

Die Fatimiden-Kalifen haben anscheinend nur in seltenen Ausnahmefällen legitime Ehefrauen gehabt; davon wird gleich die Rede sein. Der Normalfall war, dass sie mehrere Sklavinnen als Konkubinen (*ǧihāt* oder *ǧawārin*, Sing. *ǧāriya*) hatten, mit denen der Besitzer nach islamischem Recht Geschlechtsverkehr haben durfte. Brachte eine von diesen Frauen einen Sohn zur Welt, so bekam sie einen besonderen Status als „Sohnesmutter" (*umm walad*, Plural *ummahāt aulād*), konnte nicht mehr verkauft werden und war nach dem Tode des Herrn automatisch frei.[37] Fast alle Fatimiden-Kalifen waren Söhne solcher Sklavinnen, die – vor allem wenn ihre Söhne als Minderjährige auf den Thron kamen – eine einflussreiche Stellung am Hof erlangen konnten. In den fatimidischen Quellen begegnet uns der besondere Rang der „Hohen Konkubine" (*al-ǧiha al-ʿāliya*) oder „Hauptkonkubine" (*al-ǧiha al-muʿẓama* oder *muʿẓam al-ǧihāt*), gelegentlich auch im Plural.[38]

34 Ibn Muyassar, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, 152, 5 (fälschlich: *ʿammat aẓ-Ẓāfir*); 155; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 215; 220; 226; 228; 231; 239.

35 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 239; 244; 246–248; 253.

36 Al-Baṭāʾiḥī, *Aḫbār*, 50, 14 f.

37 Cortese/Calderini, *Women*, 45 f.

38 Al-Baṭāʾiḥī, *Aḫbār*, 51, 4 (im Plural) und 14; 82, 11; Ibn Muyassar, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, 100, 12; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 86, 14.

Sehen wir uns die ehelichen Verhältnisse der einzelnen Kalifen nacheinander an! Al-Mahdī (reg. 909–934), der erste Kalif aus der Dynastie der Fatimiden, war schon in seiner Jugend, als die „Fatimiden" noch im syrischen Salamya lebten, von seinem Onkel und Vorgänger mit dessen Tochter – also seiner Cousine – verheiratet worden; das wissen wir aus dem autobiographischen Bericht seines Milchbruders, des Sklaven Ǧaʿfar al-Ḥāǧib, der erzählt, wie er selbst in der Hochzeitsnacht vor dem Brautgemach mit dem vom Bräutigam herausgeworfenen blutbefleckten Laken um den Kopf im Kreise der entzückten Frauen tanzte.[39] Am Beginn der fatimidischen Herrschaft übernahm der *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbdallāh aš-Šīʿī im Schloss von Raqqāda bei al-Qairawān für seinen Herrn al-Mahdī den Harem, den der geflüchtete Aġlabiden-Emir Ziyādat Allāh III. hinterlassen hatte.[40] Al-Mahdī werden sechs zugeschrieben.[41]

Sein Sohn al-Qāʾim (reg. 934–946) war ebenfalls schon als junger Mann in Salamya verheiratet worden; in dem *ḥaram* al-Mahdīs, den zwei Sklaven sicher nach Raqqāda geleiteten, befand sich auch al-Qāʾims vermutlich noch kindliche Ehefrau (*zauǧa*) Umm Ḥabība.[42] Daneben werden sechs Konkubinen (*sarārīy*, Sing. *surrīya*) al-Qāʾims erwähnt, von denen eine, Karīma, die Mutter al-Manṣūrs wurde.[43] Für al-Manṣūr (946–953) werden drei *ummahāt aulād* genannt, darunter die Mutter des Muʿizz, die im Jahre 364/974–975 starb.[44]

Die Hauptkonkubine des Muʿizz (reg. 953–975), *as-Sayyida al-Muʿizzīya*, die Mutter des ʿAzīz, der noch im tunesischen al-Mahdīya geboren wurde (344/955), war anscheinend arabisch-beduinischer Herkunft.[45] Ihr Name war Durzān; wegen ihres hübschen Gesangs wurde sie auch *Taǧrīd* (Gezwitscher) genannt. Im Jahr 362/973 siedelte sie mit dem ganzen Kalifenhof in das neugegründete Kairo über, wo sie nach dem Tod des Muʿizz im Jahre 365/975,

39 Wladimir Ivanow, hrsg., „Sīrat Ǧaʿfar al-Ḥāǧib," *Maǧallat Kullīyat al-Ādāb / Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts* (Cairo) 4.2 (1936): 108 ult. f.; Heinz Halm, *Das Reich des Mahdi. Der Aufstieg der Fatimiden (875–973)* (München: Beck, 1991), 63 (engl. *The Empire of the Mahdi: The Rise of the Fatimids* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996], 61).

40 Qāḍī an-Nuʿmān, *Risālat Iftitāḥ ad-daʿwa*, hrsg. Wadād al-Qāḍī (Beirut: Dār aṭ-Ṭaqāfa, 1970), 216; Halm, *Reich des Mahdi*, 115 f. (Halm, *Empire*, 122).

41 Ibn Ẓāfir, *Aḫbār*, 12 pu. f.

42 „Sīrat Ǧāʿfar al-Ḥāǧib," 110, 13 f. und 132 pu.; Halm, *Die Kalifen*, 312.

43 Ibn Ẓāfir, *Aḫbār*, 16 ult.; Ibn Ḥammād, *Histoire des Rois ʿObaïdides: les califes fatimides*, hrsg./übers. M. Vonderheyden (Algier/Paris: J. Carbonel, 1927), 21, 13.

44 Ibn Ẓāfir, *Aḫbār*, 20, 3; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, I: 216.

45 Quḍāʿī, zitiert von al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II: 318, 9 f.; Cortese/Calderini, *Women*, 51.

während der Regierung ihres Sohnes al-ʿAzīz, als Stifterin und Bauherrin hervortrat.[46] Sie starb 385/995.[47]

Die Nachrichten über die Frauen des ʿAzīz (reg. 975–996) sind eher unklar. Noch in Tunesien wurde dem erst fünfzehnjährigen Prinzen (geb. im Mai 955) im Jahre 359/970 eine Tochter, die Prinzessin Sitt al-Mulk, geboren.[48] Die Mutter wird als *umm walad* bezeichnet; sie muss dem jungen al-ʿAzīz also wohl auch einen – wahrscheinlich früh verstorbenen – Sohn geboren haben. Sie ist wahrscheinlich identisch mit der *Sayyida al-ʿAzīzīya*, die in den Chroniken mehrfach erwähnt wird;[49] als sie 385/995 in Kairo starb, wurde sie von ihrer Tochter Sitt al-Mulk einen Monat lang betrauert.[50]

Im Jahre 369/979 heiratete al-ʿAzīz als Kronprinz in Kairo eine Cousine (*ibnat ʿammih*), deren Vater allerdings nicht genannt wird, und stattete sie mit der üppigen Mitgift (*mahr*) von 200.000 Golddinar aus.[51] Eine dritte Frau war anscheinend die Mutter seines Sohne al-Ḥākim, eine griechische Christin, deren Brüder al-Ḥākim später zu hohen kirchlichen Würden erhob: Orestes wurde Patriarch von Jerusalem, Arsenios melkitischer Metropolit von Fusṭāṭ Miṣr und Kairo.[52]

Al-Ḥākim (reg. 996–1021) erhielt im Jahr 390/1000 als Vierzehnjähriger eine Sklavin seiner älteren Schwester Sitt al-Mulk zur Frau.[53] Die Mutter seines einzigen Sohnes aẓ-Ẓāhir dagegen war eine Cousine, die Prinzessin Āmina, die Tochter des Prinzen ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿizz, die auch unter dem Beinamen Ruqya („Zauber, Charme") erscheint.[54] Daneben wird noch eine Konkubine

46 Ausführlich bei Cortese/Calderini, *Women*, 165–171.

47 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, II: 453, 6 von unten; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, I: 236; 229; 289. Al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, *Book of Gifts and Rarities*, § 14.

48 Ibn Muyassar, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, 175, 7 f.; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, I: 292. Cortese/Calderini, *Women*, 117 ff.

49 Al-Musabbiḥī, *al-Juzʾ al-arbaʿūn min Aḫbār Miṣr*, hrsg. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid/Thierry Bianquis (Kairo: IFAO, 1978), 94, 5 f.; 111, 12; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, I: 271, 9 und 13; al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī ḏikr al-ḫiṭaṭ wa-l-āṯār*, hrsg. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (London: Muʾassasat al-Furqān lit-Turāṯ al-Islāmī, 1416/1995), 45 f.

50 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, I: 288 f.

51 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, I: 252; an-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, hrsg. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn/Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad (Kairo 1412/1992), 158, 11 f.; Halm, *Die Kalifen*, 312.

52 Halm, *Die Kalifen*, 219. Zur Diskussion über die Frauen des ʿAzīz s. Cortese/Calderini, *Women*, 52 f.

53 Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz ad-durar wa-ǧāmiʿ al-ġurar* VI, hrsg. Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Munaǧǧid (Kairo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo, 1961), 265, 10.

54 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, II: 124, 3; Cortese/Calderini, *Women*, 53. Die Lesung *Ruqya* statt des üblichen *Ruqayya* scheint mir sinnvoller zu sein.

al-Barǧawānīya erwähnt.[55] Die Identität der verschiedenen Frauen ist jedoch nicht völlig geklärt.[56] Die Nachricht bei dem christlichen Autor Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, al-Ḥākim habe zahlreiche seiner Konkubinen und Sohnesmütter (!) in mit Steinen beschwerten Kisten im Nil ertränken lassen, ist – wie manche der von ihm tradierten Schauergeschichten – mit Skepsis aufzunehmen.[57]

Der 395/1005 geborene aẓ-Ẓāhir (reg. 1021–1036) hinterließ bei seinem frühen Tod nur einen Sohn, den siebenjährigen Maʿadd *al-Mustanṣir*. Dessen Mutter, die schwarze Sklavin[58] Raṣad („Talisman"), ist eine wohlbekannte Persönlichkeit, die während der Minderjährigkeit ihres Sohnes und wohl auch noch später großen politischen Einfluss auszuüben vermochte; erinnert sei nur an den vermehrten Import von sudanesischen Kriegssklaven (*ʿabīd aš-širā'*), die fortan ein bestimmendes Element der fatimidischen Armeen bildeten, an ihre Protektion des Wesirs al-Yāzūrī oder an ihre Korrespondenz mit der jemenitischen Königin Arwā.[59] Nubische oder sudanesische Sklavinnen scheinen unter den Konkubinen häufiger gewesen zu sein; der besondere Hinweis auf die dunkle Hautfarbe einzelner Fatimidenkalifen wie al-Āmir (*asmar, šadīd as-sumra*) und al-ʿĀḍid (*fuscus*) mag damit zusammenhängen.[60]

Al-Mustanṣir (reg. 1036–1094), von dem nicht weniger als ein Dutzend Söhne namentlich bekannt sind, muss einen großen Harem besessen haben. Es wird eine Szene überliefert, in der sich zwei seiner Frauen, die Hauptkonkubine – Mutter des Prinzen ʿAbdallāh – und die Mutter des Prinzen Nizār bei einem Ausflug während der Nilschwelle in die Haare geraten und sich darüber zanken, welcher Sohn die Nachfolge des Kalifen antreten werde; beide Frauen werden vom Kalifen vorgeladen und in ihren Hoffnungen enttäuscht.[61] Mag die Szene auch erfunden sein, um die Thronfolge Nizārs zu delegitimieren – solche Haremszänkereien dürften durchaus üblich gewesen sein.

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55 Al-Musabbiḥī, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, 79, 5 f.

56 Cortese/Calderini, *Women*, 53.

57 Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, *Annales*, hrsg. L. Cheikho et al. (Louvain: Durbecq, 1954) (CSCO 51), 207, 1–3.

58 Ibn Muyassar, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, 25; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, II: 191, 2 f.; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* (Būlāq), I: 355, 29.

59 *As-Siǧillāt al-Mustanṣirīya*, hrsg. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Māǧid (Kairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, 1954), Nr. 51. Zu Raṣad insbesondere Cortese/Calderini, *Women*, 53; Simonetta Calderini, „Sayyida Raṣad: A Royal Woman as ‚Gateway to Power' During the Fatimid Era," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras* V, hrsg. U. Vermeulen/K. D'Hulster (Leuven: Peeters, 2007) (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 169), 27–36. Halm, *Die Kalifen*, 355 ff.

60 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 131 ult.; Wilhelm von Tyrus, *Chronique*, hrsg. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), XIX 18.

61 Ibn Muyassar, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, 100 = al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 86.

Der Fall des Kalifen al-Mustaʿlī (reg. 1094–1101) ist insofern besonders zu betrachten, als der eigentliche Machthaber, der armenische Wesir-Sultan Badr al-Ǧamālī, ihn mit seiner Tochter Sitt al-Mulk vermählte, um seine eigene Familie mit der Dynastie zu verschmelzen.[62] Deren Sohn war wohl al-Āmir, dessen dunkle Hautfarbe allerdings dadurch nicht zu erklären ist.

Al-Āmir (reg. 1101–1130) bevorzugte Beduinenmädchen als Konkubinen; für eine, al-Badrīya, die er besonders liebte (*al-maḥbūba al-ʿāliya*) und die er nicht nur wegen ihrer Anmut, sondern auch wegen ihrer Dichtkunst schätzte, erbaute er das Lustschloss al-Haudaǧ („die Kamelsänfte") auf der Nilinsel ar-Rauḍa.[63] Sie ist vermutlich identisch mit der Hauptkonkubine (*al-ǧiha al-ʿāliya*), die auch „die Konkubine des Neuen Palais" (*ǧihat ad-Dār al-ǧadīda*) genannt und von dem Eunuchen Ǧauhar bedient wird; sie wird bei der Kleiderzuteilung zum Fest des Fastenbrechens am 2. Dezember 1122 besonders reich bedacht und ist als die Stifterin der Orangen-Moschee (*Masǧid an-nāranǧ*) auf dem Friedhofsareal von al-Qarāfa bekannt.[64] Von ihr zu unterscheiden und deutlich im Rang unter ihr stehend ist ʿAlam („Zeichen"), die auch Ǧumʿa („Freitag") al-Āmirīya genannt wurde und dem Kalifen eine Tochter Sitt al-Quṣūr („Herrin der Paläste") geboren hatte; nach dem Eunuchen, der zu ihren Diensten stand, hieß sie auch einfach „die Konkubine des Maknūn al-Qāḍī". Sie stiftete im Jahre 526/1131–1132 die Andalusische Moschee (*masǧid al-Andalus*) in al-Qarāfa.[65] Die übrigen bei der Textilverteilung genannten Konkubinen sind nicht mit ihren Eigennamen genannt, sondern nach den Eunuchen, die ihnen jeweils zu Diensten waren (davon mehr im nächsten Abschnitt).

Der Kalif al-Āmir wurde im Jahre 524/1130 das Opfer eines Anschlags der Assassinen, die ihn überfielen, als er sich anschickte, die Brücke zur Insel Rauḍa, auf der der Palast al-Haudaǧ seiner Lieblingskonkubine lag, zu überqueren. Die Frage der Geburt seines im Säuglingsalter verschwundenen Sohnes „aṭ-Ṭayyib", die zum Schisma der ismailitischen Glaubensgemeinschaft führte, und seiner angeblich hinterlassenen schwangeren Konkubine, deren Kind aber nie gefunden wurde, kann hier nicht erörtert werden; sie würde uns zu weit vom Thema abbringen. Nach dem kurzen Interregnum des armenischen Wesirs Kutaifāt, eines Sohnes al-Afḍals, setzte mit der Herrschaft des ʿAbd al-Maǧīd *al-*

62 Ibn Muyassar, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, 70, 2; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 28 und 87 apu.

63 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* (Būlāq), I: 485, 5 ff.; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 130, 10 und 131, 11 (*al-maḥbūba al-ʿāliya*).

64 Al-Baṭāʾiḥī, *Aḫbār*, 49 ult.; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* (Būlāq), II: 446, 8 ff. Cortese/Calderini, *Women*, 172.

65 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 123 f.; al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* (Būlāq), II: 446, 16 ff.; al-Baṭāʾiḥī, *Aḫbār*, 50, 11; Cortese/Calderini, *Women*, 56; 84; 165 f.; 172; 174 f.

Ḥāfiẓ (reg. 1131–1149), eines Onkels des ermordeten Kalifen, die Herrschaft der Nebenlinie ein, die bis zum Ende der Dynastie regierte, wenn bei der Schwäche der drei letzten, jugendlichen bzw. kindlichen Kalifen von „regieren" überhaupt die Rede sein kann.

Die uns zur Verfügung stehenden Nachrichten werden nun immer dürftiger. Von al-Ḥāfiẓ selbst, der als Mittfünfziger auf den Thron kam, sind zwei Konkubinen bekannt, die sich als Stifterinnen von Moscheen in al-Qarāfa einen Namen gemacht haben; beide werden nur nach den Eunuchen genannt, die in ihrem Dienst standen: die *ǧiha* des Bayān und die ǧ*iha* des Raiḥān.[66] Die Mutter seines Sohnes aẓ-Ẓāfir (reg. 1149–1154) hieß Sitt al-Wafāʾ („Herrin der Erfüllung"), die des al-Fāʾiz (reg. 1154–1160) Iḥsān („Wohltat"), auch Sitt al-Kamāl („Herrin der Vollkommenheit") genannt.[67]

Der letzte Fatimidenkalif, al-ʿĀḍid (reg. 1160–1171), war der Sohn des Prinzen Yūsuf b. aẓ-Ẓāfir; der Name seiner Mutter wird mit Sitt al-Munā („Herrin der Wünsche") angegeben.[68] Seine auffallenden Gesichtszüge – breite Nase, volle Lippen und dunkle Hautfarbe – werden von den arabischen wie lateinischen Quellen hervorgehoben.[69] Der mit neun oder elf Jahren auf den Thron gekommene Junge war mit einer Tochter des eigentlichen Machthabers, des armenischen Wesir-Sultans Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk, verheiratet worden;[70] als er bald nach seiner Absetzung durch Sultan Saladin im Alter von etwa zwanzig Jahren starb, soll er nicht weniger als sechzehn Söhne hinterlassen haben.[71]

4 Die Eunuchen (*al-ustāḏūn*)

Eunuchen sind eine am Hof der Fatimiden allgegenwärtige Erscheinung, doch hat schon Yaacov Lev zu Recht darauf hingewiesen, dass sie teuer und deshalb

66 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* (Būlāq), II: 448; Cortese/Calderini, *Women*, 57; 158; 175.

67 Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz ad-durar* VI, 557; Abū l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf b. ʿAbdallāh Ibn Taġrībirdī, *an-Nuǧūm az-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, hrsg. Fahīm Muḥammad Šaltūt (Kairo: al-Muʾassasa al-Miṣrīya al-ʿĀmma lit-Taʾlīf wa-ṭ-Ṭibāʿa wa-n-Nashr, 1963–1972), V: 288; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 213, 1; Cortese/Calderini, *Women*, 57.

68 Ibn Taġrībirdī, *an-Nuǧūm*, V: 307, 2; der Name wird – wohl irrtümlich – auch für aẓ-Ẓāfirs Mutter angegeben; Ibn Taġrībirdī, *an-Nuǧūm*, V: 288.

69 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 243 ult. ff.; Wilhelm von Tyrus, *Chronique*, XIX 18.

70 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 246.

71 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 329, 1–3, nennt sie alle namentlich; Ibn Ẓāfir, *Aḫbār*, 113, 5 nennt nur sechs.

gering an Zahl und niemals von beherrschendem Einfluss gewesen sind,[72] anders als am Kaiserhof von Byzanz.

Die übliche ältere Bezeichnung für den Verschnittenen (*ḫaṣī*) ist *ḫādim* (Diener), die jüngere *ustāḏ* (Meister). Während der nordafrikanischen Epoche der fatimidischen Herrschaft (909–973) sind die Eunuchen durchweg Slawen (*ṣaqāliba*, Sing. *ṣaqlabī*), die wohl meist vom Balkan über Italien nach Nordafrika importiert wurden; darüber hat Ivan Hrbek ausführlich gehandelt.[73] Die Slawen spielen auch nach der Übersiedelung des Fatimidenhofes nach Kairo (973) eine Zeit lang noch eine Rolle, auch als Heerführer und Gouverneure bei den Vorstößen nach Palästina und Syrien, wie etwa Rayān *aṣ-Ṣaqlabī al-ḫādim*, der Offizier des Muʿizz, der im Nildelta gegen die Qarmaṭen kämpft und sich im libanesischen Tripolis gegen die Byzantiner behauptet; Munīr *al-ḫādim aṣ-Ṣaqlabī*, 378/988 Gouverneur (*wālī*) von Damaskus; Maisūr *al-ḫādim aṣ-Ṣaqlabī*, 388/998 Gouverneur von Tripolis oder – im selben Jahr – Fāʾiq *al-ḫādim aṣ-Ṣaqlabī*, der Chef der Flotte; noch unter aẓ-Ẓāhir wird Mauṣūf *al-ḫādim al-abyaḍ aṣ-Ṣaqlabī al-Ḥākimī* mit dem Posten des Gouverneurs von Aleppo betraut.[74] Ein Amt, das in Ägypten von Anfang an von Eunuchen versehen wird, ist das des Polizeichefs (*ṣāḥib aš-šurṭa*) von Kairo, meist in Verbindung mit dem des Marktaufsehers (*muḥtasib*), so im Jahre 380/990 von Yānis (Johannes) *aṣ-Ṣaqlabī al-ustāḏ/al-ḫādim*, der auch Gouverneur der Cyrenaika (Barqa) war.[75] Nur ausnahmsweise begegnet unter den Eunuchen einer mit einem türkischen Namen: Ḫutluḫ *al-ḫādim al-ḥāǧib* – das ist türkisch *Qutluq*, „der Glückliche" – der Gouverneur (*wālī*) von Damaskus im Jahr 373/983.[76]

Von Anfang an in der Hand von Eunuchen war die Aufsicht über die beiden Schlösser in Kairo und ihr Personal; als Intendant der Schlösser (*mutawallī* oder *zimām al-quṣūr*) finden wir den schon erwähnten Yānis wie auch – vielleicht als seinen Nachfolger – den Eunuchen Barǧawān, dem es nach dem plötzlichen Tod des Kalifen al-ʿAzīz im Jahre 386/996 gelang, als Tutor des erst elfjährigen Kalifen al-Ḥākim für vier Jahre (996–1000) die Macht an sich zu reißen, bis der heranwachsende Kalif sich seiner gewaltsam entledigte.[77] Barǧawāns ethnische Herkunft ist unsicher; al-Maqrīzī bezeichnet ihn als „weißen Verschnittenen" (*ḫaṣī abyaḍ*) und *Ṣaqlabī*, während er nach Ibn Ḫallikān ein Schwarzer

72 Yaacov Lev, *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), 74–78.

73 I. Hrbek, „Die Slawen im Dienste der Fatimiden," *Archiv Orientální* 21 (1953), 543–581.

74 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, I: 202; 214; 220; 222; 260; II: 18; 223.

75 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, I: 267 und 290; II: 17 und 34; Lev, *State and Society*, 76.

76 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, I: 257.

77 Halm, *Die Kalifen*, 167 ff.

(*aswad*) war.[78] Er hatte 388/998 seinen Bruder, den Eunuchen Aiman *al-ḫādim*, zum Gouverneur von Gaza und Askalon erhoben. Dessen Ehrenname (*kunya*), der eigentlich die Vaterschaft für den erstgeborenen Sohn bezeichnet, ist hier aus naheliegenden Gründen ins Neutrale gewendet: *Abū Saʿāda*, „Vater von Glück".[79]

In Kairo treten dann rasch schwarze Eunuchen an die Stelle der *ṣaqāliba*. Sie wurden dort schon vor der Ankunft der Fatimiden verwendet, wie das Beispiel des Regenten Kāfūr („Kampfer") zeigt, der von 966 bis 968 (355–357) sogar – einer der seltenen Ausnahmefälle – die Macht an sich gerissen hatte. Die Schwarzen (*sūdān*) wurden den muslimischen Herren Ägyptens seit dem Jahre 31 (652) aufgrund eines Abkommens (*baqṭ*, vom latinischen *pactum*) mit den christlichen Königen Nubiens von diesen alljährlich geliefert; dieser „nubische *baqṭ*" war – wenn auch mit manchen Unterbrechungen und Modifikationen – bis über das Ende der fatimidischen Herrschaft hinaus in Kraft.[80] Nur zufällig einmal erfahren wir von einer Sendung von Geschenken des Herrschers des Jemen, ʿAlī aṣ-Ṣulaiḥī, an den Kalifen al-Mustanṣir im Jahre 454/1062, unter denen sich auch Eunuchen und Sklavinnen (*al-ustāḏūn wa-l-ǧawārī*) befanden.[81]

Seit dem Sturz Barǧawāns im Jahr 1000 übernehmen die schwarzen Eunuchen die Posten, die bisher die Slawen innegehabt hatten; so finden wir Ṣandal („Sandelholz") *al-aswad* als Gouverneur der Cyrenaika, ʿAnbar („Ambra") als *zimām* (*al-quṣūr*) sowie anscheinend als Chef des Schatzhauses (*bait al-māl*), Baqī, ʿAin („Auge") und Nāfiḏ („Durchdringend; Wirksam") als Polizeichefs und Marktaufseher, Yāqūt („Rubin") und ʿAṭūf („Gütig") als Offiziere.[82] Auch die Tutoren der Kalifensöhne sind nun Schwarze; so dient Miʿḍād („Oberarm-Amulett") *al-ḫādim al-aswad*, ein Vertrauter der Prinzessin Sitt al-Mulk, als Tutor des jungen aẓ-Ẓāhir.[83]

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78 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* (Būlāq), II: 3, z. 10 von unten; Ibn Ḫallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān wa-anbāʾ abnāʾ az-zamān*, hrsg. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968–1972), I: 270, 12; Art. „Bardjawān," in EI² (B. Lewis).

79 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, II: 18.

80 Halm, „Der nubische Baqṭ," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras* II, hrsg. U. Vermeulen/D. de Smet (Leuven: Peeters, 1998) (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 83), 63–103; Halm, *Die Kalifen*, 108 ff.

81 Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn, *The Fatimids and Their Successors in Yaman: The History of an Islamic Community: Arabic Edition and English Summary of Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn's ʿUyūn al-akhbār, vol. 7*, hrsg. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 86.

82 Al-Musabbiḥī, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, 47 ff.; 78 f. 90; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, II: 48; 55 f.; 91; 100; 150 f. Lev, *State and Society*, 87–89.

83 Al-Musabbiḥī, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, 29, 11; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, II: 127, 9.

Die eigentliche Aufgabe der Eunuchen jedoch war der Dienst im *ḥarīm*, und so begegnen wir der schon erwähnten Tatsache, dass im Verzeichnis der zum Fastenbrechen des Jahres 1122 verteilten Kleider und Textilien die Konkubinen des Kalifen al-Āmir nicht mit ihren Eigennamen, sondern mit denen ihrer verschnittenen Betreuer und Diener aufgeführt werden, und zwar in einer Genitivverbindung (*al-muḍāf/al-muḍāf ilaihi*; *status constructus*): *ǧihat Maknūn al-Qāḍī* (die *ǧiha* des Qāḍī Maknūn). Der Eunuch Maknūn („Verdeckt, Verborgen") war natürlich kein Richter, wie der Beiname vermuten lassen könnte, sondern wurde so genannt „wegen seines Schweigens und seiner Stille";[84] anscheinend hat ihm sein gravitätisches Gehabe den Spitznamen eingetragen. Die übrigen Konkubinen sind *ǧihat Ǧauhar* („die *ǧiha* des Ǧauhar"), *ǧihat Muršid*, *ǧihat ʿAnbar*, *ǧihat Ẓill*, *ǧihat Munǧib* und *ǧihat Raiḥān*.[85] Es ist anzunehmen, dass die Frauen selbst bei der Kleiderverteilung nicht anwesend waren, sondern dass ihre Eunuchen die Gaben in Empfang nahmen. Wie eng das Vertrauensverhältnis zwischen der *ǧiha* und ihrem Diener war, zeigt der Fall der Konkubine des Kalifen al-Ḥāfiẓ (*al-ǧiha al-Ḥāfiẓīya* oder *ǧihat Raiḥān*): ihr Eunuch Raiḥān („Basilikum") war es, der 542/1147 die von ihr gegründete Moschee auf dem Friedhof von al-Qarāfa erneuerte.[86]

5 Die Eunuchen mit der Kinnbinde (*al-ustāḏūn al-muḥannakūn*)

„In diesem Jahr [1025] wurde dreien der führenden Eunuchen (*al-ḫadam al-muqawwadūn*) das Kinn umwunden (*ḫunnika*), und man bekleidete sie mit Turbanen aus Baumwolle und weißem *šarb*[87] mit Kinnbinden (*aḥnāk*). Sie glichen so früheren führenden Bediensteten wie Maimūn Dabba, Naṣr al-ʿAzīzī und anderen. Die Beförderten waren: Miʿḍād („Oberarm-Amulett"), Nabā (?) und Rifq („Güte"); zu ihnen hinzu kamen noch Fanak („Wüstenfuchs") und Murtaǧā („Erhofft"), Surūr („Freude") an-Naṣrī und Rāmiq („Schauend"). Es heißt, der Befehlshaber der Gläubigen habe sie in seiner Gegenwart sitzen lassen, und man habe sie dazu beglückwünscht."[88]

Diese Beförderung von sieben Eunuchen zu *muḥannakūn* durch den Kalifen aẓ-Ẓāhir im Jahre 415/1025 scheint eine der frühesten, wenn nicht die erste überhaupt gewesen zu sein. *Ḥanak* ist der Gaumen oder der Unterkiefer; hier

84 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* (Būlāq), II: 446, 25.

85 Al-Baṭāʾiḥī, *Aḫbār*, 49–51; Cortese/Calderini, *Women*, 84 f.; 162.

86 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* (Būlāq), II: 448, 10 f.; Cortese/Calderini, *Women*, 175.

87 Ein feines, meist gemustertes Leinengewebe.

88 Al-Musabbiḥī, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, 71 pu. f.

aber ist der Teil des Turbans gemeint, der unter dem Kinn durchgezogen wird. Al-Qalqašandī beschreibt in seinem Beamtenhandbuch die Eunuchen so: „Die höchstrangigen von ihnen sind die mit der Kinnbinde (*al-muḥannakūn*); das sind diejenigen, die ihre Turbantücher um ihre Unterkiefer winden, so wie es heutzutage die Beduinen und die Maġrebiner machen."[89] Diese besondere Tracht scheint zunächst allgemein einen hohen Würdenträger ausgezeichnet zu haben; der im Text erwähnte Maimūn Dabba war unter al-ʿAzīz Polizeichef gewesen.[90] Auch Scherifen, Richter und Wesire werden gelegentlich als *muḥannak* bezeichnet, wie etwa der Qāḍī al-Murtaḍā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain aṭ-Ṭarābulusī *al-Muḥannak*, der Oberaufseher der Diwane und Schatzkammern (*nāẓir ad-dawāwīn wa-l-ḫazā'in*), bekannt als Verfasser einer (verlorenen) Chronik der Kalifen von Ägypten, oder auch Sultan Saladin.[91]

Seit der Herrschaft des Ẓāhir (reg. 1021–1036) scheint die Kinnbinde das Rangabzeichen der Eunuchen gewesen zu sein, die die höchsten Hofämter innehatten; immer wieder erscheinen sie als Kollektiv bei verschiedenen Anlässen am Hofe.[92] Als Inhaber eines solchen Amtes tragen sie einen besonderen Ehrennamen (*laqab*), den ihnen der Kalif verleiht. So ist der erwähnte Rifq *al-ḫādim al-aswad*, der häufig in Musabbiḥīs Chronik erwähnt wird, mit dem *laqab* „Rüstung und Stütze des Reiches" (*ʿUddat ad-daula wa-ʿimāduhā*) ausgestattet und amtiert als *mutawallī as-sayyārat* – wohl als Intendant der Straßen – im Delta;[93] Nabā vertritt zeitweilig sogar den Wesir.[94] Unter den von al-Āmir im Jahr 1122 mit Kleidern beschenkten Eunuchen der Konkubinen amtiert Ǧauhar („Juwel"), der Eunuch der Lieblingsfrau, mit den Ehrentiteln *Ṣanīʿat al-mulk Muʾtaman al-ḫalīfa* („Günstling der Herrschaft, Vertrauenswürdiger des Kalifen") als Intendant der Schlösser (*zimām al-quṣūr*); Raiḥān („Basilikum") *Ḫāṣṣat ad-Daula* („Vornehmer des Reiches") verwaltet das Schatzhaus (*bait al-māl*) und Muršid („Rechtleitend") *Naṣīb ad-daula* („Edler des Reiches") das Rechnungsbuch (*mutawallī ad-daftar*).[95]

Daneben erscheinen der namenlose Träger des Sonnenschirms (*ḥāmil al-miẓalla*) mit dem Beinamen „Gewaltiger und Schwert des Reiches" (*ʿAẓīm ad-*

89 Al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā fī ṣināʿat al-inšā'* (Kairo: al-Muʾassasa al-Miṣrīya al-ʿĀmma lit-Taʾlīf wa-t-Tarǧama wa-ṭ-Ṭibāʿa wa-n-Našr, 1964), III: 477.

90 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, I: 216; 265 f.; 291.

91 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 280, 1 (Scherif); III: 165; 182, 2 f.; 194; 223 (Ṭarābulusī); 308 ult. (Saladin).

92 Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, III: 61; 62 (mit ihren Ämtern); 194; 226.

93 Al-Musabbiḥī, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, 20; 22; 50; 59 f.; 70.

94 Al-Musabbiḥī, *Aḫbār Miṣr*, 18 apu. f.; 111, 1.

95 Al-Baṭā'iḥī, *Aḫbār*, 51, 6 f.

daula wa-saifuhā); dann Ṣāf *Ṣārim ad-daula* („der Strenge des Reiches") der Vorhangzieher (*mutawallī as-sitr*), der den Kalifen bei seinen Audienzen enthüllen durfte; Isʿāf („Beistand") *Wafī ad-daula* („Getreuer des Reiches") als Chef der Tafel (*mutawallī al-māʾida*); Ǧundub („Heuschrecke") *Iftiḫār ad-daula* („Stolz des Reiches") als Chef des Schatzhauses der Textilien (*muqaddam ḫizānat al-kiswa al-ḫāṣṣ*); Mufliḥ („Erfolgreich"), der für den Dienst im Audienzsaal zuständig war (*bi-rasmi l-ḫidma fī l-maǧlis*); Funūn, der Wärter des Mausoleums der Kalifen (*mutawallī ḫidmat at-turba*), sowie al-ʿAẓmī, der Kellermeister (*muqaddam ḫizānat aš-šarāb*), und Muqbil, der „Chef des Steigbügels" (*muqaddam ar-rikāb*), der die Reitknechte unter sich hatte.[96]

Hier konnten nur einige allgemeine Beobachtungen mitgeteilt werden; die Eunuchen verdienten jedoch eine ähnlich ausführliche Monographie, wie sie Delia Cortese und Simonetta Calderini für die Frauen vorgelegt haben.

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CHAPTER 6

A New Latin-Arabic Document from Norman Sicily (November 595 H/1198 CE)

Nadia Jamil and Jeremy Johns

Of all the remains of the twelfth-century Norman kingdom of Sicily, none is more fascinating to the historian of Islamic culture and society than the documents issued by the *dīwān al-maʿmūr*, the Arabic administration of the Norman kings. In all, less than fifty Arabic and bilingual—Arabic with Greek or Latin—documents are known, counting not only those that survive in their original form, but also the translations of lost originals into Greek and Latin, and the *deperdita* that are merely mentioned in other documents.[1] Most were published at the end of the nineteenth century,[2] and since then eight further original documents have come to light, including one presumed forgery, and the privilege that is the subject of this study.[3] The appearance of a new bilingual document from Sicily would therefore be quite sufficient to justify its inclusion among the *hadāyā wa-l-tuḥaf* offered here to our colleague and friend. But this gift is truly a rarity—the only Arabic document issued by the Empress Constance to survive; the latest original document to survive from her reign, the earliest surviving original document for the islands of Malta and Gozo; the only

1 See J. Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Dīwān* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Appendix 1, 301–314, for a catalogue of *dīwānī* documents from Norman Sicily.

2 S. Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale, tradotti ed illustrati* (Palermo: Stabilimento tip. Lao, 1868–1882; Köln-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1982). Although vol. 1 of Cusa's work bears the date 1868, it was not in fact published until 1874: see A. De Simone, "Salvatore Cusa arabista siciliano del XIX secolo," in *La Conoscenza dell'Asia e dell'Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, ed. A. Gallotta and U. Marazzi, 2 vols. (Naples: Istituto universitario orientale, 1984), 1: 593–617.

3 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, Appendix 1, nos. 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, 27 (the forgery), 32 and 37. For nos. 15–18, see V. von Falkenhausen and J. Johns, "The Twelfth-Century Documents of St. George of Tròccoli (Sicily)," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 15 (2015), forthcoming; for no. 37, V. von Falkenhausen and J. Johns, "An Arabic-Greek Charter for Archbishop Nicholas of Messina, November 1166," in *Χρόνος συνήγορος. Mélanges André Guillou* (= *Νέα Ῥώμη: Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 8 [2011]), ed. F. D'Aiuto (Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma "Tor Vergata," 2013), 153–168.

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surviving Arabic document from Sicily to be written in the elevated chancery genre known as *inshāʾ*; the first compelling evidence that the Norman *dīwān* borrowed from the Almohad chancery; and an eloquent witness to the last days of Islamic culture in Christian Sicily.

1 The Historical Background

In this document, Constance, Empress of the Romans and Queen of Sicily (1190–1198), together with her young son Frederick, King of Sicily, Duke of Apulia and Prince of Capua (1197–1250), rewards the entire population of Malta and Gozo, Christians and Muslims alike, for their loyalty to her and to her Norman predecessors by restoring them and their islands to the royal demesne in perpetuity. To that extent, the tenor of the Latin and Arabic texts is largely in accord, but they differ in two principal respects. First, while the Arabic refers vaguely to the opposition of the Maltese to "obdurate enemies of our state", "hypocrites", "renegade ingrates" (l. 19) and to the "enemies of our kingdom" (l. 22), the Latin specifies none other than "our enemy William Crassus" (ll. 6 and 10). Second, while the Arabic promises no greater reward than re-incorporation into the royal demesne, the Latin text exempts specifically the Christians of Malta and Gozo and their descendants from the annual tax payable to the royal court that King Roger (reg. 1130–1154) had imposed upon them "for the slaying of a Muslim" (ll. 10–12); no mention is made of either the penalty or its remission in the Arabic text. To understand the significance of these differences, it is necessary to begin with a brief sketch of the historical background.

Before the 1960s, the dominant myth of Maltese identity held that the indigenous inhabitants of Malta and Gozo had been Phoenician. After conversion to Christianity by St. Paul, they had retained their ancient Semitic language and their new Christian religion throughout the centuries of Muslim rule, until they were liberated by Roger I, the Norman count of Sicily, in 1091. This enduring myth owes much to Gian Francesco Abela's strong differentiation between Malta's rulers—a succession of foreign powers—and its people—a continuum of Maltese-speaking Christians—a distinction that enabled him and his successors to argue that, long before the coming of the Knights of St. John in 1530, Malta had been ordained by God as a bulwark of Christian European civilization against the spread of Mediterranean Islam.[4]

4 G. Abela, *Della descrittione di Malta isola nel mare Siciliano, con le sue antichita, ed altre notitie libri quattro* (Malta: Paolo Bonacotta, 1647).

However, during the last four decades of the twentieth century, largely through the pioneering work of Anthony Luttrell and Geoffrey Wettinger, it came to be widely accepted that, on the contrary, Christianity had disappeared from the Maltese archipelago during the centuries of Muslim occupation (869–1127), and that Christianity was reintroduced from Sicily in the twelfth century and became the religion of the majority only after the expulsion of Muslims and the immigration of Italians during the thirteenth century.[5] Christian Malta, therefore, came to be seen as having been made not by St. Paul, but by the Normans of Sicily.

In the mid-1990s, the Maltese linguist, Joseph Brincat, first drew attention to a source that confirmed the new orthodoxy: an account of the island given in a geographical treatise, but containing much historical matter, compiled apparently by several members of the al-Ḥimyarī family from the mid-thirteenth until the early-sixteenth century. According to this account, after the capture of Malta by the Aghlabids of Ifrīqiya in 255/869, the island remained an abandoned wasteland (*fa-baqiyat baʿda dhālika jazīrat Māliṭa khirba* [or *khariba*] *ghayr āhila*), visited only for timber, fish and honey, until the year 440/1048–1049, when it was settled by the Muslims, who rebuilt its capital, and then it became even better than it was before (*fa-lammā kāna baʿda sanat arbaʿīn wa-arbaʿimiʾa ʿamara-hā l-muslimūn wa-banaw madīnata-hā thumma ʿādat atamma mimmā kānat ʿalayhi*).[6]

The apparently independent report of Malta in the mid-970s by the Iraqi traveller, Ibn Ḥawqal, supported the claim that the island was abandoned for more than a century and a half: "One well-known deserted island is Malta,

5 See, in particular, A.T. Luttrell, ed., *Medieval Malta: Studies on Malta before the Knights* (London: The British School at Rome, 1975) and A.T. Luttrell, *The Making of Christian Malta: From the Early Middle Ages to 1530* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum 2002). A list of Godfrey Wettinger's publications from 1959 to 1997 may be found in P. Xuereb, ed., *Karissime Gotifride: Historical Essays Presented to Professor Godfrey Wettinger on His Seventieth Birthday* (Malta: Malta University Press, 1999), 185–187.

6 J.M. Brincat, *Malta 870–1054: al-Ḥimyarī's Account and Its Linguistic Implications*, 2nd. rev. ed. (Malta: Said International, 1995), citing al-Ḥimyarī, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. ʿAbd al-Nūr, *Kitāb Rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī khabar al-aqṭār: muʿjam jughrāfī maʿa masrad ʿāmm*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1975), 520. For its complex history of composition, see J. Johns, "Entella nelle fonte arabe," in *Alla Ricerca di Entella*, ed. G. Nenci (Pisa: Scuola normale superiore di Pisa, 1993), 85–88. For the Arab conquest of Malta in other sources, see G. Wettinger, "The Arabs in Malta," in *Malta: Studies of Its Heritage and History*, 2nd ed. (Malta: Mid-Med Bank, 1986), 87–104.

which lies between Sicily and Crete. There are still asses there, which have gone wild, and a great many goats. It also has honey, which people, bringing their own provisions, come to gather, as also to catch the goats and asses. As to the goats, there is scarcely a market for them, but the asses can be taken to the surrounding regions, sold, and put to work."[7]

The earliest Norman historian to write of Malta, Geoffrey Malaterra, also supported the argument that its inhabitants were exclusively Muslim. His account of the raid launched in 1091 by Count Roger of Sicily against the Maltese islands, and of their temporary subjugation, implies that the ruler and citizens of Malta and Gozo were all Muslims. The only Christians that Malaterra mentions were the large number of foreign captives released from the city of Malta and carried back to Sicily, whence "they all returned home through a number of different countries, depending on where their native lands were."[8]

A twelfth-century Greek source, initially unnoticed by most historians of medieval Malta, that offers a new perspective upon the origins of the Christian community of the Maltese islands, had already come to light in the 1970s.[9] This is a long poem written by an anonymous Sicilian or South Italian Greek, banished by King Roger to *Melitogaudos*, "Malta-Gozo", a copulative compound referring to the whole Maltese archipelago.[10] The poem is addressed to Roger's

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7 Ibn Ḥawqal al-Naṣībī, *Opus Geographicum* (*Ṣūrat Al-Arḍ*), ed. J.H. Kramers, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1938–1939) (Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum, 2nd ser.), 1: 204: *wa-min al-jazā'ir al-mashhūra ghayr al-ʿāmira jazīrat Māliṭa wa-hiya bayna Ṣiqilliya wa-Iqrīṭish wa-bi-hā ilā hādhihi l-ghāya min al-ḥamīr allatī qad tawashshaḥat wa-l-ghanam al-kathīr al-ghazīr wa-bi-hā min al-ʿasal ayḍan mā yaqṣidu-hā qawm bil-zād li-shtiyāri-hi wa-li-ṣayd al-ghanam wa-l-ḥamīr fa-ammā l-ghanam fa-taksud wa-l-ḥamīr fa-yumkin al-wurūd bi-hā ilā l-nawāḥī fa-tubāʿ wa-tuʿtamal.* See A.T. Luttrell, "Ibn Ḥawqal and Tenth-Century Malta," *Hyphen* (*Malta*)*: A Journal of Melitensia and the Humanities* 5/4 (1987): 157–160.

8 Goffredus Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1927) (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, 2nd ser., 5), 95–96 (book IV, chapter 16).

9 The only known manuscript is Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Cod. Graec. 4577. The edition, English translation and study of the text recently published in Malta has brought the text to general notice, but is not to be trusted: *Tristia ex Melitogaudo: Lament in Greek Verse of a XIIth-century Exile in Gozo*, ed. Joseph Busuttil, Stanley Fiorini and Horatio C.R. Vella (Qrendi, Malta: Best Print Co. Ltd., 2010); S. Fiorini, *Tristia ex Melitogaudo: Objections, Clarifications, Confirmations* (Qrendi: Best Print Co. Ltd., 2010). See the excellent study by Marc Lauxtermann, "Tomi, Mljet, Malta: Critical Notes on a Twelfth-Century Southern Italian Poem of Exile," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 64 (2014): 155–176, with full bibliography.

10 Lauxtermann, "Tomi, Mljet, Malta," 156–157.

vizier, George of Antioch, and begs him to intervene with the king on his behalf. It is likely to have been composed in about 1140–1146.[11] The poet describes a Sicilian conquest and settlement of the Maltese islands that is almost certainly to be identified with the Norman invasion of 1127, hitherto known only from the briefest of mentions by Alexander of Telese.[12] The Sicilian commander, who is not Roger II but George of Antioch,[13] gathered a small naval force, sailed to "Malta-Gozo, the country of Hagar", and subdued "the godless" by force.

> Thereafter, when he saw them invoking only the arch-heretic, the most abominable Muḥammad, he expelled their leaders with all their households and no small number of black people. He selected pious settlers for this place together with a bishop, who, moved by the Hand of Heaven,[14] converted the hateful [mosques] in which they used to invoke Muḥammad into most holy churches, and installed, in place of the most despicable teachers of the Qur'ān,[15] holy and good priests who worship the Holy Trinity in the way of the Fathers.[16]

Read accurately and correctly, this passage supports the case that the inhabitants of the Maltese archipelago were Muslims until, following the conquest of 1127, George of Antioch introduced a community of Christian settlers under a bishop.

After the conquest of 1127, the Maltese islands remained under Sicilian rule and were inhabited by a mixed population of Christians and Muslims. Our document insists (ll. 7–8) that they were held in the royal demesne until the

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11 Lauxtermann, "Tomi, Mljet, Malta," 157.

12 "[Roger II] invaded other islands, one of which was called Malta": Alexander of Telese, *Ystoria Rogerii regis Sicilie Calabriae atque Apulie*, ed. L. De Nava (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1991) (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 112), 8, 97.

13 Lauxtermann, "Tomi, Mljet, Malta," 156 and note 5.

14 *Tristia ex Melitogaudo*, 166, f. 84^{r}, line 16: ὅστις κινηθεὶς δεξιᾶς πρὸς τῆς ἄνω (i.e. "who, moved by the Hand of Heaven") is curiously translated "who, having departed from the pact of old." See also 348–349, where it is argued that this non-existent "treaty" (or "pact") was the *dhimma* imposed upon the Christians of Gozo by their Muslim rulers.

15 *Tristia ex Melitogaudo*, 166, f. 84^{v}, line 2: τῶν μουδδίβων; for the suggestion that the word is coined from Arabic *mu'addib*, meaning "Qur'ānic teacher," see 349–350. Lauxtermann, "Tomi, Mljet, Malta," note 6.

16 *Tristia ex Melitogaudo*, 166, f. 84^{r}, l. 10–f. 84^{v}, l. 6. The translation given here follows Lauxtermann, "Tomi, Mljet, Malta," 156, and differs radically from that proposed in *Tristia ex Melitogaudo*, 167.

death of King William II (r. 1166–1189). By analogy with the status of Muslim communities subject to the Normans in Sicily and Ifrīqiya, it is often assumed that the Muslims of Malta and Gozo were protected by the Norman *dhimma* and subject to the *jizya*. Similarly, it has been argued that, in much the same way that the Norman kings farmed their demesne lands in western Sicily, until they were granted by William II to the Benedictine abbey of Monreale, as a Muslim reservation, so did they treat their demesne islands of Malta and Gozo.[17] But the strength of an argument by analogy relies upon the degree of similitude between the two objects of comparison and, since virtually nothing is known of the administration of Malta under the Norman kings, nor of its society, such arguments remain perilously weak.

The only piece of evidence that does survive for the condition of Muslims in Norman Malta is preserved in the Latin text of the document discussed in this article. Constance's father, King Roger, had imposed an annual tax upon the Christians of Malta and Gozo for killing a Muslim (ll. 10–12), which continued to be collected until 1198 or shortly before. The tax is carefully described as *datam illam* (l. 11), using the perfect participle of the passive verb in the singular, literally "that thing given." But *data* is a technical term, akin to the more common *datio*, used in Sicilian documents to mean a tax paid to the royal fisc.[18] For all the detailed narrative and documentary sources for the Muslims of Norman Sicily, from which it is apparent that the killing of Saracens by Christians was by no means rare, no record survives of a similar tax being imposed in perpetuity as a penalty upon an entire Christian community. The singularity of the Maltese case is only emphasised by comparison with a law of Frederick II, "Regarding secret homicides (*De homicidiis clam commissis*) … whose authors cannot be found," which decrees that in such cases, should an exhaustive investigation fail to reveal the perpetrator, then a fine should be imposed upon all the inhabitants of the place in which the crime was committed, and paid to the royal treasury.[19] If the victim were a Christian,

17 C. Dalli, "A Muslim Society under Christian Rule," in *Melitensium Amor—Festschrift in honour of Dun Ġwann Azzopardi*, ed. T. Cortis, T. Freller and L. Bugeja (Malta: Gutenberg Press, 2002), 43–44. For the *dhimma* and *jizya* in Norman Sicily, see Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 33–39.

18 C. Schroth-Köhler, T. Kölzer, H. Zielinski, "Zwei staufische Diplome für Malta aus den Jahren 1198 und 1212," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 33 (1977): 508, n. 27.

19 *Die Konstitutionen Friedrichs II. für das Königreich Sizilien*, ed. Wolfgang Stürner (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996) (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum 2, supp.), 181–183, Const. 1 28; trans. J.M. Powell, *The* Liber Augustalis *or Constitutions of Melfi Promulgated by the Emperor Frederick II for*

the fine would be one hundred *augustales*; if a Jew or Muslim, "against whom we believe that the persecution of the Christians is too great at present," fifty *augustales*. Note that this is presented as a new law, and directed against "future crimes of this kind," not as one of the "preceding laws of the kings of Sicily," and that the fine was to be paid once, not repeated annually in perpetuity. All this tends to suggest that the Muslims of Malta and Gozo may have been afforded a greater measure of protection by the Norman kings than their co-religionists in Sicily, and that the status and treatment of Muslims on the lands of the royal demesne in Malta and in Sicily may not have been as similar as is often assumed.

Be that as it may, the omission from the Arabic text of all mention of the exemption of the annual penalty imposed upon the Christians of Malta for slaying a Saracen—that is, a Muslim—inevitably excites the suspicion that this clause was written exclusively in Latin in order to keep it hidden from the Muslims of Malta. But could those who issued the document, whether its contents were to be promulgated in writing or by proclamation—as was surely the case (see below p. 130)—have really believed that not even one Muslim would understand Latin, and that no Christian would taunt his Muslim neighbors with the news that the penalty had been lifted? As will become clear below, we believe that the use of Arabic in this document has less to do with Malta than with Queen Constance's determination to restore the trilingual Norman chancery to its former glory, as a signal that she was returning the kingdom to the Golden Age over which her father had ruled.

King Tancred (r. 1190–1194) created the County of Malta by granting the Maltese islands out of the royal demesne, apparently for political motives. William II died without issue in November 1189 leaving three rival claimants for his throne. One, Roger, Count of Andria, was swiftly defeated, captured, and executed by the second claimant, Tancred of Lecce, who was the illegitimate son of Roger, Duke of Apulia, the eldest son of King Roger. Tancred was crowned King of Sicily in early 1190 and ruled until his death from illness in February 1194. The third and ultimately victorious claimant was Henry of Hohenstaufen, the son and heir of the German emperor, Frederick Barbarossa (r. 1152–1190). In 1186,

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the Kingdom of Sicily in 1231 (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1971), 30: "The possessors of that place, in which a crime of this kind is deigned to have been committed, should be punished by a fine of a hundred *augustales* if the one killed was a Christian. If he was a Jew or a Saracen, against whom we believe that the persecution of Christians is too great at present, we decree that the inhabitants of the aforesaid place should be fined fifty *augustales* to be paid to our treasury."

Henry married Constance, the posthumous daughter of King Roger who, on the death of William II, became the only legitimate heir to the Sicilian crown. In April 1191, Henry was crowned emperor by Pope Celestine III, and swiftly marched south into Sicilian territory to enforce his claim to his wife's throne. He entered Palermo in November 1194 and was duly crowned King of Sicily. Henry ruled as King of Sicily until his sudden death in September 1197, which left Constance as queen in her own right. Only in May 1198 was their infant son, the future Emperor Frederick II, crowned King of Sicily. This document was issued in the same year.

King Tancred granted the new county of Malta to Margaritus of Brindisi, admiral of the royal fleet under William II, possibly in order to secure his loyalty in the war of succession against Henry VI.[20] "Margaritus" is a misreading of his Greek nickname, Μεγαρίτης (Megarítēs) or Μεγαρείτης (Megareítēs), indicating his origin as Megara in Attica.[21] How Margaritus entered Norman service is obscure, but he was admiral of the Sicilian fleet by *circa* 1185, and in July 1192, he first appeared as "Admiral Megareítēs of Brindisi, Count of Malta."[22] There is no record of Margaritus's administration of the islands and it is even uncertain that he actually visited his county. In any case, Margaritus's tenure was short-lived, for he was imprisoned soon after Henry VI was crowned King of Sicily in December 1194. Although Margaritus's subsequent fate remains unknown, he lost Malta.[23]

In his place, Henry VI put the first of a succession of Genoese whom the Hohenstaufen appointed as admirals of the Sicilian fleet and counts of Malta.[24] William Grasso, like his predecessor Margaritus, had begun his career as a pirate preying upon Byzantine shipping in the eastern Mediterranean.[25] It was

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20 A. Kiesewetter, "Megareites di Brindisi, Maio di Monopoli e la signoria sulle isole ionie," *Archivio Storico Pugliese* 59 (2006): 67–68. This study of the admiral supersedes the earlier studies of R. Francioso "Margaritus de Brundusio (1130–1196)," *Rassegna pugliese di scienze, lettere ed arti* 19 (1902): 343–348; C.A. Garufi "Margarito da Brindisi conte di Malta e ammiraglio del re di Sicilia," in *Miscellanea di archeologia, storia e filologia dedicata al prof. A. Salinas nel XL anniversario del suo insegnamento accademico* (Palermo: Virzi, 1907), 273–282; and Léon-Robert Ménager, *Amiratus—Ἀμηρᾶς. L'émirat et les origines de l'amirauté (XI^e–XIII^e siècles)* (Paris: Service d'édition et de vente des publications de l'Education nationale, 1960), 96–103.

21 Kiesewetter, "Megareites," 51–53.

22 Kiesewetter, "Megareites," 51 n. 25, 53 n. 33, 67–68.

23 Kiesewetter, "Megareites," 66, 68.

24 Ménager, *Amiratus*, 111–116.

25 E. Basso, "Grasso, Guglielmo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. A.M. Ghisalberti and M. Pavan, (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 2002), 58: 716–720, with full bib-

presumably soon after his coronation that Henry appointed Grasso admiral and count of Malta, for Grasso witnessed an imperial charter in September 1197 as *comes Malte totius regni ammiratus*.[26] But after Henry's death on 28 September in the same year, his widow Constance turned against Grasso, as she did against other champions of her late husband's German party in Sicily. In the Latin text of this document, Constance describes Grasso as her enemy, and reveals that she had taken the Maltese islands back into the royal demesne. She remarks "how faithfully and constantly [the Maltese and Gozitans] entered our service against our enemy William Grasso" (l. 6), and recollects "with how great a passion of faith and with what fervent desire for faithful service to us they set themselves against our aforementioned enemy, William Grasso" (l. 10). Her words seem to imply that the islanders had somehow resisted the imposition of Grasso upon them which, if true, would suggest that Grasso or his representative had actually spent time on Malta. It seems likely that the islanders were less loyal to Constance than hostile to an unfamiliar feudal lord, but why Grasso should not be named in the Arabic text remains a mystery and, in the absence of evidence, it would be futile to speculate.

Grasso returned to Genoa where, in 1199 after the death of Constance, Markward of Anweiler, leader of the German party in Sicily, went to persuade him to join his assault against the island, now ruled by Pope Innocent III as guardian of the young King Frederick.[27] Grasso joined Markward, but seems to have devoted himself principally to furthering Genoese interests in the island. So much so that, in 1201, Markward imprisoned Grasso and refused to accede to Genoese demands for his release.[28] After 1198, Grasso seems never to have

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liography. See also: Gerald W. Day, *Genoa's Response to Byzantium, 1155–1204: Commercial Expansion and Factionalism in a Medieval City* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 30, 36, 111, 124, 151; Ménager, *Amiratus*, 111–112.

26 Dione Clementi, "Calendar of the Diplomas of the Hohenstaufen Emperor Henry VI concerning the Kingdom of Sicily," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 35 (1955): 210, no. 130.

27 *Innocentii III Romani Pontificis Regestorum sive Epistolarum*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: Garnier, 1890) (Patrologia Latina 214), col. 780–782, 24 Nov. 1199 (Pontificatus anno II, Ep. 221); Basso, "Grasso," 719. T.C. Van Cleve, *Markward of Anweiler: His Life and Work* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1937), 123, places the meeting between Grasso and Markward in Salerno.

28 *Ogerii Panis Annales*, ed. G.H. Pertz, (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1866) (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores 18), 118; Van Cleve, *Markward*, 169 n. 77 and 170; D. Abulafia, *The Two Italies: Economic Relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 213.

returned as count of Malta and, by 1203, was succeeded by his son-in-law, the Genoese pirate and noble, Henry Pescatore.[29]

Genoa maintained an interest in Malta throughout the thirteenth century and, as late as 1300, the Aragonese king of Sicily, Frederick III, toyed with the idea of granting it to Genoa in fief. Instead, Frederick permitted the Sicilian noble, Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada, to acquire the Maltese islands. In 1320, the Moncada exchanged Malta for lands in Sicily, and the islands reverted to the crown. Under Aragonese rule, as Tony Luttrell remarks, a clear pattern emerged: "the Crown conceded the islands to royal cadets or Sicilian magnates; the population, anxious to escape exploitation by rapacious and presumably absentee Counts, petitioned for re-incorporation into the *demanium*; the Crown conceded this request in perpetuity, but subsequently in a moment of weakness granted out the County once again."[30] Our document suggests that this pattern began to emerge in the 1190s.

The Moncada did not lose interest in Malta after 1320. In 1392, King Martín granted the county to Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada the Younger, who held it for only a year. In December 1396, Guglielmo again received the islands, but now as a marquisate, only to lose them in November 1397, after which Malta was no longer granted out as a county. One of the Moncada lords of Malta seems to have retained at least part of what was presumably the archive of the Sicilian administration of Malta, for there still survives in the family archive of the Moncada di Paternò in Bagheria the subject of this study—the original Latin-Arabic privilege granted by the Empress Constance and her infant son Frederick to the inhabitants of Malta and Gozo in November 1198.[31]

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29 D. Abulafia, "Henry Count of Malta and His Mediterranean Activities: 1240–1230," in *Medieval Malta*, ed. Luttrell, 104–125; repr. in *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean 1100–1400* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1987: III); Hubert Houben, "Enrico di Malta (Enrico il Pescatore)," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. A.M. Ghisalberti and M. Pavan (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 2002), 42: 716–720; Luca Tosin, "Enrico conte di Malta, corsaro genovese," *Quaderni medievali* 60 (2005): 27–54.

30 A.T. Luttrell, "Approaches to Medieval Malta," in *Medieval Malta*, ed. Luttrell, 1–70 (repr. in Luttrell, *Making of Christian Malta*, I), 45.

31 Most of the family archive of the Moncada, principi di Paternò, comprising materials on paper from the fifteenth to twentieth centuries, was deposited in the Archivio di Stato di Palermo in 1992, leaving the family in possession of the *tabulario* of 428 documents on parchment dated from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. For an account of the Moncada *tabulario*, and for the edition of the earliest forty-nine *pergamene* (including the Latin text of the present document and our Italian translation of the Arabic), see E. Mazzarese Fardella and B. Pasciuta, *Tabulario delle pergamene della Casa dei principi Moncada di Paternò, vol. 1: 1194–1342* (Palermo: Società siciliana di storia patria, 2011) (Documenti per

2 The Latin-Arabic Privilege and the Traditions of the Norman *dīwān*

The Latin text of this document has long been known,[32] but the recent rediscovery of the original privilege, complete with the Arabic text, makes possible a thorough study of the document against what is known of the traditions of the Norman *dīwān*.

Most of the bilingual documents issued by the Norman *dīwān* combine Arabic with Greek. Arabic and Latin are used only in the great boundary-register (*jarīdat al-ḥudūd*) issued to S. Maria di Monreale in May 1182,[33] and in the late writ of Frederick II dated 20 January 1242.[34] In addition, the Latin-Arabic letter patent dated March 1187 was written by scribes of the royal *dīwān*, for all that it does not concern strictly royal business.[35] Although the sample is small, that all four Latin-Arabic documents produced in the royal *dīwān* date from the reign of William II and his successors, while his predecessors issued most of the Greek-Arabic bilinguals, conforms to the pattern that sees the growing importance of Latin as an administrative language on the island of Sicily from the mid-twelfth century onwards.[36]

The privilege under discussion is the only document containing Arabic known to have been issued by the royal *dīwān* between the death of William II in 1189 and the short-lived and unsuccessful attempt to revive the Arabic *dīwān* in 1242 by Frederick II's minister, Obert Fallamonaca.[37] It is therefore tempting to conclude that Arabic was revived and used alongside Latin in this privilege

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servire alla storia di Sicilia, 1st ser., Diplomatica 36), 12–22. We are extremely grateful to the authors of this important work for inviting us to collaborate in the study of this document, and for generously permitting us to publish an account of it here, and especially to the late Don Giuseppe Moncada di Paternò for his courteous hospitality and for granting us access to the original document.

32 An eighteenth-century copy of the Latin text only, in the Archivio di Stato, Palermo, Sezione Gancia, Archivio dei principi Notarbartolo duchi di Villarosa, vol. 233, ff. 135^{a}–138^{b}, is edited in the following: Schroth-Köhler, Kölzer, and Zielinski, "Zwei staufische Diplome," 501–521, esp. 518–520; T. Kölzer, *Constantiae imperatricis et reginae siciliae diplomata (1195–1198)* (Köln-Wien: Bohlau, 1983) (Codex diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, 2nd ser., Diplomata regum et gente Suevorum 1/2), D Ks 66, pp. 237–240; T. Kölzer, *Die Urkunden der Kaiserin Konstanze* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1990) (Monumenta Germaniae historica: Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 11/3), doc. 66, pp. 205–208.

33 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 186–192 and 313, App. 1, cat. no. 44.

34 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 183–184 and 314, App. 1, cat. no. 46.

35 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 322, App. 2, cat. no. 23.

36 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 207–211.

37 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 245–247.

in order to ensure that its content was most readily accessible to the Christians and Saracens of Malta and Gozo to whom it was addressed. However, the Norman *dīwān* had previously made little attempt to match the languages of its Arabic and bilingual documents to those of their intended recipients.[38] We have already suggested that political imperatives in Palermo, not the languages spoken in Malta, necessitated the use of Arabic in this document. Here, we may note that the external and internal features of the Arabic text reveal it to be not so much a continuation of the traditions of the Norman *dīwān* as a unique hybrid that combines well-attested Sicilian elements with previously unattested features.

Traditional Sicilian features include the use of Latin and Arabic in a single bilingual document, and the characteristic "Egyptian" script employed by the scribes of the Norman *dīwān* since its importation from Fāṭimid Cairo in *circa* 1130;[39] there is no trace of the Almohad Maghrib or of Andalus in the script of this document. Another typically Sicilian external feature is the wax seal, now missing, but specified in both the Latin and Arabic texts (ll. 13 and 23). Other external features are more ambiguous, in that they are rare in Egypt and the Mashriq but well attested in both Norman Sicily and the Maghrib: the use of parchment instead of paper,[40] and single-spaced lines instead of the generously wide spacing almost universally used in royal or vizierial documents issued by Eastern chanceries.[41]

In addition, half a dozen internal characteristics evidently derive from the traditional practices of the Norman *dīwān* established under King Roger in the 1130s and 1140s and developed under his son and grandson until the mid-1180s. Most conspicuously, the royal titles of Constance and Frederick follow the model first established under King Roger (ll. 16–17, 20). The *ism*, or personal name, of the ruler—*Quṣṭānṣa*, *Fridirīk*; *Rujār*, *Ghulyālim*—is accompanied by the De Hauteville dynastic title *al-malik al-muʿaẓẓam* ("the glorified king"); for Constance, this is inflated to *al-imbiraṭrīja al-muʿaẓẓama*, reflecting her imperial status. Constance reuses the personal *laqab* of her father, King Roger,[42] *al-muʿtazza bi-llāh* ("the powerful through God"), as well as the pair of supplementary *alqāb* that he also occasionally used, *al-muqtadira bi-qudrati-hi al-manṣūra*

38 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 207, 208–209.

39 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 275–277.

40 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 75 and n. 97.

41 S.M. Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees: Original Documents from the Fāṭimid Chancery* (London: Faber and Faber, 1964), 103–104.

42 Just as the infant William III had done before her: Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 269 and n. 61.

bi-quwwati-hi ("the potent through His omnipotence, the victorious through His strength").[43] She and Frederick also echo Roger's distinctly Christian style, *al-nāṣir lil-milla al-naṣrāniyya* ("the protector of the Christian community"),[44] adapting it slightly, in part to reflect Constance's relationship to her young son: *al-nāṣira wa-iyyā-hu bi-ʿawn Allāh lil-milla al-masīḥiyya* ("the protector, together with him [Frederick], of the Christian [literally "Messianic"] community, through the help of God").[45] Like Roger and the kings who succeeded him, Constance's title lists the territories over which she rules: *Īṭāliya wa-Nkabardha wa-Qalawriya wa-Ṣiqilliya* … ("Italy, Langobardia, Calabria, Sicily …").[46]

Constance also uses two styles not previously attested in the Norman chancery that broadly adhere to the traditional pattern—*al-mustaqbila lil-sumuww bil-qudra al-samāwiyya* ("she who assumes eminence through heavenly power"), and *al-jālisa ʿalā kursī Rūmiyya al-qayṣariyya* ("she who sits on the throne of imperial Rome"). We have not yet been able to find obvious sources for either but suspect that they, like the traditional Norman titles, may have originated among the stock titles awarded to Christian rulers by an Islamic chancery.[47]

The *duʿāʾ*, or augural formula, used for the late kings Roger and William II—*qaddasa llāh rūḥay-himā* ("may God sanctify their souls": l. 20)—also finds a close precedent in the formula used in documents of King Roger to commemorate his father, Roger I—*qaddasa llāh rūḥa-hu wa-nawwara ḍarīḥa-hu* ("may God sanctify his soul and illuminate his tomb").[48]

In addition to titulature, four other features of the diplomatic form also derive from traditional Sicilian practice. In common with most bilingual

43 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 269.

44 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 270–271.

45 Al-Qalqashandī, Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*, 14 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Khidīwiyya [vols. 1–6], Dār al-Kutub al-Sulṭāniyya [vols. 7–14], 1913–1922), 6: 173, lists *ʿaẓīm al-milla al-masīḥiyya*, amongst the titles of the Pope. Compare usage of the Almohad chancery in E. Tisserant and G. Wiet, "Une lettre de l'almohade Murtaḍā au pape Innocent IV," *Hespéris* 6 (1926): 30, l. 7, and 33, l. 14: *qayyim al-milla al-masīḥiyya*.

46 For the word that may have followed *Ṣiqilliya*, see Commentary l. 16.

47 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 271. It is possible that these new elements in Constance's Arabic title may have been reserved in the Islamic chancery repertoire for the German emperor, who is not one of the Christian rulers whose titles are discussed by Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 6: 174–179. See also Henri Lammens, "Correspondances diplomatiques entre les sultans mamlouks d'Égypte et les puissances chrétiennes," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 9 (1904): 151–187, 359–392.

48 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 271.

documents where the Greek or Latin text that precedes the Arabic opens with a pious *invocatio* (l. 16), the *basmala* that one would expect to open an Islamic document is conspicuous by its absence.[49] Towards the end of the document, the *corroboration—wa-qad khatamnā-hu lakum bi-khatmi-nā l-mashhūr dalīlan ʿalā ṣiḥḥati-hi wa-tawkīdan li-tafḍīli-hi* ("And we have sealed it for you with our celebrated seal to indicate its validity and to assure its precedence": l. 23)—closely adheres to the Sicilian formulary.[50] Similarly, the *datatio* (*taʾrīkh*) in typical Sicilian fashion combines the Julian month (*nuwimbir*), with the Byzantine indiction (*al-ḥawl al-thānī*), and the year of the *hijra* (l. 24).[51] Finally, following the standard practice brought to the Norman chancery from Fāṭimid Egypt, the document ends with the *ḥasbala* used by way of *apprecatio*.[52]

More ambiguously, although the document twice refers to itself as a *sijill* (l. 22), an Egyptian term,[53] used regularly for the products of the Norman *dīwān*,[54] but rarely attested in the Maghrib or Andalus,[55] it begins by describing itself as a *ẓahīr* ("decree"), using a term that at this date is peculiar to the Maghrib and Andalus. We shall return below to the significance of this term.

Despite the characteristically Sicilian features enumerated above, which clearly derive from the traditional practices of the Norman *dīwān*, even the most cursory reading of the Arabic reveals that its language makes a startling departure from the mundane administrative style in which all other surviving documents are cast. Alone among the surviving products of the Norman *dīwān*, this document is composed in the ornate prose style of *inshāʾ*, characterised by balanced, parallel structures, assonance, end-rhyme, and by literary and poetical tropes.

The Arabic text exhibits its pretensions to high scribal art from the outset (l. 16) with a noun-pair—*ẓahīr*, *imtinān*—that have morphologically identical and rhyming adjectives—*karīm*, *ʿaẓīm*—each of which picks up one root-

49 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 279.

50 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, Appendix 1, cat. nos. 13, 33, 34, 35, 36. Note, however, that these earlier versions universally use *taʾkīdan* not, as here, *tawkīdan* (for which cf. Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees*, 16, l. 20).

51 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 76–77.

52 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 279–280.

53 Stern, *Arabic Decrees*, 85–90.

54 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, Appendix 1, cat. nos. 13, 36–39.

55 E.g. R.P.A. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1881), 1: 634; Federico Corriente, *A Dictionary of Andalusi Arabic* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 244.

element from the noun it follows (respectively, *rā'* and *mīm*). The royal titles (ll. 17–18) take much of their inspiration from those of former Sicilian models (see above, pp. 122–123); but an altogether different order of linguistic play begins after *ammā ba'd* (l. 18). First, *lammā* introduces a pair of verbs of third radical *ḥā'*, each followed by a preposition attaching to the same referent—*waḍaḥa la-nā wa-ṣaḥḥa ʿinda-nā*. These lead to a pair of *mā-min* clauses (ll. 18–19) with matching assonance and consonance in their respective verbs—*ajraytum* and *tamādaytum*—and vocal harmony and syllabic balance in their terminal preposition-phrases—*ilay-hi*, *ʿalay-hi*. These, in turn, lead into another parallel structure (l. 19) identified by a pair of Form III *maṣdars*—*munāṣaḥa*, *muʿādāt*—with their internal assonance, and matching referents (*-kum*), each leading into a *lām li-taqwiyat al-ʿāmil* to introduce a noun or nouns defined by the referent *-nā*, and qualified by the morphologically identical participles—*muʿāhidīn*, *muʿānidīn*—which also share two of their three root-elements. There follows a parallel pair constructed on two morphologically identical, first-person plural, Form X subjunctives—*nastakhliṣa*, *nastanqidha*—each carrying the same referent (*-kum*), each followed by *min* and a noun of identical syllabic value (*milk*, *ḥukm*), and each employing a third-person plural participle that picks up and complements the balance of assonance and end-rhyme created by the preceding plural participles. The plural participle-ending *-īn* is an aural anchor that also constitutes the terminal binding feature of the more rambling structural parallels that follow. These are set up (l. 19) by *li-takūnū* and its initial resolution, *li-dawlati-nā mukhāliṣīn*. There follow another five complementary resolutions, ending (l. 20) with *bi-ḥabl dawlati-na ākhidhīn*. All open according to the pattern of preposition + noun, with only the third (*wa-ilā l-ibn*) foregoing the referent *-nā*, while all save the second (*wa-li-mamlakati-nā* … etc.) anticipate the concluding chime of a plural participle ending in *-īn*. This second complement, which trips the rhythm considerably with its own internal balance of phrases alluding to Roger and William, dexterously contrives to echo the aural anchor, *-īn*, of the plural participle, by supplying these kings with the qualifiers, *abī-nā* and *ibn akhī-nā*. The next two parallels (l. 21) are cast in the negative. The first takes the two coordinates, *laysa la-kum … wa-lā li-*, which are resolved, respectively, on the vocal consonance of *mālik* and *mushārik*. The second takes the coordinates *lā* + first-person plural indicative, then *wa-lā* (+ the same?), finally balanced, respectively, on the morphological twins, *aḥadan* and *abadan*. The subsequent assurances on the royal succession (l. 21) bring into relief especially the syllabic and vocal harmony of *ʿadli-nā* and *nasli-nā*, which together constitute a binding feature that echoes through the next development (ll. 21–22).

This is founded, in three phases, on the complementary commands, *fa-thiqū … wa-shkurū … wa-ʿlamū*, introducing clauses of gradually increasing length, the building intensity of each resolved, respectively, on the matching sonorities of *bi-ʿadli-nā, … faḍli-hi wa-faḍli-nā, … sijilli-nā*. The subsequent exhortation, founded on *wa-l-takūnū* (l. 22), generates a double complement (co-ordinated by the prepositions *ʿalā* and *fī*) both components of which echo and mirror structurally the complements to *li-takūnū* in l. 19. The variant here of an addition to the second component (ending *mujtamiʿīn*) of the short tail-phrase *ghayr muftariqīn* enhances the rhythmic interest.

The scribe reserves his most self-conscious efforts for the final flourish (ll. 22–23) and its projection of regal auspiciousness. This development effects a classic canvas of balanced phrasing, rhythmic contrast and complementary stress, all anchored on the matching end-rhyme of feminine singular verbs, which carry the added interest of commanding, alternately, "non-emphatic" and "emphatic" vowel harmonies (hereafter referred to, respectively, as "a" and "b"). Schematically, this development can be broken into three complementary phases:

(i) beginning *wa-mamlakatu-nā*, where the main aural interest rests on *iʿtazzat* ("a") and *istamṭarat* ("b");
(ii) continuing the theme of the auspicious kingdom, with a primary clause anchored on two verbs, *rafalat* ("a") and *tabakhtarat* ("a"), and a secondary clause concluding *taʿaṭṭarat* ("b");
(iii) alluding now to the skies, with a primary clause introduced by *wārat* ("a"), and a secondary clause coordinating *saḥḥat* ("a") and *amṭarat* ("b").

At this point, the scribe's excursus into *inshāʾ*, which hitherto dominates, comes to an end; with the conclusion of l. 23 and the reference to the celebrated seal the document returns to the much more familiar language of the earlier Sicilian chancery.

Among the literary and poetical tropes characteristic of *inshāʾ*, we may begin by noting that the reference to *ḥabl dawlati-nā* ("the covenantal rope of our dynasty": l. 20) relies upon the conceit that a ruler's claim to the religious legitimacy of his authority is figured in terms of a covenantal rope (*ḥabl*) that both offers security to his subjects and binds them to him, an extension of the bond between ruler and God, the *ḥabl Allāh*, itself a Qurʾānic figure (3: 103: *wa-ʿtaṣimū bi-ḥabli llāhi jamīʿan wa-lā tafarraqū*, "And hold fast, all, to the cable of Allah and do not separate"). The trope originates in pre-Islamic poetry. It was developed by poets of early Islam and the Umayyad era in accordance with its Qurʾānic transformation; it has clear currency in Almohad letters and *ẓahīr*s as

an expression of the strength and religious legitimacy of their rule, and of the obedience owed to them.[56]

In early Arabic poetry, the covenantal rope (*ḥabl*) was conceived as drawing water from a well, figuring the manner in which God, or His legitimate representative on earth, brought life-giving water to his followers. A similar poetical conceit informs the statement that "the rain-clouds of abundance have covered the highest heaven and poured and rained on [our kingdom]" (*qad wārat samāʾ al-ʿulyā suḥub al-iqbāl fa-saḥḥat ʿalay-hā wa-amṭarat*: l. 23), in that it again figures the beneficent rule of the legitimate ruler as bringing God's clouds to pour life-giving rain upon His subjects.[57]

Unfamiliar as such ancient Arabian images may be to the modern Western reader, they were so common in the poetical register of Arabic in the twelfth century as to be hackneyed. On the other hand, it comes as rather a shock to find that the Norman kingdom is also imagined as having "strutted and swaggered in the garments of good fortune and perfumed itself in the sweet-scented breeze of might and glory" (*rafalat fī maṭārif al-saʿd wa-tabakhtarat wa-bi-nasīm rīḥ al-ʿizz wa-l-majd taʿaṭṭarat*: l. 23). Although far removed from the terrible majesty cultivated by King Roger, this strutting trailer of garments is an ancient, poetical figure evoking elevation of a traditional Arab variety. A close parallel appears in a decree (*ẓahīr*) penned by the famous secretary Ibn al-Abbār (595–658/1199–1260), who began his career in the emirate of Valencia, and spent the last twenty years of his life in Ḥafṣid Tunisia. The decree concerns the reappointment of a certain regional superintendent (*mushārif*) whom Ibn al-Abbār describes as "swaggering in the diaphanous garb of grace and honor (*rāfilan min malābis al-takrima wa-l-ḥuẓwa fī shufūfi-hā*)."[58]

As a final example of the literary tropes that appear in this document, the Maltese and Gozitans are praised for having kept to the well-trodden path (*sanan*) of loyalty to the Norman kingdom that their ancestors had followed

56 N.M. Jamil, "Caliph and *Quṭb*: Poetry as a Source for Interpreting the Transformation of the Byzantine Cross on Steps on Umayyad Coinage," in *Bayt al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and Early Islam*, ed. J. Johns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) (Oxford Studies in Islamic Art 9/2), 32–34. See the commentary to l. 20 below, p. 156, for references to this trope in Almohad documents.

57 On the origins and development of this conceit, see Jamil, "Caliph and *Quṭb*," esp. 37–42. On Almohad comparanda, see the commentary to l. 23 below, p. 158.

58 Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 10: 307, ll. 9–10. M. Ben Cheneb and C. Pellat, "Ibn al-Abbār (Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḳuḍāʿī)," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2002), 3: 673.

(ll. 18–19). No less than six of the specimen *ẓahīr*s reproduced by al-Qalqashandī use the same figure, including one example penned by the famous Sevillian Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ruʿaynī (592–666/1196–1267), and its survival in twelfth- and thirteenth-century *ẓahīr*s and letters from the Maghrib and al-Andalus suggests that it belongs to their stock formulary.[59]

Given that none of the other surviving documents issued by the Norman *dīwān* are written in the ornate prose style of *inshāʾ*, how can its sudden appearance in this document be explained?

Of course, it is not that comparable ornate Arabic prose was unknown in Norman Sicily. On the contrary, Norman Palermo had its own flourishing Arabic literary culture. The Sicilian Muḥammad ibn Ẓafar wrote the *Sulwān al-muṭāʿ* in Palermo in 1159–1160, and may have dedicated it to the hereditary leader of the Muslim community of Sicily, the *qāʾid* Abū ʿAbdallāh Ḥammūd ibn Muḥammad.[60] The latter's son, the *qāʾid* Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad, was patron to the Alexandrian poet Ibn Qalāqis whose works, including *al-Zahr al-bāsim* and his *Tarassul*, are good examples of ornate Arabic prose composition.[61] Ibn Qalāqis also dedicated poems to the Queen Regent Margaret and the young King William II, and to the *qāʾid* Richard, one of the leading crypto-Muslim eunuchs of the administration.[62] His patron, the *qāʾid* Abū l-Qāsim, himself occasionally served the royal administration and twice appears as one of the directors of the royal *dīwān*.[63] However, because this document is not only written in the *inshāʾ* style but, as we shall see below, is cast in the diplomatic form of the *ẓahīr*, we believe that it must have been composed by a trained secretary and not by a jobbing man of letters brought into the royal *dīwān* for this specific task.

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59 Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 10: 301, l. 5; 302, ll. 8–9; 304, ll. 12–13; 306, ll. 1–2, and 11: 10, l. 16; 14, l. 1. See also E. Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres officielles almohades* (Rabat: Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines, 1941), 180: the reference in Letter 30, 583/1187, to *sanan al-shar*ʿ; see M. Fierro, "al-Ruʿaynī (Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hayṣam)," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2002), 8: 573–574.

60 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 234–242.

61 Ibn Qalāqis, *al-Zahr al-bāsim wa-l-ʿarf al-nāsim fī madīḥ al-ajall Abī l-Qāsim*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Nāṣir al-Māniʿ (Riyadh: Jāmiʿat al-Malik Saʿūd, 1984); *Tarassul Ibn Qalāqis al-Iskandarī*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Nāṣir al-Māniʿ (Riyadh: Jāmiʿat al-Malik Saʿūd, 1984).

62 Ibn Qalāqis, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, 22–24; *Dīwān Ibn Qalāqis*, ed. Sihām ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Furayḥ (Kuwait: Maktabat al-Maʿālī, 1988), 145–147, no. 36. See also Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 233 and nn. 87–88.

63 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 234–235.

Although none have survived, there is good reason to assume that the Norman *dīwān* did write decrees and especially letters to Muslim rulers in a much more elaborate prose register than that used in ordinary administrative documents. Al-Maqrīzī, probably drawing upon the lost work of the Zīrid historian Ibn Shaddād, who visited Palermo in 1156, describes how in *circa* 1126 Roger II offered the vizierate to Abū l-Ḍawʾ Sirāj, his *kātib al-inshāʾ*, who wisely declined to stand in the way of George of Antioch. Abū l-Ḍawʾ came from the distinguished Palermitan family which provided successive *qāḍī*s of Palermo in the mid-twelfth century and was part of the circle of the Ḥammūdid leaders of the Muslim community of Sicily. He was the correspondent and recipient of the verses of the Zīrid historian and poet Abū l-Ṣalt Umayya. Abū l-Ḍawʾ was also a competent poet in his own right, who served as a court poet to King Roger until at least the 1140s. If he did indeed hold office as *kātib al-inshāʾ*, then he or his bureau must have been responsible for the correspondence between Roger and the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ. Only one letter from the caliph to Roger survives; it is written in the ornate rhymed prose style, which Roger's letters to the caliph would undoubtedly have sought to equal.

Abū l-Ḍawʾ and his office is also likely to have been responsible for diplomatic correspondence with the Zīrids, which seems to have begun in the late eleventh century and to have continued until the Norman conquest of Mahdiyya and the expulsion of the Zīrids in 1148. When diplomacy failed—and it is worth noting that the correspondence continued even when relations had reached breaking point[64]—the same office would have composed the letters of appointment (*ʿahd* or *sijill*), sent with a robe of office (*khilʿa*), to the local Muslim governors (*ʿāmil* or *wālī*) appointed by King Roger over the North African coastal cities captured during the 1140s.[65] For example, at Gabès in 542/1147–1148, on the death of the ruling Arab dynast, Rushayd ibn Kāmil of the Banū Jāmiʿ, his *mawlā*, Yūsuf, seized power and wrote to Roger offering to surrender Gabès to him in return for "a robe of office (*khilʿa*) and a letter of appointment (*ʿahd*) to the government (*wilāya*) of Gabès as your representative (*nāʾib*), as

64 For example, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-taʾrīkh*, ed. C.J. Tornberg, 13 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1979–1982; repr. of Leiden: Brill, 1851–1876), 10: 530 (511 H); trans. D.S. Richards, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fi'l-Taʾrīkh. Part 1. The Years 491–541/1097–1146: The Coming of the Franks and the Muslim Response* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 186.

65 See the comprehensive and thoughtful study by M. Brett, "Muslim Justice under Infidel Rule," originally published in the *Cahiers de Tunisie* 43/155–156 (1995): 325–368, and then republished with extensive revisions in his *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1999: XIII).

you did for the Banū Maṭrūḥ in Tripoli. Roger sent him the robe and the letter. He donned the former and had the letter read out to an assembly of the people."[66] The ceremonial aspects of this procedure make it likely that the letter of appointment was cast in a suitably high register.

It is, therefore, possible to explain the use of the ornate prose of *inshā'* by a scribe of the Norman *dīwān* by arguing that letters must have been written in this style since the mid-1120s if not earlier but are no longer extant, and that this document is exceptional only in that it has survived. To do so, however, would be to ignore the fact that it is unique not just for the register of its language, but also for its diplomatic form.

The opening words of the Arabic text—*hādhā ẓahīr karīm* ("This is a noble decree": l. 16)—identify it as a *ẓahīr*, for, however much it may insist elsewhere that it is a *sijill* (l. 22), this is the standard opening formula for the *ẓahīr*. All the mid-fourteenth-century examples reproduced by al-Qalqashandī have this opening,[67] and he seems to imply that all *ẓahīr*s began this way in the past.[68] If so, then the openings must have been omitted from the earlier examples that he gives.[69] Elsewhere, however, he discusses the countless variety of *ibtidā'āt* ("openings") used in the oldest *ẓahīr*s.[70] It may be that the opening of this document, which dates from a fairly advanced stage in the evolution of the form, uses the formula that was already emerging as standard.[71]

The term *ẓahīr* connotes "help," and implies that through this type of decree the ruler gave assistance or support to its recipient. The term seems to have gained currency under the Almohads (1130–1269). It was originally synonymous with, and finally replaced, the term *ṣakk*—from which English "cheque" derives—established by the Almoravids (1062–1147) to denote the type of royal or emiral decree which could be bestowed, for example, on state officials to confirm their appointment or reappointment, or to reward faithful service. The

66 Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 11: 120 (542 H); trans. Richards, *Ibn al-Athīr. Part 2. The Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 14.

67 Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 11: 6–28.

68 Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 11: 4.

69 Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 10: 299–307. All the early *ẓahīr*s that he reproduces are clearly missing elements, including reference to the ruler and the date. See also note 73 below.

70 Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 10: 299–300.

71 Two *ẓahīr*s discussed by A. Azzaoui, *Nouvelles lettres almohades*, 2 vols. (Kénitra: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1995) (Textes et documents 2), 1: 391–395, both 637/1239–1240, open with the formula, *hādhā ẓahīr karīm*. An earlier *ẓahīr* (ibid., 1: 347, 614/1217–1218) refers to itself in the same way, after an introduction composed of the *basmala*, followed by a *taṣliya* and a *ḥamdala* according with the caliph's *'alāma*.

ẓahīr was not limited to Muslims, but could also be extended to Christians and Jews.[72]

In his treatise *Adab al-kātib* ("The Art of the Scribe"), most probably composed during the reign of the Ḥafṣid al-Mustanṣir (reg. 1226–1242), Abū Bakr ibn Khaldūn (d. 1283), grandfather of the celebrated historian, gives details of the earliest Ḥafṣid documentary forms that are not discussed by al-Qalqashandī, and which Evariste Lévi-Provençal demonstrates to be continuations of an older Almohad tradition. In the seventeenth chapter on *amthilat al-mukhāṭabāt* ("models for letters"), Abū Bakr gives a generalized schema for royal documents which, he says, applies in full to the letter (*kitāb*), and, with certain elements omitted, to the "*ṣakk*, now called *ẓahīr*."[73]

من فلان – باللقب – أمير المؤمنين بن أمير المؤمنين ... ثم تقول: أيَّدهم الله بنصره وأمدَّهم بمعونته إلى الشيخ أبي فلان – أو إلى أبي فلان – أو إلى الأشياخ والأعيان والكافة من بني فلان – أدام الله كرامتهم وتوفيقهم بتقواه. سلام عليكم ورحمة الله تعالى وبركاته. أمّا بعد حمد الله ... وبعد تمام الصّدْر تكون منه الوصيّة بتقوى الله وبما يجب. هذا إذا كان كتاباً وإذا كان صكّا – ويسمّى الآن ظهيراً – فلا يكون فيه صَدرٌ ولا وصيّة ولا اسم المكان الذي كُتب منه.

'From so-and-so—with the honorific—Commander of the Faithful, son of the Commander of the Faithful' ... Then you say: 'May God support them with His aid and succour them with His assistance; to the Shaykh, Father of so-and-so—or to the Father of so-and-so—or to Shaykhs X, or Notables Y, or all the sons of Z, may God prolong their honour and felicity for their piety to him. Greetings to you, and the mercy of God and His benedictions. And following praise of God (*ammā baʿda ḥamd Allāh*) ...' ... [leading to the preamble into the main matter (*ṣadr*)]. When the latter is done, there should come from him an exhortation to fear God and do the necessary. That is if it is a letter (*kitāb*). If it is a decree (*ṣakk*)—what is now called *ẓahīr*—there is no preamble into the main matter, nor exhortation, nor mention of the place whence it was written.[74]

72 M. El Mansour, "Ẓahīr," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2002), 11: 387–388; Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 10: 299–307, 11: 6–28.

73 E. Lévi-Provençal, "Un recueil de lettres officielles almohades: étude diplomatique, analyse et commentaire historique," *Hespéris* 28 (1941): 12–16; E. Lévi-Provençal, "Le traité d'Adab al-kātib d'Abū Bakr ibn Khaldūn," *Arabica* 2 (1955): 280.

74 Lévi-Provençal ("Receuil," 14) gives an Arabic transcription of Ibn Khaldūn's schema with French translation.

This passage, apart from the useful confirmation that what had once been the *ṣakk* was then called the *ẓahīr*, would be a little vague on its own. But it allowed Lévi-Provençal to develop a far more precise schema for the diplomatic form of letters and decrees based upon comparison with the *Trente-sept lettres officielles almohades*, that may be summarized as follows:

1. (i) Designation of the ruler in whose name the document is expedited;
   (ii) Appropriate titles and augural formula (*duʿāʾ*) for the ruler;
   (iii) Designation of the recipient(s) and appropriate augural formula (*duʿāʾ*);
   (iv) Salutation.
2. Doxology: Ubiquitous repetition of *ammā baʿd* to move through the sequence of *ḥamdala*, prayers and benedictions.
3. (i) Introduction of the main matter (*ṣadr*),[75] typically with *wa-hādhā kitābu-nā ilay-kum/ wa-kitābu-nā ilay-kum/ wa-innā katabnā-hu ilay-kum* ("Here is our letter to you").
   (ii) The place from which the document is issued. From the time of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb (1160–1189), the exhortation to fear God—*taqwā llāh*—was added at this point.[76]
4. Main body of the letter: variable length; rhythm and end-rhyme vary as the text develops.
5. Conclusion—sometimes introduced by *wa-ʿalā l-jumla fa-qad* ("in sum …"); but more often with *wa-aʿlamnā-kum bi-dhālik* ("and we have informed you of that") or the like. Normally, an affirmation of divine unity and benedictions of farewell.
6. The date, usually at the very end of the letter, introduced by *kutiba fī* …

In this document, in lines 16–18, after the standard opening for the *ẓahīr*, the traditional Sicilian titles and augural formulae occupy the place of Part 1 (i)–(ii). Then, the recipients are named, with the appropriate *duʿāʾ* (1(iii)). There is no salutation (1(iv)). Part 2 is represented by *ammā baʿd* (l. 18) but, following the standard practice of the Norman *dīwān*, the Islamic formulae of the doxology are omitted. What follows (ll. 18–22) is evidently the main body of the decree (*ṣadr*: Part 4), but it opens abruptly and without introductory formulae (Part 3)—precisely those sections which Abū Bakr ibn Khaldūn (in

75 Lévi-Provençal comments that this is the point from which compilators collecting documents often tend to begin to quote, omitting the first two parts of the decree: "Receuil," 16, ll. 9–11.

76 Lévi-Provençal, "Recueil," 17.

the passage cited above) says are appropriate to a letter (*kitāb*) but not to a decree (*ẓahīr*).

The development of the main text (ll. 18–22) corresponds, *grosso modo*, to the model of the *ẓahīr*. In line 18, *lammā waḍaḥa la-nā wa-ṣaḥḥa ʿinda-nā* signals the *expositio* (*iblāgh*), the explanation of the circumstances that led to the issue of the decree.[77] In the following line, *raʾaynā … an* indicates the *petitio* (*qiṣṣa*), setting out the ruler's intentions (ll. 19–20). The *dispositio* (*ḥukm*: ll. 20–21) is marked at the end of line 20 by *li-dhālika umira bi-katb hādhā l-ẓahīr al-sharīf al-athīr*. All three parts are regularly attested in the earlier *ẓahīr*s cited by al-Qalqashandī and in the Almohad letters studied by Lévi-Provençal.[78] After the *dispositio*, comes what may well be a *sanctio*, opening with a mild exhortation to trust in God—*fa-thiqū bi-llāh* (l. 21), but ending with a fiercer admonition to be united, not divided, in the destruction of the enemies of the kingdom (l. 22).[79] Interestingly, the end of the text is marked by a Sicilianized version of the standard formula that introduces the *ṣadr*—*wa-sijillu-nā h*[*ādhā i*]*lay-kum*: "Here is our charter to you" (l. 22). Throughout the text, the scribe develops a varying sequence of rhythm and end-rhyme. Even after he has signalled its end, he cannot resist a final, extended poetical flourish (ll. 22–23).[80]

Part 5 is introduced by the standard Sicilian *corroboratio* (*khaṭṭ al-sharīf*) explaining how the seal may be used to validate the decree (l. 23: see also above, p. 122). It is followed by a lacunose phrase beginning *wa-jumlatu-hu* …, which is clearly cognate with the occasional Almohad conclusion *wa-ʿalā l-jumla* …

What immediately follows is mostly lost. The first three or four words of the phrase have been cut away, and all that survives is the conclusion—*sāʿā*[*t*] *min al-layl wa-l-nahār*. The reference to "hours of the day and night" is reminiscent of phrases in the more hyperbolic augural formulae that follow the titles of the Sicilian ruler (here, *al-ḥaḍra*, "the royal presence"), such as "may God perpetuate his days" (*khallada llāhu ayyāmahā*) or "may God perpetuate his reign and his days" (*khallada llāhu mamlakatahā wa-ayyāmahā*),[81] or even the

77 The Fāṭimid *manshūr* also marks the expositio with *lammā* and complement: Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees*, 109–112.

78 Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 10: 302, 304, 305 (see also the later decree in ibid., 11: 9–10); Levi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres*, 18 (Letter 7, 547/1152), 35–36 (Letter 10, 548/1153), 57 (Letter 13, no date), 73–74 (Letter 16, 552/1157). Additional aspects of diction occurring in ll. 18–22 of this document are worth highlighting, as, within the context of this frame, they strengthen the case for Almohad inspiration: see Commentary, ll. 18–22 of the document.

79 See also Commentary, l. 22.

80 See also Commentary, l. 22.

81 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 153, 156 n. 32, and 166.

wish expressed on the hem of King Roger's mantle that God may grant him "pleasure of days and nights without end or decline" (*ṭīb al-ayyām wa-l-layāl*[*ī*] / *bi-lā zawāl wa-lā ntiqāl*).[82] More plausibly, the fragmentary allusion to days and nights once expressed the eternal validity of the document itself, as exemplified by a decree of the Fāṭimid al-Ẓāhir (dated 415/1024) that will endure "through the passing of days and ages" (*ʿalā marr al-ayyām wa-l-duhūr*).[83]

Part 6, introduced by *kutiba ʿalā yad kātibi-nā* (l. 24), corresponds to the *datum* (*taʾrīkh*), which follows the traditional Sicilian pattern, naming the scribe, and recording the date according to multiple calendars. The document ends with the standard Sicilian use of *ḥasbala* by way of *apprecatio*.

It is clear from this analysis of its diplomatic structure that this document is essentially a *ẓahīr* into which standard elements from the Sicilian formulary have been incorporated. It remains to explore how this may have happened. There are two possible explanations: either this is the only example to survive from a tradition of *ẓahīr*s established in the Norman *dīwān* at some time after 1130; or this document represents a diplomatic form newly introduced from the Almohad sphere at the very end of the century. We incline strongly towards the second possibility for two sets of reasons.

The first has to do with the history of the royal administration during the last decade of the twelfth century. For most of the reign of William II, the administration had been in the hands of a triumvirate of royal familiars, led by Archbishop Walter of Palermo, the Vice-chancellor Matthew of Salerno and a third member, typically a leading churchman. Walter and Matthew appear to have been well-matched rivals, but in 1183, when Pope Lucius III elevated the see of Monreale to an archbishopric, and Archbishop William joined the royal familiars, he gave the advantage to the Vice-chancellor Matthew. On the death of William II, Matthew rapidly brought Tancred of Lecce to the throne.[84] Walter's death in 1190 confirmed Matthew's triumph.

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82 T. Al Samman, "Arabische Inschriften auf den Krönungsgewändern des Heiligen Römischen Reiches," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 78 (1982): 31–34.

83 Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees*, 15–22, esp. 16, ll. 25–27. The translation is Stern's. A very similar statement occurs in a much later Moroccan *ẓahīr*, dated 1146/1734, renewing the exemption of a Sherifian family from certain charges, which is to remain valid and unviolated by any person "for the passage of nights and days and periods and years" (*ʿalā mamarr al-layālī wa-l-ayyām wa-l-duhūr wa-l-aʿwām*): Alfred Bel, "Un *Ḍahîr* Chérifien du Sultan ʿAbdallâh, Fils de Moulaye Ismâʿîl," *Journal Asiatique* (11th ser.) 9 (1917): 283–290.

84 *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Notarii Chronica*, ed. Carlo Alberto Garufi (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1938) (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, 2nd ser., 7/2), 5–6.

Tancred, who was principally preoccupied with the military defence of his kingdom on the mainland, now restructured the *curia*. The office of Chancellor, dormant since 1169, was revived and awarded to Matthew. As royal familiars, Tancred appointed Matthew and two of his sons, Archbishop Nicolas of Salerno and Count Richard of Ajello. In effect, Tancred thus made Matthew his prime minister and, when campaigning on the mainland, his viceroy of Sicily.

Matthew, who had been trained in the royal chancery under William I, and had rebuilt the archives of the *dīwān* after their destruction in the rebellion of 1161,[85] did not now neglect the fiscal administration, which was reconstituted on the traditional, trilingual model. Eugenius, a Greek man of letters and master of the *duana baronum*,[86] whose father and uncles had been leading royal administrators, was appointed *regius amiratus*, and entrusted with the entire fiscal administration. Three new chamberlains represented the three cultures of the kingdom. Tancred's Greek chamberlain, Alexius, was brought from Lecce and made master chamberlain. Darius, a Latin from Campania who had long been at court, became palace chamberlain and master of the *duana baronum*. But for the representative of Arabic culture, the choice was less straightforward.

The sudden failure of royal authority that had followed William's death had released the Latin citizens of Palermo to attack their Muslim neighbours. Many were killed and the survivors fled into the mountains of western Sicily, where their refuges became the centres of the Muslim rebellion that smouldered on until the middle of the thirteenth century.[87] During the baronial revolt of 1161, an earlier lapse of royal power, the Christian mob had directed their violent rage not just against the Muslim citizens of Palermo but in particular against the crypto-Muslim eunuchs of the royal administration: "None of the eunuchs

85 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 21 and n. 49, 177 and n. 34, p. 180.

86 The office, based at Salerno, responsible for the administration of the mainland provinces of the kingdom, except Calabria: Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 206–207.

87 *Annales Casinenses*, ed. G.H. Pertz (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1866) (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores 19), 314: *Panormi oritur inter Christianos et Sarracenos dissentio. Sarraceni, multa suorum strage facta, exeunt et inhabitant montana*. See also *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano*, 9; Peter of Eboli, *Liber ad honorem Augusti sive de rebus Siculis: Codex 120 II der Burgerbibliothek Bern; eine Bilderchronik der Stauferzeit*, ed. T. Kölzer and M. Stähli (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994), 49, ll. 85–87; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols. (London: Longman, 1868–1870) (Roll Series 51), 3: 169; [Roger of Howden], *Gesta Regis Henrici II*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1867) (Roll Series 49), 2: 141. The best secondary account of the revolts remains the almost untraceable F. Maurici, *L'emirato sulle montagne. Note per una storia della resistenza musulmana in Sicilia nell'età di Federico II di Svevia* (Palermo: Centro di documentazione e ricerca per la Sicilia antica, 1987).

whom [the rebels] could find escaped .... Many of the Muslims who were collecting fiscal dues in the *dīwān* ... were killed."[88] In 1189, even though the mob failed to occupy the royal palace, many of its Muslim or crypto-Muslim servants suffered or fled from its persecution, significantly depleting the staff of the Arabic administration and the *dīwān*. The leader of the palace Saracens, the eunuch *qā'id* Richard, disappears at this time, and far fewer Muslim royal servants appear after the death of William than during his reign, and do so far less frequently.[89] Nonetheless, by July 1191 Abdeserdus, whose Latin name presumably derives from an Arabic original such as ʿAbd al-Sayyid, had emerged as the new palace chamberlain and master of the *duana baronum*.[90] In 1194, when Henry made his triumphant entry into the royal palace, it was the crypto-Muslim eunuchs who ceremonially consigned to him the royal treasure chests and their keys, and explained the accounts and revenue.[91]

However, the Arabic administration no longer dominated the treasury and the *dīwān* as it had under William II. A Greek *amiratus*, Eugenius, had replaced the Muslim *qā'id* Richard, and another Greek, Alexius, was master chamberlain, an office previously reserved for a Muslim eunuch, while Abdeserdus was merely master of the *duana baronum*. After 1193, the offices of chamberlain and master of the *dīwān*, which under William II had typically been held by the same Muslim eunuch, were separated. The *dīwān* was given greater autonomy as against the *camera*, but its directors and staff were Greek, not Muslim.[92] Under Tancred and his widow Sibylla, we cannot know whether this decline of the Arabic administration was provoked by the anti-Saracen pogroms of the Latin mob in 1189, or by mistrust of the rebellious Muslims, or both. It is significant, however, that in his celebration of Henry's triumph, the *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, Peter of Eboli depicts both the palace Saracens and the trilingual Norman chancery in a distinctly negative light. The Muslim eunuchs who lay the royal treasure before Henry are not merely *neutri* but *Putifares*, a reference to

88 "Hugo Falcandus," *Liber de regno Siciliae*, ed. G.B. Siragusa (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1897) (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 22), 57; trans. G.A. Loud and T. Wiedemann, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by "Hugo Falcandus" 1154–69* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 109–110.

89 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 228–234 (Richard), 244–245 (after 1189).

90 H. Zielinski, *Tancredi et Willelmi III regum diplomata* (Köln-Wien: Böhlau, 1982) (Codex diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, 1st ser., Diplomata regum et principum e gente Normannorum 5), no. 17, pp. 40–41.

91 Peter of Eboli, *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, 197, ll. 1317–1328.

92 E. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily: His Life and Work and the Authorship of the Epistola ad Petrum and the Historia Hugonis Falcandi Siculi* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 105–109. (On the question of the *quaestores*, see now Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 204–206.)

the *Putiphar eunuch Pharaonis … vir aegyptius*, who had wrongly imprisoned Joseph.[93] The famous image of the trilingual chancery is carefully associated with that of the villain of the piece, the Chancellor Matthew, doing evil: three pairs of scribes, Greek, Saracen and Latin, are framed by an arcade while, in the fourth arch, Matthew secretly writes a letter offering Tancred the throne: "I, Matthew, offer you, O Tancred, that which if you do not come immediately, another will enjoy. Do not delay, but come with your two sons, come to receive the royal sceptre! Do not delay! Break your oath! Set aside your wife! I who write to you will give you the realm. Through me will you reign. Through me will the realm be given to you."[94] Peter even gives the celebrated *populus trilinguis* of Palermo a negative charge, as the citizens first despair, and then give themselves up to internecine violence.[95]

It is thus hardly surprising that, shortly after Henry VI came to power at Christmas 1194, he decapitated the Sicilian administration. Matthew's son, Archbishop Nicholas of Salerno, who led the *familiares regis* after the death of his father in 1193, was arrested with his two brothers, and Margaritus of Brindisi, the *amiratus* Eugenius, the chamberlain Alexius, and many others, including Tancred's widow, Sybilla, and their surviving children.[96] The prisoners were sent north to Germany. The reorganization of the kingdom's administration to serve Henry's interests had already been entrusted to his imperial chancellor, Conrad of Querfurt, who now set about allocating the highest posts to Germans.[97] Frederick of Hohenstadt was made master chamberlain. Henry's military commanders were given mainland fiefs and a variety of administrative responsibilities under the chancellor's oversight: the imperial seneschal, Markward of Anweiler, was duke of Ravenna and the Romagna, Margrave of Ancona, and later count of Molise; Conrad of Urslingen became duke of Spoleto and *vicarius regni Siciliae*; Diepold of Schweinspeunt, count of Acerra; Conrad of Lützelinhard, count of Molise. In Palermo, the trilingual chancery was abol-

93 Genesis 37: 35 and 39. The Egyptian name *Putifar* may have had an unpleasant sound to Latin or Romance ears, conjuring up associations with negative words such as *putrefacere/putrefare*, "to stink," or even *putiferio* (deformation of *vituperium/vituperio*), a "row" or "uproar."

94 Peter of Eboli, *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, 58–61 (ff. 101^{b}–2^{a}).

95 Peter of Eboli, *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, 45, ll. 56–57, 49, ll. 84–99.

96 See the long discussion in Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, 122–143.

97 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, 120–121, 146–148. See also T. Ertl, *Studien zum Kanzlei- und Urkundenwesen Kaiser Heinrichs VI* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002) (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denskschriften 303, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelaters 4), 50–96.

ished, and Henry VI issued imperial charters written only in Latin; none was Arabic or Greek or bilingual.

The death of Henry VI in September 1197 left Constance, the daughter and heir of King Roger, sole monarch in her own right. She immediately moved against her late husband's German commanders; Markward of Anweiler and Conrad of Urslingen were ejected from the kingdom. At the same time, Constance initiated an extensive reform of the fiscal administration. The centralized system towards which Conrad of Querfurt had been working was dismantled. The office of master chamberlain of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, which had been in abeyance since *circa* 1170, was revived and given to the *amiratus* Eugenius. Calabria and Eastern Sicily were administered by a branch of the *dīwān* based in Messina. A second branch in Palermo was made responsible for Western Sicily.[98]

So brief was the reign of Constance that neither the full details, nor the long-term implications of these reforms can be discerned, but the clear impression remains of an energetic effort to reform the fiscal administration in the interests of the Sicilian kingdom. Above all, Constance was determined to demonstrate that she had re-established continuity with the Norman kingdom by acting "in imitation of our father, the Lord King Roger of sacred memory, and of our nephew, King William [II] of pious memory"—a refrain repeated in many charters, not just in this document.[99]

This brief sketch of the history of the royal administration between the death of William II and that of Constance suggests that the Arabic administration was significantly weakened from 1189 until 1197. Neither Tancred, nor his widow Sibylla, nor Henry VI, is known to have issued any document in Arabic. Either the chancery no longer had secretaries and scribes capable of drafting and copying Arabic documents, or it decided to cease issuing documents in Arabic. In either case, the *adab al-kātib* that had been cultivated in the Norman *dīwān* from the 1130s until the death of William II would soon have been lost. The brief reign of Constance saw a vigorous attempt to restore the fiscal administration to the eminence that it had enjoyed before 1189 and, remarkably, her trilingual chancery began again to issue documents in Latin, Greek, and Arabic. But the diplomatic forms and secretarial traditions of the Arabic chancery had largely

98 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, 61–63. See also T. Kölzer, *Urkunden und Kanzlei der Kaiserin Konstanze, Königin von Sizilien* (*1195–1198*) (Köln-Wien: Böhlau, 1983) (Studien zu den normannisch-staufischen Herrscherurkunden Siziliens. Beihefte zum "Codex diplomaticus regni Siciliae" 2), 8–30, 46–52.

99 Kölzer, ed., *Constantiae ... diplomata*, 12^{20}–13^{2}, $16^{4–6}$, $51^{11–13}$, $61^{4–5}$, $85^{14–15}$, $86^{11–13}$, $94^{10–12}$, $163^{10–11}$, $165^{2–4}$, $204^{12–13}$.

been lost in the period of decline from 1189–1197, and had to be recreated by means of imports from outside the island. Two generations earlier, King Roger's Arabic chancery had imported scribes, diplomatic forms and bureaucratic structure from Fāṭimid Egypt but, with Cairo in Ayyūbid hands, that source was no longer open to Sicily, and Constance's ministers had to turn elsewhere.

The second set of reasons for believing that the document under discussion represents a diplomatic form newly introduced from the Almohad sphere at the very end of the century concerns the dramatic increase in Sicilian activity in the western Mediterranean that occurred in the 1170s and 1180s. The Arabic administration of Norman Sicily before the death of William II shows no trace of influence from al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā or al-Andalus. Script, diplomatic form, formulary, and bureaucratic structure all came from the Fāṭimid sphere—from Cairo and, to a lesser extent, from the Fāṭimid successor states of Zīrid Ifrīqiya and Kalbid Sicily. This is best explained by the close diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations between Cairo and Palermo that prevailed from *circa* 1120 until the fall of the Fāṭimids to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Indeed, so close were the ties between Norman Sicily and the Fāṭimids that the Sicilian attack upon Alexandria in 1174 was in part an attempt to restore the dynasty, and was co-ordinated with a pro-Fāṭimid rising in Upper Egypt.[100] Conversely, the small contribution made by the Almohads to the Arabic administration of Norman Sicily and, indeed, to all aspects of the Arab facet of the Norman monarchy, is best explained by the fact that there was almost no contact between the Normans and the Almohads before the 1170s. The Almohad conquest of the Ifrīqiyan coast in the late 1150s to mid-1160s,[101] the Sicilian raid upon Almohad Ifrīqiya in 1163,[102] and the defection of the eunuch *qā'id* Peter in 1167,[103]did nothing to bring the two courts closer together. But, after the fall of the Fāṭimids and the rise of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn,[104] when Egyptian ports were closed to Sicilian ships, Sicily turned increasingly towards the western Islamic world.

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100 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 11: 399 (569 H), 312–314 (570 H); trans. Richards, *Ibn al-Athīr … Part 2*, 218–219, 229–230.

101 The best and most thoroughly documented account is that of H.R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes, X^e–XII^e siècles*, 2 vols, (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1962), 1: 379–404.

102 Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed., rev. C.A. Nallino, 3 vols. (Catania: R. Prampolini, 1933–1939), 3: 499–500.

103 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 226–228.

104 There is no indication that the invasion of Ifrīqiya in 568/1173–1174 by a force of Turks under Sharaf al-Dīn Qarāqūsh, a *mamlūk* of Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar b. Shāhanshāh, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's nephew, was seen as a threat in Palermo. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 11: 389 (568 H) and 519–522 (581 H); trans. Richards, *Ibn al-Athīr … Part 2*, 211, 310–312.

The Norman monk, Robert of Torigni, reports that in 1179 a Sicilian fleet happened upon the ship carrying the daughter of the Almohad caliph who was to be married to a Muslim ruler. William II, delighted with this opportunity to make peace, restored her to her father, and received in return the two cities of Mahdiyya and Zawīla.[105] In the following year, when the Almohad caliph arrived in Mahdiyya after putting down a rebellion in Ifrīqiya, he found a Sicilian ambassador awaiting him, and concluded a ten-year truce (*ṣulḥ*).[106] In 1181, an Almohad embassy visited Palermo to confirm the peace.[107] The Almohad historian al-Marrākushī has a different perspective upon the same story: William was so afraid of Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf that he paid him tribute (*itāwa*);[108] the Almohad ruler agreed to a truce on the condition that William paid him an annual sum, as stipulated in the treaty.[109] Modern European historians have dismissed this as fiction and insisted that, on the contrary, it was the Almohads who paid tribute to the Sicilians,[110] citing Peter of Eboli's account of the palace eunuchs presenting their accounts to Henry VI—"Here, what the Calabrian, here what the African owes, etc."—regardless that, later in the same poem, Henry's chancellor receives tribute from such unlikely tributaries

105 Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, ed. Richard Howlett (London: Longman, 1889) (Roll Series 82/4), 285 (s.a. 1179): *Rex Marroc, in cujus potestate est tota Africa, et etiam Sarraceni, qui sunt in Hispania, mittebat filiam suam, ut quidam rex Sarracenorum duceret eam in uxorem. Quam stolus et galeae regis Siciliae invenerunt et adduxerunt ad dominum suum; unde rex laetus pacificatus est cum patre ejus, illa reddita; et pater ejus reddidit regi Siciliae duas civitates, scilicet Africam et Sibiliam, quas Sarraceni abstulerunt Willelmo regi Siciliae, patri istius regis*; D. Abulafia, "The Norman Kingdom of Africa and the Norman Expedition to Mallorca and the Muslim Mediterranean," in *Anglo-Norman Studies 7: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1984*, ed. R.A. Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1985), 43–44 (repr. in Abulafia, *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean*, XII); D. Abulafia, "The Reputation of a Norman King in Angevin Naples," *Journal of Medieval History* 5 (1979): 135–147, esp. 140–142.

106 Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 11: 468 (576 H); trans. Richards, *Ibn al-Athīr ... Part 2*, 274.

107 *Annales Casinenses*, 312 (s.a. 1181): *Dominus noster rex fecit treguam apud Panormum cum rege Maxamutorum usque ad decem anns mense Augusto*. Amari (*Storia*, 3: 527 n.) and Abulafia ("Reputation of a Norman king," 142) seek to conflate the two embassies, that of Sicily to Mahdiyya and that of the Almohads to Palermo, into one, which to us seems unjustified and unnecessary.

108 The same word that Ibn Jubayr uses for the *jizya* imposed by the Normans upon the Muslims of Sicily: Ibn Jubayr al-Kinānī, *Riḥlat al-Kinānī*, ed. W. Wright, rev. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1907), 324; Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 36, 47.

109 Al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-Muʿjib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. R.P.A. Dozy, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1881), 181–182.

110 Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, 120; Abulafia, "Norman Kingdom of Africa," 44.

as Persia, India and Egypt—not to mention England.[111] In fact, there is no reason to believe that either the Almohads or the Sicilians paid tribute to the other, and both seem to have been equally eager for peace. The Sicilians were anxious to resume their lucrative grain trade with Ifrīqiya. Undoubtedly, as David Abulafia has observed, Sicily was granted warehouses and commercial privileges in the two towns, not rule over them.[112] For their part, the Ifrīqiyans and their Almohad rulers would have been especially glad of Sicilian wheat, for civil war and drought was causing chronic, severe famine throughout Ifrīqiya.[113]

That the ten-year truce of 1179 still held in January 1185 is confirmed by the Spanish pilgrim, Ibn Jubayr, who was then in Trapani awaiting passage home. Reporting the contradictory rumours about the destination of the large fleet that the Sicilians were assembling in Trapani, Ibn Jubayr, a staunch Almohad supporter, wrote that, while most believed it to be destined for Constantinople, some said Alexandria, others Mallorca, and yet others said that William's target "was Ifrīqiya, in violation of his peace treaty … but no assumption could be less likely, for there is all the semblance of his abiding by his oath."[114] Even so, relations between the two courts can scarcely have been friendly, because a short while earlier William had placed under house arrest the hereditary leader of the Muslims of Sicily, Abū l-Qāsim b. Ḥammūd, on the charge—the false charge, says Ibn Jubayr—of corresponding with the Almohads.[115]

Although the two courts were not at open war, they were already on opposite sides over the Almoravid Banū Ghāniya of Mallorca.[116] As early as June 1178,

111 Peter of Eboli, *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, 197, ll. 1317–1328; 229, ll. 1567–1570; 230–231.

112 Abulafia, "Norman Kingdom of Africa," 44.

113 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 11: 468 (576 H), 520 (581 H); trans. Richards, *Ibn al-Athīr … Part 2*, 274, 310; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 12: 116 (591 H); trans. Richards, *Ibn al-Athīr. Part 3. The Ayyubids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 22.

114 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, 337: *wa-min-hum man yaz'amu anna maqṣada-hu Ifrīqiya ḥamā-hā llāh nākithan li-'ahdi-hi fī l-silm bi-sabab al-anbā' al-mūḥisha al-ṭāri'a min jihat al-Maghrib wa-hādhā ab'ad al-ẓunūn min al-imkān li-anna-hu muẓhir lil-wafā' bil-'ahd.* ("There are those that claim that his target was Ifrīqiya [may God protect her!], in violation of his peace treaty, on account of the grievous news emanating from the Maghrib; but this can hardly be entertained when he shows all the signs of being true to his oath.") The distressing news was the capture of Bougie by the Banū Ghāniya (see n. 121 below).

115 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, 341; Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 241.

116 For general accounts of the rebellion of the Banū Ghāniya against the Almohads, see: A. Bel, *Les Benou Ghânya, derniers représentants de l'empire almoravide, et leur lutte contre l'empire almohade* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1903), *passim* (still indispensable despite its many faults); and, more succinctly, G. Marçais, "Ghāniya," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, 2: 1007–1008; R. Le Tourneau, *The Almohad Movement in North Africa in the Twelfth and*

King Alfonso II of Aragon had planned a joint naval expedition against Mallorca with William II of Sicily.[117] A large Sicilian fleet bound for Mallorca actually set sail in 1180–1181, but the expected Genoese reinforcements never materialized, and the fleet was dispersed and partially destroyed by storms.[118] Two years later, the Almohad Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf sent an ambassador to Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Ghāniya in Mallorca urging him to submit to the Almohads lest the Balearic Islands be conquered by the Christians,[119] but Isḥāq died a martyr-pirate in 579/1183–1184. Isḥāq's son and successor, Muḥammad, offered to submit to the Almohad caliph, and was therefore deposed and replaced by his anti-Almohad brother, ʿAlī. Muḥammad and the Almohad commander sent to receive the surrender of Mallorca were both imprisoned.[120]

ʿAlī b. Ghāniya now attacked the Almohads where they were weakest by invading Ifrīqiya, and capturing Bougie in November 1184.[121] Thereafter the Banū Ghāniya continued to disrupt Almohad rule in Ifrīqiya until 635/1237–1238.[122] Meanwhile, another of ʿAlī's brothers had seized power in Mallorca, Tashfīn, who ruled under Almohad suzerainty until 1187. In that year, ʿAlī sent yet another brother, ʿAbdallāh, from Ifrīqiya to Mallorca. He ousted Tashfīn and ruled in ʿAlī's name until the Balearic Islands were finally captured by the Almohads in 1203.[123] According to Ibn Khaldūn, ʿAbdallāh crossed from Ifrīqiya to Mallorca via Sicily, where he was given a fleet with which he landed in Mallorca and captured the island.[124]

Thirteenth Centuries (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 72–75, and J.M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 98–101, none of which are free from error.

117 J. Miret y Sans, "Itinerario del Rey Alfonso I de Cataluña, II en Aragon," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 2 (1903–1904): 404: Alfonso grants half of Mallorca to a certain Count Andefonso or Alonso *si vos stolium Regis Siculorum, sicut promisistis, adducere poteritis cum quo terram illam de manibus paganorum liberare possimus* (citing Archivio de la Corona de Aragón, Varia 2 de Alfonso I, f. 66); Abulafia, *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean*, Addenda et Corrigenda 4.

118 [Bernardo Maragone], *Gli Annales Pisani di Bernardo Maragone*, ed. M.L. Gentile, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, 2nd ser., 6/2 (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1930–1936), 72–73.

119 Bel, *Benou Ghânya*, 24.

120 Bel, *Benou Ghânya*, 25–30.

121 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 11: 507–508 (580 H); trans. Richards, *Ibn al-Athīr … Part 2*, 301–302. Bel, *Benou Ghânya*, 31–47.

122 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 11: 519–522 (580 H); trans. Richards, *Ibn al-Athīr … Part 2*, 310–312; Ibn Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 12: 116 (591 H), 146–147 (595 H); trans. Richards, *Ibn al-Athīr … Part 3*, 21–22, 43–44. Bel, *Benou Ghânya*, 49–186.

123 Bel, *Benou Ghânya*, 67–72.

124 Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar wa-dīwān al-mubtadāʾ*, 7 vols. (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Miṣriyya,

These isolated and sporadic anecdotes, references, and reports are not easily strung onto a narrative thread. Nonetheless, it is clear that, from 1179 until at least 1187, Norman Sicily was more actively involved in the western Mediterranean, and for a longer period, than at any time in its history. A shipwreck, not design, may have brought the secretary of the Almohad governor of Granada, Ibn Jubayr, into the Norman palaces of Messina and Palermo in 1184–1185, but it is Sicily's rapprochement to the Almohad sphere that best explains the accusations against Abū l-Qāsim b. Ḥammūd, himself a sometime servant of the royal *dīwān*,[125] and the first appearance in Palermo of the prominent family of al-Andalusī.[126] Now, as never before or after, was the moment when the Sicilian *dīwān* was open to influence from the Almohad chancery. When the Arabic administration was refurbished under Queen Constance, it would have been almost automatic for the secretary who drafted this document, in the ruins of the trilingual chancery that was only just beginning to recover from the damage done since the death of William II, to reach for an Almohad model.

Who that secretary was, we cannot know. While the Latin text was "written by the hand of Ysaias the notary and our faithful [subject] (*fidelis*)" (ll. 12–13), who is a well-known Latin scribe,[127] the Arabic copyist—"our scribe and our faithful [subject] Paul"—appears only on this one occasion (l. 24). As we have already seen, his hand shows him to have trained in the Sicilian *dīwān*, for he was skilled in the script that, sixty years earlier, had been imported from Fāṭimid Cairo.[128]

There is no reason, however, to assume that Paul also composed the Arabic text. We are in little doubt that the easy familiarity with Islamic formulae of whoever did so demonstrates that he was, or had been, a Muslim; but the Christian name Paul could well conceal one of the crypto-Muslim servants of

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1284/1867–1868), 6: 194. Bel, *Benou Ghânya*, 71; M. Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, ossia raccolta di testi arabici che toccano la geografia, la storia, le biografie e la bibliografia della Sicilia. Traduzione italiana*, 2 volumes and 2 appendices (Turin: E. Loescher, 1880–1889), 2: 238–239, n. 4.

125 Above, p. 141 and n. 115; Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 234–235.

126 B. Rocco, "Andalusi in Sicilia," *Archivio Storico Siciliano* (3rd ser.) 19 (1970): 270; H. Bresc and A. Nef, "Les mozarabes de Sicile (1100–1300)," in *Cavalieri alla conquista del Sud. Studi sull'Italia normanna in memoria di Léon-Robert Ménager*, ed. E. Cuozzo and J.-M. Martin (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1998), 155–156; G. Mandalà and M. Moscone, "Tra latini, greci e 'arabici': ricerche su scrittura e cultura a Palermo fra XII e XIII secolo," *Segno e testo: International Journal on Manuscripts and Text Transmission* 7 (2009): 185.

127 Kölzer, *Constantiae … diplomata*, D Ks. 42, 149–153. See also Kölzer, *Urkunden und Kanzlei der Kaiserin Konstanze*, 53, 64, 72, 73.

128 Above, p. 122.

the court. Nor is it necessary to suppose that the secretary who composed this document was a Spaniard who had trained in the Almohad chancery, for all of its Almohad characteristics could have been transmitted to Sicily in a *ẓahīr*, and borrowed from the page by a Sicilian secretary.

The early death of Constance cut short her efforts to restore the Norman kingdom and its administration, and the refurbishment of the Arabic *dīwān* no sooner began than it was abandoned. For more than forty years thereafter, no Arabic document was issued by the kingdom, until Frederick II's minister, Obert Fallamonaca, attempted to reconstitute the Arabic administration by importing scribes from Ḥafṣid Ifrīqiya.[129] Frederick's *dīwān* was no more successful than his mother's, and the tradition of Arabic administration reintroduced to Sicily by his grandfather King Roger now finally disappeared from the island.

Transcription

The document is written on a parchment with maximum dimensions of 493 mm wide by 307 mm high. The left margin only was ruled. There was originally a deep plica beneath the Arabic text, but this has been largely cut away leaving only a narrow strip. The wax seal referred to in ll. 13 and 23 was presumably attached through that part of the plica that has been excised, and is now missing. There is no evidence of signatures, unless the fact that the plica was ruled indicates that it had been prepared for one or more signatures. The parchment is deeply creased from being folded, and there are two large holes that impair the Latin text. The beginning of l. 24 in the Arabic text was lost when the plica was trimmed. Only one side of the parchment is used and there are no notes on the verso. At the top of the recto, the year "1198" has been added by an early modern archivist. The Latin text is written in a pale brown ink, the Arabic in a darker, richer brown ink.

The Latin text is edited by Mazzarese Fardella and Pasciuta, Tabulario … Moncada, *doc. no. 3, pp. 29–32, and accompanied by our Italian translation of the Arabic. For earlier editions of the Latin text from an eighteenth-century copy, see n. 32 above.*

1. ✠ IN NOMINE DEI ETERNI ET SALVATORIS NOSTRI IHESU CRISTI, AMEN

129 Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 244–246.

2. Constantia d(e)i gr(ati)a Romanor(um) Imp[eratrix] semp(er) Aug(ust)a et Regina Sicilie una cum K(arissi)mo filio suo Fred(er)ico eadem gr(ati)a Rege Sicilie, ducatus Apulie et principat(us) Capue. In solio Imp(er)ialis (et) Regie
3. excellentie constitutis cordi nob(is) es[t, in] om(n)es fideles n(ost)ros affluentiam n(ost)re lib(er)alitatis ext[ender]e set illos potissimu(m) clem(en)ti(us) (et) altius intueri quos sincera fides et specialis devotio (et) d(omi)no
4. patri n(ost)ro magnifico Regi Rogeri[o rec]olende memorie, et n(ost)re maiestati Mo(n)strat om(n)imod[o] deservire. Inde est, q(uod) nos attendentes fidem (et) sincer[am] devotione(m) quam erga p(ro)genitores n(ost)ros
5. pie recordattio(n)is (et) erga celsitudi[nes nostras] (et) honorem corone n(ost)re univ(er)sus pop(u)l(u)s toti(us) Insule Malte (et) tocius Insule Gaudisii tam (christi)ani quam [s]araceni fideles n(ost)ri illibatam semp(er) serva-
6. re consueverunt, nichilomen(us) p(re) oc(u)li[s nostre] serenitatis gratum habentes (et) acceptu(m) quam fid[eli]t(er) et constant(er) se habuere in n(ost)ra fidelitate cont(ra) inimicu(m) n(ost)r(u)m Guill(elmu)m Crassum, considerantes
7. eciam qua(m) fructuose in an(te)a nob(is) (et) h[eredibus n(ost)]ris ip(s)i poterunt deservire, de consueta benig(n)itate n(ost)ra eo(rum) ecia(m) m(er)itis suffragantib(us) ad n(ost)r(u)m demaniu(m) eos duxim(us) revocandos sicut fu-
8. erunt temp(or)e Regis Guill(elm)i nepotis n[ostri] bone memorie. Promittim(us) (i)g(itur) (et) p(re)senti p(ri)vilegio concedim(us) univ(er)sis ho(min)ib(us) Malte (et) Gaudisii tam (christi)anis q(uam) saracenis fidelib(us) n(ost)ris q(uod) eos et tota(m)
9. Insulam Malte (et) Gaudisii semp(er) in n[ostro] demanio tenebim(us), nu(m)q(uam) eas deinceps in baroni(a) vel in comitatu alicui ho(min)um daturi, set semp(er) in n(ost)ro habentes demanio, nob(is) et heredibus
10. n(ost)ris tantu(m) volumus e(ss)e subiectos. R[ecole]ntes eciam qua(n)to ardore fidei (et) ferventi desid(er)io p(ro) n(ost)ra fidelitate cont(ra) p(re)dictu(m) ini(mi)cu(m) Guill(elmu)m Crassu(m) se opposuere, indulsim(us) (et) remisim(us) o(mni)bus
11. (christi)anis Malte (et) Gaudisii p(er)petuo (et) h[eredibus] eo(rum) de solita munificentie n(ost)re gr(ati)a datam illam quam ip(s)i (christi)ani occassione cui(us)dam int(er)fecti saraceni a(n)nis sing(u)lis n(ost)re curie solv(er)e
12. tenebant(ur) a te(m)p(or)e d(omi)ni pat(ri)s n(ost)ri pi[e record]attio-

(n)is. Ad hui(us) aut(em) n(ost)re concessio(n)is (et) remissionis memoriam (et) inviolabile firmam(en)tum, presen[s pri]vilegiu(m) p(er) man(us) Ysaye notarii (et) fidelis

13. n(ost)ri scribi et n(ost)re maiestatis si[gillo cere]o iussimus insigniri.

14. Data i(n) Panor(mo) felici u[rbe anno dominice] Incarnationis . Mill(esim)o . Cent(esim)o . Nonogesimo octavo, Regnante d(omi)na n(ost)ra Constantia divin[a fav]ente clem(en)tia Roman(orum) Imp(er)at(r)ice semp(er)

15. Aug(ust)a, et Glo(rio)sa Regin[a Sicilie ann]o Regni ei(us) q(ua)rto, felicit(er) amen. Regn[iq(ue) d[omi]ni Frederici eadem gra(ti)a illustrissimi [et excellenti]ssimi Regis Sicilie, ducat(us) Apulie

16. et principat(us) Capue Ka[rissimi filii nostri a]nno p(ri)mo, p(ro)spere, AmeN Mense Novemb(ri)s sec(un)de Indictionis.

16 هـذا ظهير كريم وامتنان عظيم امرت بـ[كتبه ا]لامبرطريجة المعظمة قسطانصه

17 المعتزة بالـله المقتدرة بقدرته المنصورة بقو[تـ]ـه الجالسة على كرسي رومية القيصرية المالكة وولدها الملك المعظم فردريك لايطالية وانكبرذة وقلورية وصقلية [...]ـية المستقبلة للسمو بالقدرة السماوية

18 الناصرة واياه بعون الـله للملة المسيحسية لجميع من بمالطة وعودش من النصارى والمسلمين سددهم الـله اما بعد فان لما وضح لنا وصح عندنا ما اجريتم من الامانة [و]الطاعة اليه وما تماديتم من سنن مَن سلف

19 لكم من الآبا والاجداد في المشايعة عليه ومناصحتكم لاوليايانا المعاهدين ومعاداتكم لاعدا دولتنا المعاندين راينا و[بـ]ـالـله توفيقنا ان نستخلصكم من مِلْك المنافقين ونستنقذكم من حكم الكفـ[ـرة]المارقين لتكونوا لدولتنا مخالصين ولملكتنا كما كنتم

20 من ايام الملك المعظم رجار ابينا وايام الملك المعظم غليالم بن اخينا قدس الـله روحيهما والى الابن مناصحين وبخدمتنا لايذين ولاعداينا نابذين وبحبل دولتنا اخذين لذلك امر بكتب هذا الظهير الشريف الاثير لتعلموا به

21 ان ليس لكم بعد الله سبحنه سوانا مالك ولاالملكنـ[ـا]خلده الـله فى الحكم عليكم مشارك لانحكِّم عليكم احدا ولا [...] لخاصة مملكتنا ابدا طول عمرنا فى امانا وعدلنا وبعد وفاتنـ[ـا فـ]ـي ترث الملك من نسلنا فثقوا بالـله سبحنه وبعدلنا

22 واشكروه تعالى على جزيل فضله وفضلنا واعلمـ[ـو]ا قدر ما ضمّناه من اصلاح

احوالكم فى سجلنا ولتكونوا علي خدمتنا متفقين وفى دمار اعدا مملكتنا مجتمعين غير
مفترقين وسجلنا هـ[ذا ا]ليكم ومملكتنا قد اعتزت بالله واستنصرت
23 ورفلت فى مطارف السعد وتبخترت وبنسيم ريح العز والمجد تعطرت قد وارت سما
العليا سحب الاقبال فسحت عليها وامطرت وقد ختمناه لكم بختمنا المشهور دليلا
عل[ى] صحته وتوكيدا لتفضيله وجملته ليثبت
24 [... ... ...] ساعا[ت] من الليل والـ[نهـ]ـار كتب على يد كاتبنا وثقتنا بولس بتاريخ
اواخر نومبر للحول[الثا] ني الكاين فى سنة خمس وتسعين وخمس ماية حسبنا الله
ونعم الوكيل

Translation

Latin[130]

[1] In the name of eternal God and of our savior Jesus Christ. Amen.

[2] Constance, by the grace of God, ever-majestic Empress of the Romans and Queen of Sicily, as one with her most beloved son, Frederick, by the same grace, King of Sicily, Duke of Apulia, and Prince of Capua. Established upon the throne of imperial and royal [3] excellence, it is our pleasure to extend to all our loyal subjects the abundance of our generosity, but to regard most mercifully and deeply those whom true loyalty and particular devotion [4] demonstrate in every way to serve eagerly the cause of remembering our lord and father, the magnificent King Roger, as well as our own majesty. Directing our attention towards the faith and genuine devotion which, in respect to our forebears [5] of pious memory, and in respect to our titles and the distinction of our crown, the whole people of the entire island of Malta and of the entire island of Gozo, our loyal Christian and Saracen subjects alike, have ever been [6] accustomed to preserve, no less regarding them as worthy of thanks in the eyes of our serenity, and having marked how faithfully and constantly they entered our service against our enemy William Crassus, and considering [7] too how fruitfully, in times gone by, they have been able eagerly to serve us and our heirs, it is thence that we, in accordance with our accustomed liberality even in favoring their deserts, have admitted them into our demesne,

130 We are grateful to Hugh Lack, once of of St. Hugh's College, Oxford, for providing an indispensable working draft of the English translation of the Latin text.

recalling them back just as they [8] were at the time of our nephew King William of fond memory. We therefore pledge, and with the present privilege accord, to the whole population of Malta and Gozo, to our loyal Christian and Saracen subjects alike, that [9] we will forever retain within our demesne them and the entire island of Malta and Gozo, that never hereafter will we grant them to the barony or county of any man, but that we wish, forever maintaining them in our demesne, [10] that they always be subject to us and to our heirs. Recollecting too with how great a passion of faith and with what fervent desire for our faithful service they set themselves against our aforementioned enemy William Crassus, we have, for all the [11] Christians of Malta and Gozo, in perpetuity, and for their descendants as well, in accordance with the customary grace of our munificence, conceded, and remitted, that tax which those same Christians were being held accountable to our court, year by year, for the slaying of a Saracen, [12] from the time of our lord and father of fond memory. Moreover, for the commemoration of this concession and remission of ours, and for its unchallengeable reinforcement, we have commanded that the present privilege be written by the hand of Ysaias the notary and our faithful [servant], [13] and distinguished by the wax seal of our royal majesty.

[14] Given in the prosperous city of Palermo in the year 1198 of the Lord's incarnation, while by propitious heavenly mercy reigns our Lady Constance, ever-majestic [15] Empress of the Romans and glorious Queen of Sicily, providentially in the fourth year of her sovereignty. Amen. Also, prosperously, in the first year of the reign of our aforesaid Lord Frederick, by the same grace most illustrious King of Sicily, Duke of Apulia, [16] and Prince of Capua, our dearest son. Amen. In the month of November, second Indiction.

Arabic

[16] This is a noble decree and a great privilege drawn up by the order of the glorified empress Constance, [17] the mighty through God, the powerful through His power, the victorious through His strength, who sits on the throne of imperial Rome, reigning with her son, Frederick, the glorified king of Italy, Lombardy, Calabria, Sicily, [and …], who assumes eminence through heavenly power, [18] the protector, together with him [viz. her son], of the Christian community through the help of God, to all the Christians and the Muslims of Malta and Gozo—may God guide them! And now to our topic. Because we are clear about and certain of the fealty and obedience you have shown to [the throne, and] your keeping to the path trodden by forebears [19] of yours, fathers and grandfathers, in complying with it[s (viz. the throne's) authority], and your sincerity towards our sworn supporters and your opposition to the obdurate

enemies of our state, we have seen fit—as God grants us prosperity—to remove you from the fief of the hypocrites and to deliver you from the rule of the renegade ingrates in order that you may be sincere to our state and to our kingdom, as you have been [20] since the days of the glorified king Roger, our father, and the days of the glorified king William, the son of our brother—may God sanctify their souls—and [that you] may be true in your intentions to [our] son, and cleave to our service, spurning our enemies and clinging to the covenantal rope of our dynasty. Therefore has it been commanded that this august and noble decree be written so that you may know thereby [21] that you have no lord save us, after God—may He be praised—nor is there in our dominion—may God perpetuate it—anyone who shares in ruling over you. We will set no one over you, nor ever [give authority over you] to noble feudatories of our kingdom, for as long as we live [you shall be] under our protection and justice and, thereafter, [shall belong] to the royal legacy consisting in our offspring. Therefore trust in God—may He be praised—and in our justice [22] and be grateful to Him most high for His abundant grace, and for our grace, and know the extent of what we have vouched safe in the reform of your circumstances in our charter (*sijill*). And be you agreed on our rule and united, not divided, in the destruction of the enemies of our kingdom. [Here is] our charter to you. Our kingdom has been empowered by God and has taken Him as defender, [23] and has strutted and swaggered in the garments of good fortune, and has perfumed itself in the sweet-scented breeze of might and glory. The rainclouds of abundance have covered the highest heaven and poured and rained on it. And we have sealed it [viz. this charter] for you with our celebrated seal to demonstrate its validity and to assure its eminence; and its aggregate [...] be confirmed [24] ... ... hours of the night and the day. It was written by the hand of our scribe and our faithful servant Paulus on the date of the last days of November of [the second] indiction being in the year five-hundred-and-ninety-five. God is sufficient for us. How excellent a representative is He!

Commentary

Latin

l. 1

– Approximately one third of Constance's surviving charters begin with an *invocatio*. More than half of those employ the formula *In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, amen*, and less than a half, most issued together with the

young Frederick in 1198, use *In nomine Dei eterni* etc. (Kölzer, *Constantiae … diplomata*, DD Ks. 34, 35, 52, 53, 56, 58, 62, 63, 64).

l. 2

– The *intitulatio* pairing her young son, Frederick (b. 26 December 1194), with Constance was used after his coronation in May 1198, and takes this form from August 1198 onwards (Kölzer, *Constantiae … diplomata*, DD Ks. 59–64). Frederick does not bear the title *rex Romanorum*, the office to which Henry VI's brother, Philip of Swabia, had been elected by the German princes in March 1198.
– *In solio imperialis et regie* opens the *arenga*. For parallels see H.M. Schaller, "Die Kanzlei Kaiser Friedrichs II. Ihr Personal und ihr Sprachstil," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 4 (1958): 313–314, 315. The frequency with which first Tancred and then Constance dwell upon their occupancy of their ancestral *solium*, a word rarely used in the documents of their predecessors, suggests that they felt less than secure there: King Roger uses *solium* once in 80 documents (C. Brühl, *Rogerii II. regis diplomata Latina* [Köln-Wien: Böhlau, 1987] [Codex diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, 1st ser., Diplomata regum et principum e gente Normannorum 2.1], 121^{6}); Tancred and William III 15 times in 42 documents (Zielinski, *Tancredi et Willelmi III … diplomata*, 9^{6}, 11^{4}, 27^{3}, 33^{3}, 33^{7}, 35^{4}, 47^{3}, 47^{13}, 58^{8}, 60^{9}, 67^{4}, 67^{14}, 83^{3}, 83^{16}, 103^{3}), and Constance 11 times in 66 (Kölzer, ed., *Constantiae … diplomata*, 22^{5}, 38^{5}, 70^{3}, 85^{3}, 103^{2}, 137^{17}, 169^{8}, 179^{9}, 190^{12}, 210^{1}, 238^{3}).

l. 4

– *Monstrat* is superimposed on a now illegible word, and is in a darker ink and in larger letters, but probably written by the same hand.
– *Inde est, quod nos …* begins the *disposition*—a standard opening.

l. 5

– *erga … honorem corone nostre*—for the identification of the crown with the kingdom itself, still unusual at this date, see P. Classen, "Corona imperii. Die Krone als Inbegriff des römisch-deutschen Reiches im 12. Jahrhundert," in *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm: zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag von Schülern und Freunden zugeeignet*, ed. Peter Classen and Peter Scheibert, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1964), 1: 90–101. In the Arabic, the throne (*al-kursī*) plays the same role (see lines 17 and 18).

l. 6

– *fidelitate*: the word is given a superfluous abbreviation mark for *fidelitate*(*m*).
– *contra inimicum nostrum Guillelmum Crassum* … for William Grasso, see above pp. 118–120. *Crassus* (as also in l. 10), is a personal name derived from the Latin *crassus*, "fat" etc., Italianised as "Grasso."

l. 8

– *tempore regis Guillelmi*—in the days of King William II (reg. 1166–1189).

ll. 10–12

– *indulsimus et remisimus … datam illam quam … annis singulis nostre curie solvere tenebantur*: For a discussion of the meaning of *data*, see above, p. 116.

l. 12

– *Ad huius autem nostre concessionis* … opens the *corroboratio*.
– For the scribe Ysaias, see above p. 143.

l. 13

– The seal is missing.

ll. 14–16

– The *datatio* omits the month and the indictional year from its usual position and places it instead at the very end of the Latin text. The month and indictional year are also supplied in the Arabic *ta'rīkh*, alongside the year of the *hijra*. Such cooperation between the two texts in establishing the full date is typical of the bilingual products of the Norman *dīwān*: see Johns, *Royal Dīwān*, 76–77 and 362 (Index).

Arabic

l. 16

– The first, short line of the Arabic text is so written as to fill the end of the line occupied by the last words of the Latin text; therefore, as might be expected, the Latin text was written before the Arabic.

– On the lack of the *basmala*, see above, p. 124.
– For the use of *ẓahīr*, see above, pp. 124 and 130–132.
– … *amarat bi*[*-katbi-hi a*]*l-* …: the letters in brackets are unclear; but the diacritical points for the *rā'* and *tā'* are clearly visible. There is a similar phrase in line 20 (*umira bi-katb* …).
– Most of the diacritical points are provided in this first line of the Arabic text, though they become sporadic as the document continues.
– For the Arabic titles of Constance and Frederick, see pp. 122–123 above.
– The second *rā'* of *imbiraṭrīja* bears a caron.
– The complete absence of written *hamza* is sustained throughout the document (see further at l. 19).

l. 17

– The *rā'* of *al-Manṣūra* and *Rūmiyya*, and each *sīn* of *jālis*, *kursī*, *al-mustaqbala lil-sumuww* and *al-samāwiyya* all bear carons.
– There are four instances of medial *alif* being joined from the top to following *lām*; other cursive liberties, such as joining non-connecting letters are regular features of this document and will receive little further comment here.
– The word following *Ṣiqilliya* is highly worn and only the termination—… *iya*(?)—can be seen clearly. It may be another epithet for Constance, or else another territory of the kingdom, such as *Alamāniya*. But although *Alamāniya* seems later to have regularly been added to Frederick's territories (e.g. Cusa, *Diplomi*, 604, no. 190; al-Ḥamawī, *al-Tārīkh al-manṣūrī*, ed. Abū l-ʿĪd Dūdū and ʿAdnān Darwīsh [Damascus: Majmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya, 1981], 190), in 1198 he had not yet become king of Germany. Indeed, these titles (from *al-muʿtazza bi-llāh* on) are so close to those of King Roger in the famous quadrilingual inscription of 1149 (J. Johns, "Lapidi sepolcrali in memoria di Anna e Drogo, genitori di Grisanto, chierico del re Ruggero," in *Nobiles Officinae: perle, filigrane e trame di seta dal Palazzo Reale di Palermo*, 2 vols., ed. Maria Andaloro [Catania: Giuseppe Maimone, 2006], 1: 519–523) that it is tempting to follow it and restore *wa-Ifrīqiya*, not least because the eye of faith can sometimes make out a loop that could be the *qāf* of *Ifrīqiya*. However, Sicily's African territories had been lost for nearly forty years by 1198, so this would be no more than another example of this document evoking the golden age of the De Hauteville monarchy.

l. 18

– Carons appear over the *rāʾ* of *nāṣira* and *naṣārā* and the *sīn* of *muslimīn*.
– The initial letter of *Ghawdish* (Gozo) bears no point, but neither does a miniature subscript *ʿayn* identify it as such; the Greek (*Gaudos* etc.), Latin (*Gaudisium* etc.) and Maltese (*Ghawdex*), all indicate that initial *ghayn* must be intended.
– *faʾin lammā*—a departure from the norms of Classical Arabic (CA), which would require the particle *inna* to be followed by an accusative noun or by a pronominal suffix, customarily introducing a factual clause. For this phenomenon, see S.A. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), §173 and notes, who associates it with the common absence of a case-system in varieties of Arabic outside CA (ibid., §163), and with a probable fusion of *an* (أَنْ) with *anna* (أَنّ) and *inna* (إِنّ) (ibid., §279). Inasmuch as grammatical case in this document is transparent, however, it seems broadly to conform with CA, with only very few clear deviations (see further below). Slight divergences from CA seem to coexist casually here with a general adherence to its norms.
– *lammā waḍaḥa la-nā wa-ṣaḥḥa ʿinda-nā* signals the *expositio*: see above, p. 133.
– *waḍaḥa*: the verb is marked with a *fatḥa* over the *ḍād*.
– The *alif-lām* of *al-amāna*, which takes the form of a very short downward vertical stroke, followed by a slight leftward curve and, rise and a longer downward stroke slanting left, is not easy to read. (A similar formation of *alif-lām* occurring twice in l. 20 permits recognition there of the largely unpointed *al-ibn* and *al-athīr*.) The following *alif* of *al-amāna* and remainder of the word, with the *nūn* clearly pointed, is just visible under the crease with the Wood's Lamp.
– *saddada-hum Allāh* echoes an invocation with established currency in the Almohad repertoire. In the letters studied by Lévi-Provençal it is regularly applied to recipients: *Trente-sept lettres*, 1 (Letter 1, no date), 36 (Letter 10, 548/1153), 62 (a variation using the verbal noun—Letter 14, 551/1156), 160 (Letter 27, 580/1184), 170 (Letter 29, 581/1185), 183 (Letter 30, 583/1187); see also, Azzaoui, *Nouvelles lettres almohades*, 347, l. 14, (from a *ẓahīr* of 614/1217–1218).
– The *ʿayn* of both *ammā baʿd* and *al-ṭāʿa* is marked by a miniature subscript *ʿayn*.
– *ammā baʿd* signals the main body of the decree (*ṣadr*): see above, pp. 132–133.
– The deviation *al-ṭāʿa ilayhi* is interesting. The CA norm is to use the preposition *li*, i.e. *al-ṭāʿa la-hu*. This switch runs counter to the tendency observed by

Hopkins (*Early Arabic*, § 107b), who finds no certain example of the suppression of *li* by *ilā* in his papyri, and notes that it is only of marginal occurrence in the Arabic of South Palestine (ASP); see J. Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic, Based Mainly on South-Palestinian Texts from the First Millennium*, 3 vols. (Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 1966–1967) (Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 267, 276, 279 = Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Subsidia 27–29), 2: 251, n. 40, who notes the inverse phenomenon of the suppression of *ilā* by *li* and speculates that this may indicate a fusion of the two prepositions. Because Blau finds that *ilā* does not supplant *li* in ASP, he is more inclined to see it as a disappearance of *ilā*. See l. 20, where an alternative substitution of *ilā* for *li* occurs.

– *mā tamādaytum min sanan etc.*: the phrase is a little problematic. It seems reasonable to read *sanan* ("path"), since keeping to a well-trodden path or *sanan* is a recurring ideal in early documents of the type called *ẓahīr* (on which, see more above, pp. 127–128): e.g. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 10: 301, l. 5; 302, ll. 8–9; 304, ll. 12–13; 306, ll. 1–2, and 11: 10, l. 16; 14, l. 1. As to the verb *tamādā*, this is normally used in the sense of persisting in, or continuing to do something, requiring the use of a preposition (*bi*, *fī*, or *ʿalā*). Here, however, there is a clear sense that the verb is conceived as taking a direct object and meaning: "the path (of your forebears) on which you have proceeded" (or, more literally, "that on which you have proceeded consisting in the path of your forebears"). There is support for this reading from Dozy who notes the construction: *al-tamādī li-wajhi-hi*, which he translates as *continuer sa marche*, "to proceed on one's way" (*Supplement*, 2: 583 b, s.v. مدى VI). This construction, using the verbal noun with *li* (known as *al-lām li-taqwiyat al-ʿāmil*, "the *lām* that strengthens the regent"), expresses the relationship between a verb and its object (see W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd ed., rev. W. Robertson Smith and M.J. de Goeje, 2 vols. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967], 2: 61–62, § 29, esp. § 29[b]). Dozy's example comes from al-Marrākushī, *Muʿjib*, 84, which offers a good, contemporary comparison for *tamādā* as it occurs in this decree. For the probable Almohad model for this document, see above, pp. 124–134 and 139–143.

– *man salafa / la-kum*: the word *man* is clearly marked with a *fatḥa* as shown; Edward W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 parts in 2 vols. (London: Islamic Texts Society, repr. 1984), 1: 1408a, s.v. سلف I carries a comparable combination of *salafa* + *li-*.

l. 19

– The orthography for the *alif-lām* + *alif-madda* of *al-ābā'* is effected seamlessly: a vertical line down for *alif* curves slightly left and rises in a parallel vertical for the *lām*. The pen descends on that same parallel, curves slightly leftward again then turns back to rise rightward in a diagonal which cuts through the *lām* and then through the *alif* just above its center, thus achieving the next *alif*. It continues along this diagonal till it achieves a height a little above that of the initial *alif*, and then turns back on itself once more in a gentle downward oblique to the left so as to cap the top points of both *alif* and *lām*, thus achieving the *madda*. The *alif-lām-alif* of *al-ajdād* is achieved in exactly the same way, bar only the absence of the final leftward cap to form a *madda*.
– The question of *Hamza*—while there is every sign in this document that the glottal stop is a marginal concern, the conscious composition of *madda* surely indicates a certain observance of *Hamza*—albeit in lightened form—rather than its disappearance. Indications to this effect are consistent: where *hamza* would not have a *kursī* in CA, a blank does occur (as here *al-ābā* and *li-aʿdā* respectively for CA *al-ābā'* and *li-aʿdā'*), but there is no proof of grammatical abuse. Otherwise, *hamza* is consciously rendered as a pointed *yā'* (as here لاوليايينا), where in CA it would sit on the *kursī* of *yā'* (لأوليائنا), arguably indicating weakening of the glottal stop but not necessarily a breakdown of case. There is nothing to indicate from the orthography of راينا (*raʾaynā*) here that the *hamza* is not somehow recognised (conversely, see Hopkins, *Early Arabic*, §78b); and the same can be said for every other instance here where *alif* stands for CA *hamza*. In short, while the consistent accommodation of a vernacular norm of pronunciation may be inferred, nothing indicates substantial departure from the grammatical rules of CA. (For comparative literature on the orthography of weakened *hamza* and related implications see Hopkins, *Early Arabic*, §§19–21.)
– *raʾaynā … an* indicates the *petitio*: see above, p. 133. The *rā'* of *raʾaynā* is marked by a caron.
– [*bi-l*]*lāh*—the diacritical point of the *bā'* is visible beneath the crease.
– The *sīn* in *nastakhliṣa* and *nastanqidha* is marked by a caron.
– *milk* is provided with *kasra* and *sukūn* as indicated.
– *al-kafara*—the end of the word is worn but, after close inspection, this seems the likeliest reading.
– *li-takūnū li-dawlati-nā mukhāliṣīn wa-li-mamlakati-nā kamā kuntum*—the *lām* that strengthens the regent is necessarily used here twice attaching to *dawlati-nā* and *mamlakati-nā* in their capacity as objects which have been

rhetorically fronted (Wright, *Grammar*, 2: 69C). Note that in l. 19 the third object in this lengthy sequence (*al-ibn*) is buttressed instead by *ilā*.

l. 20

– A caron appears over the second *rāʾ* of Rujār.
– *al-malik al-muʿaẓẓam*—see above, p. 122.
– *qaddasa llāhu rūḥay-himā*—see above, p. 123.
– The phrase *wa-ilā l-ibn munāṣihīn* continues the sequence beginning with *li-takūnū* in l. 19, but uses *ilā* instead of *li*. Wright, *Grammar*, vol. 2, p. 63B, notes how in "more modern Arabic" *ilā* is often used instead of *li* to strengthen the regent. This is another clear instance of the former supplanting the latter rather than *vice versa* and seems to suggest some conceptual fusion between the two prepositions in this variety of Arabic at least (see also the notes to l. 18 on the question of *ilā* versus *li*).
– The orthography of the *alif-lām* of *al-ibn* and *al-athīr* is covered in the notes to l. 18 above.
– لايذين and لاعدايتا : CA لائذين and لِأعدائنا (corroborating the notes to l. 19 on *hamza*).
– The use of the verb *lādha* in relation to obedient service also appears in Qalqashandī's model *ẓahīr*: *Ṣubḥ*, 10: 305, ll. 10–11: *li-man lādha bi-aknāf al-ṭāʿa*. See also Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres*, 179 (Letter 29, 581/1185): *wa-lādhū bil-iʿtiṣām bi-hādhā l-amr al-saʿīd*.
– The reference to the secure, legitimizing bond of divinely endowed rule (*ḥabl*), discussed above (p. 127), has an established place in the Almohad repertoire: e.g. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 10: 302, l. 15; Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres*, 3 (Letter 1, no date), 17, l. 1 (Letter 7, 547/1152), 57, l. 4 (Letter 13, no date). In the context of rule that is perceived to be illegitimate (*bāṭil*), the bond is portrayed as weak and treacherous: ibid., 117 (Letter 21, 555/1160).
– *li-dhālika umira bi-katb hādhā l-ẓahīr al-sharīf al-athīr* signals the *dispositio*: see above, p. 133.
– *… umira bi-katb …*—despite the serious wear here, the words may just be read. The *rāʾ* is just a suggestion, but confirmed by a caron; the bearer of the preposition *bi* is also just visible.
– The orthography of medial *hāʾ* in *ẓahīr*, taking the form of a vertical shaft piercing an ellipse is a marked contrast to the medial *hāʾ* of *ẓahīr* in l. 16.
– For parallels to the adjective *athīr* applied to the document, see: Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres*, 15, l. 5 (Letter 6, 544/1149), 94, l. 8 (Letter 18, 553/1158); in both cases, a letter from the recipients is referred to as *kitāb-kum al-athīr*.

l. 21

– ... ان ليس: Reflects "lightened أنْ" (*an al-mukhaffafa*), rather than the more usual CA أنّ + the *ḍamīr al-shāʾn* (i.e. أنّه). See the notes to l. 18 above regarding لما فان.
– Two occurrences of سبحنه for سبحانه appear here, surely representing the ancient orthographic practice of *scriptio defectiva*. The very high frequency of this phenomenon with regard to interior long vowel, *ā*, especially, perhaps explains ترث here, too, as a representation for تراث (see Hopkins, *Early Arabic*, §§ 9–10 and the literature cited there).
– A caron is marked over the *sīn* of *laysa* and *siwā-nā* and *nasli-nā*.
– *Shadda* and *sukūn* are placed over *nuḥakkim ʿalay-kum*, as indicated. It is a little unclear whether or not the short, bold, oblique stroke beneath the *kāf* of *nuḥakkim* is meant to represent *kasra* (cf. l. 19, the *kasra* beneath *milk*).
– The transparently grammatical marking of the object احدا (*aḥadan*), especially, sustains the overall sense of general conformity with the rules of CA (although the considerable evidence as to the frequency with which *tanwīn alif* may be present or absent whatever the syntactic environment does caution against complacency. See Hopkins, *Early Arabic*, §§ 165–171 and the literature cited there).
– A miniature *ḥāʾ* appears under the *ḥāʾ* of *aḥadan*, a miniature *ṣād* under the *ṣād* of *li-khāṣṣa*, and a miniature *ʿayn* under the *ʿayn* of *baʿd*.
– What immediately precedes *li-khāṣṣa* has become too worn to be legible, but the context suggests something to the effect of empowering.
– *fa-thiqū bi-llāh* may indicate the beginning of a *sanctio*, which continues into l. 22: see above, p. 133.

l. 22

– A variant of an exhortation to be grateful and unite, which occurs, for example, in an early *ẓahīr* cited by Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 10: 305, ll. 1–3. See also Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres*, 6, ll. 6–8 (Letter 3, dated 543/1143), 12, ult.–13, ll. 1–2 (Letter 5, no date), 15, l. 15 (Letter 6, dated 544/1149); 71 (Letter 15, dated 551/1156) offers a variant where the recipients are told that they have received these tidings in order to induce them to be grateful to God and good to one another.
– واعلمـ[ـو]ا one can just discern the base of the *wāw* and the top of the *alif*.
– A caron appears over the *rāʾ* of *qadr* and of *damār*.
– A *shadda* is supplied for *ḍamannā-hu* as indicated.
– For the use of *sijill*, see above, pp. 124 and 130.

– علي : CA على. This is the one instance where the scribe supplies unnecessary pointing. A miniature *ʿayn* appears under the initial letter of this preposition.
– اعدا : CA أعداء (consistent with observations on *hamza* in the notes to l. 19).
– وسجلنا هـ[ذا ا]ليكم—the bracketed letters are very worn. The *hāʾ* is long, as with the *hādhā* that opens l. 16. What remains visible thereafter—a slight rise and the beginning of a fall—conform with a move to create a *dhāl* and, thereby, *hādhā*. There is not enough room to suppose that anything other than another *alif* (for *ilay-kum*) need be supplied. In Almohad and later *ẓahīr*s, this formula typically introduces the *ṣadr*: see above, pp. 131–133.

l. 23

– *rafalat … wa-tabakhtarat*—see above, p. 127.
– *wa-tabakhtarat*—each *tāʾ* only is pointed here.
– *wa-bi-nasīm rīḥ al-ʿizz*—the fold partially obscures *rīḥ*, which is nonetheless clearly visible on close inspection, its *rāʾ*, like that of *rafalat* and *al-mashhūr*, topped by a caron.
– *qad wārat samāʾ al-ʿulyā etc.*—the same trope appears in the Almohad repertoire as an expression of divine grace for propagating their true, unifying mission. An extended, highly poetical example occurs in Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres*, 92, ll. 14–16 (Letter 17, 552/1157): rainclouds sent by the All-Merciful are induced by the winds to pour their abundant waters over every hill and vale. See above, p. 127.
– سما —CA سماء (conforming with observations on *hamza* in the notes to l. 19).
– The *sīn* of *nasīm*, of *samā* and of *suḥub* is topped by a caron.
– *wa-qad khatamnā-hu etc.* introduces the *corroboratio*: see above, pp. 124 and 133.
– The loss of text immediately after ليثبت creates problems and, in fact, no points are supplied for a *yāʾ* in this verb. Therefore, we have no certain subject for the verb; nor do we know whether the verb is active or passive, nor even the precise connotation of the verb, which might be the document's registration. The lack of comparable documents contributes to this difficulty.
– *wa-jumlatu-hu …* is clearly cognate with the occasional Almohad conclusion *wa-ʿalā l-jumla …*: see above, pp. 132 and 133.

l. 24

– *… sāʿā[t] min al-layl wa-l-nahār*: see above, pp. 133–134.
– والـ[نهـ]ـار—the *rāʾ* is obscure (as are the bracketed letters) but we could just discern the caron that marks it.

– *kātib-nā wa-thiqat-nā*—a precise calque of the standard Latin formula *notarius et fidelis noster*, used indiscriminately of all Constance's scribes (see ll. 12–13).
– *Bawlus*: despite the temptation his name holds, there is no reason to think that the scribe was Maltese; he was writing in Palermo and his script is that used in the royal *dīwān*. See above, pp. 122 and 143.
– For the *ta'rīkh*, see above, pp. 124 and 134.
– الكاين and خمسماية – respectively, CA الكائن and خمس مائة (again conforming with observations on *hamza* in the notes to l. 19).
– The *sīn* of *bawlus* is marked by a caron.
– *… sanat khams …*—although the extreme fluidity of the cursive joins here makes it difficult to be absolutely certain, we are inclined to read use of *khams* rather than *khamsa*, in conformity with CA.
– For the final *ḥasbala*, see above, pp. 124 and 134.

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PART 2

Religion, Law, and Islamic Thought

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CHAPTER 7

The Rhetorical Qurʾān or Orality as a Theologumenon

Angelika Neuwirth

1 Qurʾān and Rhetoric, *balāgha*

> Every prophet is given a sign that testifies to his rank as a messenger: Moses who was sent to the Egyptians had to convince his addressees who had excellent experience in magic. To eclipse them he had to perform a magic miracle: changing a rod into a snake. Jesus made his appearance in an age when the most prestigious discipline was medicine; he, therefore, had to work a medical miracle: resurrecting the dead. Muḥammad, coming still later, was sent to a people who would no longer be won by physical exceptionalities, but—being adepts of rhetoric, *balāgha*—demanded a more sublime prophetic sign. Muḥammad, therefore, presented a linguistic and moreover stylistic miracle, he brought a scripture, the Qurʾān.[1]

This review of the prophetical missions by the third/ninth-century polymath al-Jāḥiẓ, though hardly empathetic with the earlier revealed scriptures, seems to hit upon an important point in the perception of the kind of scripture the Qurʾān constitutes. Leaving aside the disqualification of Moses and Jesus as not being able to provide theologically relevant proofs of their prophethood, but only qualifying as professionals in magic and medicine, the positioning of Muḥammad and the Qurʾān as closely related to linguistics and moreover rhetoric, is certainly pertinent. Not only by virtue of Muḥammad's addressing a linguistically demanding audience should the Qurʾān be acknowledged as particularly closely related to *balāgha*. Rather the entire Qurʾān, unframed by any narrative scenario, is speech as such. This speech moreover, is not limited to the oral communication of a message to listeners, but often enough is a meta-discourse, a speech about speech, be it a comment on the Qurʾānic

1 Paraphrase of a section from al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/893), *Kitāb khalq al-Qurʾān*, quoted after Charles Pellat, *Arabische Geisteswelt, dargestellt auf Grund der Schriften von al-Ǧāhiz, 777–869* (Zürich: Artemis, 1967), 80.

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message itself or on the speech of others. The Qurʾān—as one might summarize the introductory motto—was sent down not in an age when amazement would be aroused by extraordinary deeds, but where amazement would arise if a speaker successfully confronted and vanquished another, if he eclipsed the argument of the other: what in Islamic theology was later termed *iʿjāz*, "rendering the other rhetorically impotent." That age was neither an age of magic, nor of science, but an age of rhetoric and exegesis.

This is not very surprising since the Qurʾānic age roughly coincides with the epoch when the great exegetical corpora of monotheistic traditions were edited and published, such as the two versions of the Talmud in Judaism and the patristic writings in Christianity. Daniel Boyarin has repeatedly stressed that the Talmud is—no less than the writings of the Church fathers—imbued with Hellenistic rhetoric.[2] Why should this observation not hold equally true for the Qurʾān which is roughly contemporary with the Talmud as well? Though the literary genre of the Qurʾān is anything but homogeneous—narrative, liturgical and apologetic-polemical sections alternate in the text—an exegetical intent is almost consistently recognizable. The Qurʾān is communicated to listeners whose education already comprises biblical and post-biblical lore, whose emerging scripture therefore should provide answers to the questions raised in biblical exegesis, drawing on a vast amount of earlier theological legacies.

This thesis, of course, contradicts the main views in present Qurʾānic scholarship. The Qurʾān is more often than not considered as a text pre-conceived so-to-speak by an author, identified in Western scholarship with Muḥammad or with anonymous compilers, a text that was fixed to constitute a liturgical corpus and a religious guideline for the Muslim community. Muslim tradition, in contradistinction, does distinguish between the (divinely) "authored Book," labelled *al-muṣḥaf*, constituting the canonical codex, and the Qurʾānic communication process, labelled *al-qurʾān*, though the hermeneutical predominance of the Qurʾān's perception as *muṣḥaf* in Islamic tradition is hard to ignore. The shift from the early, i.e., intra-Qurʾānic concept of *qurʾān*, to the later, post-Muḥammadan concept of *muṣḥaf* is, of course, due to the impact of canonization, whose most momentous influence can be seen in its reconfiguration of the text from a historical document to a timeless symbol. As Aziz al-Azmeh has stressed,[3] texts through canonization become "de-temporalized," their sin-

2 Daniel Boyarin, *Socrates and the Fat Rabbis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

3 Aziz al-Azmeh, "Chronophagous Discourse: A Study of Clerico-Legal Appropriation of the World in an Islamic Tradition," in *Religion and Practical Reason: New Essays in the Comparative*

gle units being considered indiscriminate in terms of chronology;[4] instead they are turned into testimonies of the myth of origin of their respective communities.

This paper will focus on the Qur'ān not as the fixed corpus it had become after the death of the Prophet, *al-muṣḥaf*, but as a chain of oral prophetical communications conveyed to the Meccan and later the Medinan community. We will first briefly survey the hermeneutical implications of a Qur'ānic reading as *muṣḥaf* and *qur'ān*, respectively. To vindicate the claim that orality in the Qur'ān is not limited to its function as a mediality but gradually acquires the dimension of a theologumenon, one would have to trace the strategies that the Qur'ān successively applies, first to justify its essentially oral character as a legitimate scriptural manifestation and later to challenge the rivalling concept of codified scripture. In this paper we will concentrate first on the stylistic devices employed to authorize the text as a transcendent message and later on the discovery of the medium of "reading" as a new authorization of oral communication. Finally we will demonstrate the rhetorical character of the Qur'ān through a comparison of a Biblical hymnal text and its Qur'ānic version which is no longer a poetic praise of God but a parenetical address to listeners who have to be persuaded.

2 Qur'ān versus *muṣḥaf*

Whereas the single text units (*sūra*s) collected in the *muṣḥaf* present themselves as not connected or interrelated but merely juxtaposed thus constituting a sort of anthology, the oral communications originally dynamically built on each other, later *sūra*s often expressing a re-thinking of earlier ones, sometimes even being inscribed into earlier texts. There is thus ample intra-Qur'ānic intertextuality to be observed between single communications. This intertextuality is no longer effective in the *muṣḥaf*,[5] where the temporal sequence of the *sūra*s

Philosophy of Religions, ed. Frank E. Reynolds and David Tracy (New York: State University of New York Press, 1994), 163–211.

4 Though in exegesis a rough grid ascribing the texts to particular "situations of revelation" (*asbāb al-nuzūl*) has been laid over the text whose single units are more generally divided into Meccan and Medinan, this does not detract readers from applying a purely synchronic approach when explaining texts through others.

5 Angelika Neuwirth, "Erzählen als kanonischer Prozess. Die Mose-Erzählung im Wandel der koranischen Geschichte," in *Islamstudien ohne Ende. Festschrift für Werner Ende zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Rainer Brunner, Monika Gronke, Jens Peter Laut, and Ulrich Rebstock (Würz-

is out of scope and the tension produced by dialectic interrelations between texts is eliminated. But Qurʾānic texts viewed as oral communications also refer to extra-textual evidence, to the theological discourses that were debated in the audience and that the Qurʾān was to give an ultimate answer to. These references became silent once the text, upon the death of the Prophet, was reconfigured from a dramatic polyphone communication into a monological divine account. To approach the text as a historical document of its age, and not simply as the later-to-become foundational document of Islam, thus, would demand that the researcher investigate the Prophet's growing and changing public: listeners from a late antique urban milieu, many of whom should have been aware of and perhaps involved in the theological discourses debated among Jews and Christians and other groups in the seventh century. To re-construct the *qurʾān* we have to consider a vast amount of virtual intertexts from neighboring traditions.

To do justice to the *qurʾān* we have to consider its essential linguistic idiom. Northrop Frye in his path-breaking study of the Bible distinguished between three phases of language.[6] The first metaphorical phase is poetic. In the second phase, a separation of the dialectical from the poetic takes place. Here, one of the most prominent verbal genres is rhetoric, in the sense of oratory. The third phase, whose rise was signalled by the ideology of humanism with its cult of plain sense and ordinary language, is descriptive. In Frye's view, "the essential idiom of the Bible is clearly oratorical."[7] We will try to show that this applies even more properly to the Qurʾān, though it does not become obvious as long as we confine ourselves to the Qurʾānic manifestation of *muṣḥaf*, i.e., of the fixed text that is usually contextualized with the later commentaries. It is rather the communication process, the *qurʾān*, the not-yet-fixed text, whose context is constituted by the large range of late antique traditions to which we will turn shortly. The *qurʾān* is not only an oral text, but it is a text that continuously insists on its orality, even raising orality to the rank of a theologumenon. This essential quality further enhances the Qurʾān's affinity with rhetoric, its necessity to be persuasive. It is worthwhile to look closely at this particular linguistic trait of the Qurʾān.

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burg: Ergon, 2002), 323–344. A revised version appeared in English in Angelika Neuwirth, *Scripture, Poetry, and the Making of a Community: Reading the Qurʾān as a Literary Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

6 Northrop Frye, *The Great Code*: *The Bible and Literature* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982).

7 Frye, *The Great Code*, 28.

3 Early Devices to Acquire Authority: Re-shaping Pre-Islamic Mantic Utterances

It has been observed that in the earliest *sūra*s the divine origins of the Qur'ānic recitations are not indicated. Obviously "the claim to revelation that is implicit in the use of the prophetic address 'you' took some time before it was translated into a consistent rhetoric of divine address, so as to raise the problem of its relationship to written models. Initially, then, the recitations' origin was not (…) explicitly appealed to in order to ground their normative authority over their audience."[8] This in view of the Qur'ānic beginnings is no surprise. The early *sūra*s on closer inspection reveal themselves as a kind of dialogue with the Psalms.[9] They reflect the language of the Psalms not only in terms of the poetical form—short poetic verses—but equally in their imagery and the liturgical attitude of their speaker. The early *sūra*s and Psalms alike are unique in cladding the intimate communication of their speaker with the divine Other into a literary shape that can easily be appropriated orally by any pious recipient over the ages.

Yet, the early *sūra*s also resort to specific stylistic strategies established in pre-Islamic Arabian society to signal a superhuman origin of speech: clusters of oaths,[10] mostly evoking cosmic or celestial phenomena. A large number of early *sūra*s start with oath clusters, thus designing a metaphorical landscape that more often than not pre-figures the apocalyptic dissolution of the world. These oaths serve exclusively as a literary device and are devoid of any legal connotation, though both kinds of oaths—legally binding and literary ones—have in common that they owe their persuasiveness to their reference to a distinct range of ideas. The speaker who swears an oath usually does not refer to phenomena, to 'subjects,' from the immediate context of his discourse, but instead to phenomena of a different, in most cases ontologically superior, kind. The speaker thus creates a clear bipartite structure made up of an oath formula, which is semantically distinct from the context, and an emphatic statement, which is an integral part of the *sūra* discourse itself. As was the case with the

8 Nicolai Sinai, "Qur'ānic Self-Referentiality as a Strategy of Self-Authorization," in *Self-Referentiality in the Qur'ān*, ed. Stefan Wild (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 109.

9 Angelika Neuwirth, "Qur'ānic Readings of the Psalms," in *The Qur'ān in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu*, ed. Angelika Neuwirth, Nicolai Sinai, and Michael Marx (Leiden: Brill, 2009, 2011), 733–778.

10 See Angelika Neuwirth, "Images and Metaphors in the Introductory Sections of the Meccan Suras," in *Approaches to the Qur'an*, ed. G.R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader A. Shareef (New York: Routledge, 1993), 3–36.

oath clusters employed by pre-Islamic mantic speakers such as the *kuhhān*,[11] the Qur'ānic oath clusters often entail enigmatic elements thus creating a tension that enhances the uneasiness created by the not immediately intelligible speech. The anticipation of an explication of these elements is usually fulfilled only at the end of the *sūra* (or of the first main part). It is only in the later exemplars, *sūra*s from the later part of the first Meccan period, that the anticipation is fulfilled immediately in the ensuing statement. The oath clusters thus evolve from functional units into merely ornamental devices.

A related stratagem to evoke the events of the last day which echoes the oaths are clusters of phrases introduced with *idhā*, "when."[12] It equally builds on repetition thus generating a tension making the listener anticipate the final apodosis which will disclose the events that are due to happen, when the preconditions enumerated in the *idhā*-clauses have been fulfilled. Not unlike the utterances of the *kuhhān*, the Qur'ānic oath clusters and *idhā*-clusters extensively rely for their effectiveness on their rhythm and their phonetic expressivity; they are characteristically oral media, a means to arouse the alertness of the listeners who will be the recipients of a superhuman message.

4 Reading from a Celestial Writ

The momentous step towards Qur'ānic self-legitimatization, the establishment of an agency of authority in the texts, was taken only at a later a stage, though still in early Mecca. The idea of a celestial writing as an authoritative source of knowledge although ubiquitous in the later parts of the Qur'ān, was not a given when the proclamation of the Qur'ān set in. There is no reference to writing in the earliest *sūra*s. We can trace its entrance into the Qur'ānic discourse more or less precisely thanks to a recent attempt to re-arrange the early Meccan *sūra*s chronologically which builds on diversified criteria regarding both the development of form and of discourse.[13] Let us briefly follow the Qur'ānic

11 It has to be kept in mind, however, that the specimens of *kuhhān* sayings that were transmitted in early Islamic literature are not always authenticated as genuine; furthermore, the literary form of these sparse materials have never been studied systematically. Theories about their relation to Qur'ānic speech therefore still lack a methodical foundation.

12 See Angelika Neuwirth, *Studien zur Komposition der mekkanischen Suren* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2007), 188–189.

13 This attempt at arranging the *sūra*s chronologically and its procedure is documented in Angelika Neuwirth, *Der Koran 1: Frühmekkanische Suren* (Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2011), 15–72.

sequence and check what references to writing and oral performance are first, and in what context they are embedded.[14]

Where writing appears first is in a cluster of quite early *sūra*s, though not the very earliest that establish a relation between the prophet's proclamation and a celestial *writing* on the one hand and earlier prophecies on the other. It is in *Sūrat al-Aʿlā*, Q 87:18–19,[15] that the Qur'ānic message is credited with an indirect participation in the written literary monotheist tradition for the first time—through a reference to *al-ṣuḥuf al-ūlā*, "the earliest scrolls." The *sūra* is concluded by the verses:

> *inna hādhā la-fī l-ṣuḥufi l-ūlā*
> *ṣuḥufi Ibrāhīma wa-Mūsā*
>
> Surely this is in the most ancient scrolls
> The scrolls of Abraham and Moses.

The Qur'ānic message thus claims to be substantially identical with earlier—written—messages[16] conveyed to or transmitted by Abraham and Moses. The reference to the two prophets is to be understood as an expression of the community's new relation to the Biblical tradition, to its newly developing consciousness of being part of the Biblical history. It is worth noting that the same *sūra* (*al-Aʿlā*, Q 87) also contains the first reference to the act of communicating the message which is described as a very special performance: *not* of recitation, i.e., the act of chanting words by heart, but of "reading," explicitly designated as *qara'a*, "to read" (Q 87:6):

> *sa-nuqri'uka fa-lā tansā*
>
> we will make thee read to forget not.

This 'reading,' however, raises the question as to the particular template that the reader is drawing on, which remains unmentioned in the text. This gap in information is filled by the immediately ensuing *Sūrat al-ʿAlaq*, Q 96,[17] which

14 We will not discuss those references to writing that are unrelated to the celestial writ which is the template of the Prophet's reading, namely the registers of the human deeds which are mentioned in Early Mecca in Q 82:10–12, 81:10, 84:7–12.

15 For a commentary on the *sūra* see Angelika Neuwirth, *Der Koran 1*, 253–264.

16 It is hard to decide if *ṣuḥuf* designates scrolls or leaves, or pages.

17 For a commentary on the *sūra* see Angelika Neuwirth, *Der Koran 1*, 264–279.

projects a non-earthly writing as the source of the prophet's "reading." The *sūra* starts (Q 96:1–5):

1 *iqraʾ bi-smi rabbika lladhī khalaq*
2 *khalaqa l-insāna min ʿalaq*
3 *iqraʾ wa-rabbuka l-akram*
4 *alladhī ʿallama bil-qalam*
5 *ʿallama l-insāna mā lam yaʿlam*

> Read in the name of thy Lord who created,
> Created man from a blood-clot.
> Read, since thy Lord is the most generous
> Who taught by the pen,
> Taught man that he knew not.

If God "taught by the pen," *al-qalam*, definitely intended as a celestial tool of writing, we may rightly assume that the source of the Prophet's reading should be a text produced by those celestial scribes who are charged with the use of the *qalam*. They are clearly evoked in the introductory verses of the somewhat later *sūra* Q 68:1–2: *nūn. wa-l-qalami wa-mā yasṭurūn*, "Nun. By the pen and what they inscribe."[18] In other words: the Prophet is taught to read to his community from a materially absent, transcendent writing. It is this scenario that should be imagined whenever the text raises the issue of its performance. The scenario on first glance evokes the scene presented in the *sīra* report about the Prophet's call, which equally features the technical act of 'reading.'[19]

The *sīra* tradition on account of the *sūra*'s initial imperative *iqraʾ* which derives from the same root from which *qurʾān* derives, establishes Q 96 as the first communication of the prophet. The scene depicted in the report however differs from the Qurʾānic scenario in a substantive detail: it presupposes not a transcendent but a material writing as the prophet's master copy to be read from:

> He came to me, said the apostle of God, while I was asleep, with a coverlet of brace whereon was some writing, and said, 'Read!' I said, 'What shall I

18 For a commentary on the *sūra* see Angelika Neuwirth, *Der Koran 1*, 566–585.

19 Cf. ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad al-Saqqā, Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī, and ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ Shalabī, 2 vols. (Cairo: Muṣṭafā l-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1955), 1: 236–237, and the English translation by Alfred Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ibn Isḥāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 105–106.

> read?' He pressed me with it so tightly that I thought it was death; then he let me go and said; 'Read!' I said, 'What shall I read?' He pressed me with it again so that I thought it was death; then he let me go and said: 'Read!' I said 'What shall I read?' He pressed me with it a third time so that I thought it was death and said: 'Read!' I said, 'What then shall I read?' and this I said only to deliver myself from him, lest he should do the same to me again. He said: 'Read in the name of thy Lord who created …' So I read it, and he departed from me. And I awoke from my sleep, and it was as though these words were written on my heart.[20]

Against this *sīra* story, the Qur'ānic text of *sūra* 96 alludes to a transcendent divine writing—it reports a mode of 'virtual reading' from an elevated, coded text, which in the shortly later *sūra* Q 55:1–4 will even reappear as the pre-existent Word of God.

This celestial writing contains the comprehensive corpus of knowledge kept on the preserved tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*), typologically to be understood as the celestial "book of the divine decrees,"[21] the source from which the reading of the Prophet draws. Though the concept of such a celestial writing is known from diverse ancient Near Eastern traditions, the Qur'ānic concept is particularly complex. It comes close to the idea developed in the Book of Jubilees which again builds on earlier traditions:

> The idea of heavenly writings, and even the phrase "heavenly tablets" are found in texts going back to ancient Mesopotamia, and the tablets are mentioned frequently in 1Enoch (81:1–2, 93:2, 103:2, 106:19, 107:1) and elsewhere in the biblical pseudepigrapha.[22] But in these other texts, what is recorded on high are future events, or the good and bad deeds of human beings. The Interpolator of the Book of Jubilees adopted the idea of the heavenly tablets but turned it to a new purpose; they would be the place in heaven where God had also inscribed the Torah's laws from the beginning of time.[23]

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20 Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, 105.

21 Ancient Oriental lore distinguishes between a Book of Divine Decrees and a Record Book or register of the good and the evil deeds of men, see Arthur Jeffery, *The Qur'an as Scripture* (New York: R.F. Moore, 1952), 3–17.

22 See R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1912), 91–92.

23 James Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of Its Creation* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 13.

The Qurʾānic concept of the Preserved Tablet comes close to this, it both comprises the celestial "book of the divine decrees" and the Record Book or register of the good and the evil deeds of men. It had however, until reaching the Qurʾānic community, passed through a momentous development and become related to the Jewish perception of tablets that contain instructions to be communicated to men through prophets,[24] which is the celestial archetype of Scripture. *Sūrat al-Burūj*, Q 85:21–22[25] concludes:

> *bal innahu qurʾānun majīd*
> *fī lawḥin maḥfūẓ*
>
> But it is a glorious Qurʾān, a glorious reading,
> (from a text) preserved in a guarded tablet.

It is in this context that the name of *al-qurʾān*, which by now conveys the meaning of "a reading from a celestial text" is first mentioned in the Qurʾānic text. It will soon become the standard self-designation of the message.

Not too long afterwards, in *Sūrat ʿAbasa*, Q 80:11–16,[26] the Qurʾānic communications are presented as kinds of excerpts from the celestial urtext:

11 *kallā innahā tadhkirah*
12 *fa-man shāʾa dhakarah*
13 *fī ṣuḥufin mukarramah*
14 *marfūʿatin muṭahharah*
15 *bi-aydī safarah*
16 *kirāmin bararah*

> No indeed; it is a reminder
> —And who so wills, shall remember it—
> Upon pages high-honored,
> Uplifted, purified,
> By the hands of scribes, noble, pious.

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24 Arthur Jeffery concludes, op. cit. 17: "Kitab as heavenly book was a concept that had had a long history in the religious thought of the Near East. Kitab as Scripture had had a special development in Jewish thought and had given rise to a theory, current not only among Jews but also among other religious communities, as to the nature of Scripture." For more about the Qurʾānic development, see Neuwirth, *Komposition der mekkanischen Suren*, 120–181.

25 See for a commentary on the *sūra*, Angelika Neuwirth, *Der Koran I*, 330–344.

26 For further commentary on the *sūra*, see Angelika Neuwirth, *Der Koran I*, 378–394.

This heavenly writing, which was already alluded to in Q 96:1–5 *iqra' bi-smi rabbika* is the subject of one of the latest early Meccan *sūra*s, Q 55:1–4:[27]

al-raḥmān
ʿallama l-qur'ān
khalaqa l-insān
ʿallamahu l-bayān

The Merciful
He taught the Qur'ān, the 'reading'
He created man,
He taught him clear understanding.[28]

It strikes the eye that this text puts the creation of man second to that of the text, the word of God, thus suggesting that *qur'ān* should be the pre-existing *logos*. The extraordinarily ceremonial form of the section, furthermore, appears as if it were due to a textual challenge, i.e., the necessity to pit itself against an already existing, similarly prominent text. Such a text, equally ceremonial and devoted to the preeminent authority of the Word of God immediately comes to mind: the prologue to the Gospel of John (John 1.1–5). As Daniel Boyarin has shown,[29] this text reflects a wisdom midrash on creation (Gen 1) preserved in the *targumim*, the pre-rabbinic Bible translations, that tells of the *memra* (*logos*) which again and again descends to the world to strengthen the tie between God and man, only to fail, and which thus can only complete its work through incarnation. It was this failure that—according to Christian theology—necessitated the appearance of the incarnate logos. The *qur'ān*, mentioned here though in contrast to the Gospel text not possessing any creative power, does however manifest itself in imparting knowledge in so far as it is "taught," as v. 2 states. The Qur'ānic *logos* thus appears—following the Jewish notion—no different from the Torah before it in the form of Revelation. Its fate among men is not explicated in Q 55, but nothing indicates its failure. From the Qur'ānic perspective, divine intervention has averted the failure of the *logos* which looms so large in the older traditions. Divine providence has

27 See the commentary on the *sūra* in Angelika Neuwirth, *Der Koran 1*, 586–620.

28 Arberry translates *bayān* as "the explanation." This is the meaning the word will acquire later. In the Qur'ānic context it is embedded in the discourse of the "intelligible world," *kosmos noetos*, which centers on the *logos*.

29 Daniel Boyarin, "The Gospel of the Memra: Binitarianism and the Prologue to John," *The Harvard Theological Review* 94 (2001): 242–284.

prepared men for its acceptance imparting to them clear understanding, as v. 4 shows, featuring another trace of the logos: *ʿallamahu l-bayān*, "He taught him clear understanding." The image of *qurʾān* in this section thus comes close to the perception of pre-existent Wisdom, as mentioned in Proverbs 8:22 f., "The Lord created me as the beginning of His way, the first of His works of old (*adonay qanani reshit darko qedem mifʿalav meaz*)."[30]

It is ultimately because of this pedigree of the prophet's reading, his relation to the heavenly writing, to the pre-existent word of God—in late antique terms: the *logos*—that writing in early Meccan *sūra*s rises to the rank of the most authoritative vehicle of power. It is made present in a double manifestation: primarily in the shape of the lofty "book of divine decrees," of the Preserved Tablet, the transcendent scripture, that is successively communicated to prophets and which encompasses the divine will according to which man is supposed to lead his life. Somewhat more lowly, there is also the "register of human deeds" (mentioned in *Sūrat al-Infiṭār*, Q. 82:10–12,[31] *Sūrat al-Takwīr*, Q. 81:10), which documents man's heeding or not-heeding these precepts. Thus, two manifestations of writing taken together 'bracket' human life. Man is 'encircled' by writing. This ubiquity of the concept of writing—reminiscent of Jan Assmann's discourse—creates a strong social coherence that replaces the earlier amalgamating force exerted by tribal lore and heathen cult.[32]

5 Strategies of Vindicating Scriptural Orality

Let us now turn to the Qurʾānic engagement with the dilemma of its non-written form and moreover the missing scriptural paraphernalia. As Madigan observes, the basic challenge for any interpretation of the term *kitāb* consists in the fact that the Qurʾān claims to be "of a piece with carefully guarded, lavishly appointed, and scrupulously copied sacred codices and scrolls, while itself remaining open-ended, unwritten, and at the mercy of frail human memory."[33] This tension is, according to Sinai, best explained as resulting "from a need to

30 For the Qurʾānic traces of a logos theology, see Angelika Neuwirth, *Komposition der mekkanischen Suren*, 158–163.

31 For a commentary on the *sūra* see Neuwirth, *Der Koran 1*, 280–290.

32 See for the power of genealogy Neuwirth, *Scripture, Poetry, and the Making of a Community*, ch. 3 "A 'Religious Transformation in Late Antiquity'—From Tribal Genealogy to Divine Covenant."

33 Daniel Madigan, *The Qurʾân's Self-Image: Writing and Authority in Islam's Scripture*, 45, quoted by Sinai, "Qurʾānic Self-Referentiality," 113.

balance the obvious situatedness of Muḥammad's recitation with a strategic interest in imparting to them the glow of scripturality that was felt, by his audience, to be an indispensable concomitant of genuine revelation."[34]

Let us remember that the most explicit reproach made by the Prophet's opponents is the question asked in Q 25:32: "Why was the Qur'ān not sent down to him as a single complete pronouncement (*jumlatan wāḥida*)?" As Sinai has argued, the incompleteness and situatedness of the communications obviously were viewed by the audience as a deficiency that set them apart from conventional manifestations of the Word of God and thus needed to be compensated by additional credentials more in line with the familiar models. These of course had to be related to writing, since revelation in Jewish and Christian contexts was bound to the concept of a written scripture.

But should the fact that some early Qur'ānic revelations do claim a share in literacy be exclusively related to this expectation of the listeners? The complaint about the piecemeal revelation uttered in Q 25:32 is middle Meccan, and thus reflects a later development. There is, however, already a cluster of early *sūra*s that establish a relation to the celestial book. The heavenly source of the Qur'ānic communication in Q 85:22 is labelled "tablet," in the slightly later Q 80:11–16 it is named *ṣuḥuf mukarrama*. Only in Middle Mecca it becomes "mother of the book," *umm al-kitāb* (Q 43:4). This concept of a celestial writing is strongly reminiscent of a particular theological vision of scripture recorded in the Book of Jubilees. It is true that several references to the prophetic reading of a heavenly writing such as Q 53.4–12 and in particular Q 80:11–16 succeed in accommodating both the Qur'ān's orality and situatedness, paying tribute to the prevailing assumption that when God addresses man, writing somehow has to come into play. Yet the driving force behind the foregrounding of the transcendent scripture should not be exclusively attributed to the expectations of the audience, but connected as well with the theology of the Book of Jubilees. That already mentioned pseudepigraph, which establishes a preexistential divine Scripture, God's Word preceding the creation of the world,[35] was powerfully present in late antique theological debates; it may thus plausibly be considered as a reference for the Qur'ānic relocation of the written Word of God exclusively in the transcendent sphere.

What is the relation then between the performed *qur'ān* and the celestial *kitāb*? After having been neatly distinguished over a long period, in late

34 Sinai, "Qur'ānic Self-Referentiality," 114.

35 Cf. Hindy Najman, "Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and Its Authority Conferring Strategies," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 30 (1999): 379–410.

Meccan *sūra*s, the dichotomy between Qurʾānic recollections from the *kitāb* (i.e., biblical narratives) and other kinds of Qurʾānic communications is loosened: *al-kitāb* becomes the designation of a "kind of external storage facility,"[36] whereas *qurʾān* points to its earthly "mode of display."[37] Yet in terms of form both are never deemed identical: the excerpts from the *kitāb* are not received by the Prophet unaltered, but have in the course of the transmission process been adapted to the specific needs of the recipients. Nicolai Sinai emphasizes the importance of this difference that the Qurʾān itself recognizes as a peculiarity,[38] conceiving it as a hermeneutical codation, so to say; it even receives a technical designation: *tafṣīl*. The *locus classicus* for this perception is Q 41: 2–3:

> *tanzīlun mina l-raḥmāni l-raḥīm*
> *kitābun fuṣṣilat āyātuhu qurʾānan ʿarabiyyan li-qawmin yaʿlamūn*
>
> A sending down from the Merciful, the Compassionate
> A book whose signs have been adapted as an Arabic Koran,
> for a people having knowledge.

Tafṣīl, thus, implies a kind of paraphrase from the *kitāb* adapted to the listeners' scope. This observation equally throws light on the fact—often considered irritating—that in the Qurʾān individual stories are told more than once and presented in different versions: these in the light of the hermeneutics of *tafṣīl* are to be considered as subsequent renderings of a particular *kitāb* pericope, repeatedly re-phrased and adapted to the changing communal situation. Sinai concludes: "From the Qurʾānic perspective, the celestial scripture cannot be given to man in any other shape than *mufaṣṣalan* Q 6:114. The *kitāb* can be tapped via divine revelation, but due to the need to tailor such revelations to a specific target audience, the *kitāb* as such is at no one's disposal, not even in the form of literal excerpts."[39]

At this stage, in late Mecca, orality of scripture has acquired the dimension of a Qurʾānic theologumenon—a phenomenon unknown in any other Holy Scripture.

36 See Sinai, "Qurʾānic Self-Referentiality," 119.

37 See Sinai, "Qurʾānic Self-Referentiality," 120.

38 Sinai, "Qurʾānic Self-Referentiality," 120–126.

39 Sinai, "Qurʾānic Self-Referentiality," 126.

6 How to Achieve Parenetic Speech: A Psalm Reflected in the Qur'ān: Q 78:11–16 and Psalm 104:5 ff.

Let us finally consider an example of Qur'ānic rhetoric. How does the Qur'ān cope with the challenge presented by the older traditions, not only theologically but equally linguistically? This can best be traced through the analysis of those Biblical texts that the Qur'ān has appropriated, not however to adopt them in their transmitted shape but to negotiate and rewrite them. A telling example is *Sūrat al-Naba'*, Q 78:1–16 that presents a revision of Psalm 103. Whereas the relationship between Q 55 and Psalm 136 has been repeatedly realized,[40] that between *Sūrat al-Naba'*, Q 78:1–16, and Psalm 104:5 ff. seems to have escaped scholarly attention, although the psalm is frequently mentioned as a Qur'ānic intertext in Speyer's list.[41] The numerous traces of this psalm in the Qur'ān, several of which will be discussed below, can be explained by the psalm's prominence in Jewish and Christian liturgy.[42] The two texts related to each other are Q 78, *Sūrat al-Naba'*, and Psalm 104. The Qur'ānic text reads as follows:

Controversy about eschatology

1	What are they asking each other about?	عَمَّ يَتَسَاءلُونَ
2	About the great tidings,	عَنِ النَّبَإِ الْعَظِيمِ

40 Hartwig Hirschfeld, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Ḳorân* (Leipzig: Otto Schulze, 1886); Heinrich Speyer, *Die Biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran* (Hildesheim: Georg. Olms, 1961); John Wansbrough, *Qur'ānic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); Neuwirth, *Studien zur Komposition der mekkanischen Suren*.

41 Speyer, *Die Biblischen Erzählungen*, 497–498, mentions thirteen Qur'ānic references to Ps 104, yet without considering Q 78.

42 In Judaism it is recited at the end of the morning service on Rōsh Ḥōdesh, the first day of the new month, see Ismar Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy*, trans. R. Scheindlin (Philadelphia: JPS, 1993), 106, who stresses however that the oldest source of his information goes back to not earlier than 1300 (ibid., 10). Today, it is also recited after the Shabbat afternoon service from the beginning of the reading cycle in autumn—i.e., Pārāshat Be-Rēshīt, read immediately after Shemīnī 'Aṣeret / Simḥat Tōrā—until Shabbat ha-Gādōl just before Passover (information from Tobie Strauss, Hebrew University). Though it is unknown when this sequence was introduced, it is worth considering it so that we may appreciate the significance of the text in tradition (I have not seen the book by Moshe Weinfeld, *Ha-līt ūrgyah ha-yehūdit ha-qedūmah* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 2004]). In ecclesiastical prayer, it is recited on Tuesday mornings; see Julius Y. Çiçek, ed., *Kethobho da-Shimo* (Beirut: Bar-Hebraeus, 1991), 41.

3	Concerning which they are disputing.	الَّذِي هُمْ فِيهِ مُخْتَلِفُونَ
4	Indeed, they will certainly know!	كَلَّا سَيَعْلَمُونَ
5	Then, indeed, they will certainly know!	ثُمَّ كَلَّا سَيَعْلَمُونَ
	Āyāt-cluster	
6	Have we not made the earth as a couch (for you)	أَلَمْ نَجْعَلِ الْأَرْضَ مِهَادًا
7	And the mountains as pegs	وَالْجِبَالَ أَوْتَادًا
8	And created you in pairs	وَخَلَقْنَاكُمْ أَزْوَاجًا
9	And made your sleep a period of rest	وَجَعَلْنَا نَوْمَكُمْ سُبَاتًا
10	And made the night as a garment	وَجَعَلْنَا اللَّيْلَ لِبَاسًا
11	And made the day a source of livelihood	وَجَعَلْنَا النَّهَارَ مَعَاشًا
12	And built above you seven mighty (heavens)	وَبَنَيْنَا فَوْقَكُمْ سَبْعًا شِدَادًا
13	And created a shining lamp	وَجَعَلْنَا سِرَاجًا وَهَّاجًا
14	And brought down from the rain-clouds abundant water	وَأَنزَلْنَا مِنَ الْمُعْصِرَاتِ مَاء ثَجَّاجًا
15	To bring forth thereby grain and vegetation	لِنُخْرِجَ بِهِ حَبًّا وَنَبَاتًا
16	And luxuriant gardens?	وَجَنَّاتٍ أَلْفَافًا
	Eschatology	
17	The day of decision is a term appointed.	إِنَّ يَوْمَ الْفَصْلِ كَانَ مِيقَاتًا

This is followed by an eschatological final section, vv. 17–40.[43]

Q 78 is among the "eschatological *sūra*s" that are particularly frequent in the early stage of the Qurʾānic communication process. The short introductory part I (vv. 1–5), which is introduced by a rhetorical question, evokes a topic that is contentious for the audience. Although not identified explicitly, "the great tidings" are, in view of the centrality of eschatology in the early texts, easily identified as the Day of Judgment, all the more since the *sūra* continues with a threat addressed to the skeptics (vv. 4–5). The following part II (vv. 6–16) dialectically refers back to the beginning: the catalogue of divine acts of creation ("*āyāt*-cluster") serves to dissolve doubts in divine omnipotence that still prevent some of the listeners from subscribing to belief in the Day of Judgment. The third part (vv. 17–40), starting with an evocation of the Day of Judgment,

43 For the composition of the *sūra*, see Neuwirth, *Komposition der mekkanischen Suren*, 217.

again addresses eschatology. The assertion of its reality merges into an "eschatological scenery,"[44] i.e., a depiction of the cosmic developments leading up to the Day of Judgment, that culminates in a "diptych," i.e., a double portrait of the blessed and the cursed in the world to come.

Q 78 offers one of the very rare cases in which a non-narrative biblical subtext is clearly discernible, since the "series of *āyāt*", vv. 6–16, is evidently a reference to Psalm 104:5 ff.:[45]

1	Bless the Lord, my soul! Lord, my God, you are very great! You have donned majesty and splendor;	בָּרְכִי נַפְשִׁי, אֶת-יְהוָה: יְהוָה אֱלֹהַי, גָּדַלְתָּ מְאֹד; הוֹד וְהָדָר לָבָשְׁתָּ.
2	Covering yourself with light as with a garment, stretching the heavens like a curtain.	עֹטֶה-אוֹר, כַּשַּׂלְמָה; נוֹטֶה שָׁמַיִם, כַּיְרִיעָה.
3	He who roofs his upper chambers with water; he who makes clouds his chariot; He who moves on winged wind.	הַמְקָרֶה בַמַּיִם, עֲלִיּוֹתָיו: הַשָּׂם-עָבִים רְכוּבוֹ; הַמְהַלֵּךְ, עַל-כַּנְפֵי-רוּחַ.
4	He makes the winds his messengers; the flaming fire his attendants.	עֹשֶׂה מַלְאָכָיו רוּחוֹת; מְשָׁרְתָיו, אֵשׁ לֹהֵט.
5	He established the earth upon its pillars, that it falter not forever and ever.	יָסַד-אֶרֶץ, עַל-מְכוֹנֶיהָ; בַּל-תִּמּוֹט, עוֹלָם וָעֶד.
	(vv. 6–12: myth of the separation of the waters).	
13	He waters the mountains from his upper chambers; from the fruits of your work the world is sated. […]	מַשְׁקֶה הָרִים, מֵעֲלִיּוֹתָיו; מִפְּרִי מַעֲשֶׂיךָ, תִּשְׂבַּע הָאָרֶץ.
14	He causes vegetation to sprout for the cattle and plants through man's labor to bring forth bread from the earth […]	מַצְמִיחַ חָצִיר, לַבְּהֵמָה, וְעֵשֶׂב, לַעֲבֹדַת הָאָדָם; לְהוֹצִיא לֶחֶם, מִן-הָאָרֶץ.

44 These terms have been introduced in Neuwirth, *Komposition der mekkanischen Suren*.

45 Translation by Hillel Danziger, *The Art Scroll Tehillim* (New York: Mesorah, 1989), sometimes slightly modified; "hash-Shēm," one of the Jewish interpretations of the Tetragrammaton (which is used by Danziger), has been replaced by the more neutral "the Lord," since the Arabic sixth-century reception of the Bible presupposes the translation of the tetragrammaton as *kýrios*, "the Lord."

19	He has made the moon for the measuring of time, the sun knows its destination.	עָשָׂה יָרֵחַ, לְמוֹעֲדִים; שֶׁמֶשׁ, יָדַע מְבוֹאוֹ.
20	You make darkness and it is night, in which every forest beast stirs.	תָּשֶׁת-חֹשֶׁךְ, וִיהִי לָיְלָה– בּוֹ-תִרְמֹשׂ, כָּל-חַיְתוֹ-יָעַר.
21	The young lions roar after their prey and seek their food from God.	הַכְּפִירִים, שֹׁאֲגִים לַטָּרֶף; וּלְבַקֵּשׁ מֵאֵל, אָכְלָם.
22	The sun rises and they are gathered in, and in their dens they crouch.	תִּזְרַח הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ, יֵאָסֵפוּן; וְאֶל-מְעוֹנֹתָם, יִרְבָּצוּן.
23	Man goes forth to his work, and to his labor until evening.	יֵצֵא אָדָם לְפָעֳלוֹ; וְלַעֲבֹדָתוֹ עֲדֵי-עָרֶב.

The text of the psalm continues as a hymn.

Despite the different frameworks—the praises enumerated in the psalm form an integral part of an extended hymn,[46] while in the *sūra* they are framed by eschatological sections—both texts display significant common traits. The most striking of these is the image of the earth as a tent that does not recur in the Qur'ān again (Q 78:6–7). The earthly tent is presented as firmly resting on pillars (Ps 104:2, cf. Q 78:7), and as having the sky as its roof (Ps 104:2) that is fixed to the earth by tent-pegs (Q 78:7). In both texts, the image of the tent is not exclusive, however: in the *sūra*, the assumption of "seven firm ones" with the sun as their lamp (Q 78:12–13)[47] does not fit with the tent metaphor without generating tension. Similarly, in the psalm, the tent metaphor collides with the perception of the cosmos as a multistoried house of God, from whose "upper chambers" (Ps 104:3.13) God provides for His creation.[48] This blatantly anthropomorphic image is not reflected in the Qur'ān, this being perhaps due to a quasi-exegetical "correction." Both texts also present a number of natural phenomena like clouds (Ps 104:13, Q 78:14), mountains (Ps 104:13, Q 78:7), the sun (Ps 104:19.22, Q 78:13) and the night (Ps 104:20, Q 78:10) as well as human subsistence derived from the growing of plants (Ps 104:14; Q 78:15–16) as divine gifts. In both texts, the window of time reserved for human activity is the daytime in which man is to gain his living (Ps 104:23; Q 78:11), an idea that is not

46 For an interpretation of the psalm, see Erich Zenger and F.-L. Hossfeld, *Die Psalmen*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Echter, 1993, 2002), 2: 29–43.

47 Speyer, *Biblischen Erzählungen*, 29 f., refers to Q 71, a text very similar to Q 78, and comments: "Ps 104:8–10 describes the mountains in a way similar to the Qur'ān. It is worth noting that the Psalms always played an important role in the Jewish liturgy and were familiar from frequent recitations to both Jews and Christians."

48 Cf. Hermann Gunkel, *Die Psalmen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 448.

mentioned again elsewhere in the Qur'ān. However, regarding the function of the night, both texts diverge from each other; the *sūra* mentions—in addition to the data adduced in the psalm—the idea that men have been created as gendered pairs, a perception typical of Qur'ānic creation theology (see, e.g., Q 55), for whom the night serves as a space for sexual fulfillment. This idea, which again may be an "exegetical correction," is expressed in a strikingly novel metaphor: the human pair is presented as clad in a cosmic garment (Q 78:10: *wa-jaʿalnā al-layla libāsā*, "and have we not made the night as a garment"), a metaphor that will reappear only once, as a reminiscence of Q 78:10, in Q 25:47. In the psalm, on the other hand, a similarly cosmic metaphor is applied, not to man, but in order to praise the divine majesty (Ps 104:1–2: *hōd we-hādār lābhāshtā, ʿōṭēh ōr kas-samlāh*, "you have donned majesty and splendor, covering yourself with light as with a garment"). The Qur'ān also mentions the seven planetary spheres that are not present in the psalm.

7 Essential Differences between Biblical and Qur'ānic Rethoric

Perhaps the principal and most noteworthy difference between the two texts is the kind of worlds they outline: The psalm sketches an extensive mythic tableau, presenting the divine *persona* in a rather anthropomorphic shape as holding court, all of this being expressed in the present tense as if occurring under the eyes of the psalmist himself. The divine *persona* moves along in a heavenly chariot, personally shapes the living conditions of His creation, and takes care of their subsistence. Creation is dynamically affected, set in motion by His presence; wild beasts come forward and retreat, and ask God for their food (Ps 104:20–22). One might trace in this text the topos of the *locus amoenus*,[49] the "pleasant space," a prevailing motif of descriptions of nature, including that of the beyond, in Western art and literature from Greek antiquity until the Renaissance. The term *locus amoenus* refers to an idealized place of safety or comfort. Elementary features of the *locus amoenus* are, according to E.R. Curtius, who coined the term, a shady lawn or open woodland, trees, and rivers or fountains. In the psalm, the description of nature is put in the service of a theological purpose, the praise of God, without however losing its aesthetic attractiveness: the world is—particularly because of the presence of the divine *persona* who shapes and reigns over it—a "pleasant space," marked,

49 E.R. Curtius, *European Literature in the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 195.

not unlike its classical correlates, by a plethora of idyllic components and by a vivid interaction between them. This observation does not hold true for the Qur'ānic *sūra*. Although the human habitat is described there as most harmonious, it does not form a coherent scenario, the single elements rather remaining isolated, each of them—instead of serving as components of a larger image—being charged with meaning in itself. As the parenetic form of the rhetorical question demonstrates, these individual components are meant to point to a theological message. The achievement of the divine creation, in this text, is no longer in progress, but appears as having been concluded a long time ago. God is no longer present as the agent of creation, but has become a speaker who recounts his own acts of creation in the first person plural. All the divine precautions for His creation are presented as frozen into timeless divine speech. The image in motion that is presented in the psalm has become static in the Qur'ān. It is the field of eschatological tension created by the new Qur'ānic context that has reconfigured the narrative account of creation: creation becomes part of a meta-discourse, a controversy about the end of time, thus tying in with the beginning of the *sūra* where the topic of the Last Day had been raised. Creation accounts serve to dissolve doubts about the divine omnipotence, thus encouraging the listeners to make the right decision. The Qur'ānic section is not a hymn like the psalm; it is not the expression of spontaneous emotion, but a reminder, an argument towards a definite conclusion.

As such it is, nevertheless, a textual treatment of the psalm, and perhaps even a kind of exegesis. From the perspective of the pious observer who looks up in amazement to the heavens,[50] the divine self-manifestation in the psalm has been changed to the perspective of the divine speaker Himself, who looks down on the earthly scenario and on the humans that He takes care of. Monumental scopes are reduced to human size and measures: not transcendent glory but daily needs are underscored, anthropomorphisms are abolished. The psalm restages divine creation, whereas in the Qur'ānic text, God in His own voice recalls (*dhikr*) His acts of creation, which are but the prelude to His ultimate reclaiming of His pledge of knowledge from His creatures. Creation in the Qur'ān, unlike in the case of the psalm, is not an ongoing event, but has been converted into speech, into a "text" that is to be "read" as a divine self-manifestation, as an *āya*, as a "sign to be de-ciphered." The entire Qur'ān can be understood as an appeal to acknowledge and de-code the divine signs, an

50 Cf. Kevin van Bladel, "Heavenly Cords and Prophetic Authority in the Quran and Its Late Antique Context," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 70.2 (2007): 223–246.

appeal that is put forward on a high level of rhetorical professionalism. The Qur'ān justly deserves to be included into the history of rhetoric, characterized by Frye, that has hitherto excluded Arabic evidence: "Between Cicero and the Renaissance the orator became the symbol of an educational ideal of versatility and fluency in the use of language, which made the orator to some degree the successor of the poet in the earlier phase as the teacher of his society, the encyclopedic repository of its traditional knowledge."[51]

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51 Frye, *The Great Code*, 27.

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CHAPTER 8

The "Shearing of Forelocks" as a Penitential Rite

Marion Holmes Katz

In what is probably the most celebrated description of medieval Islamic preaching, the Andalusian traveler Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217) describes the aftermath of a sermon by the Ḥanbalī virtuouso Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200):

> Then, after he finished his sermon, he presented tender exhortations and perspicuous verses of the divine Remembrance, at which hearts soared with longing and souls melted with fervor, to the point that a clamor arose and groans were echoed with sobbing. Penitents cried out aloud and fell upon him as moths fall upon a lamp, each one holding forth his forelock so he could shear it and stroke his head, praying for him. Among them were some who lost consciousness and were carried up to him.[1]

Despite the fame of this account, little attempt has been made to explain the genealogy or significance of one of its most striking features, the dramatic ritual gesture of offering up one's "forelock" to be cut off as a sign of penitence.[2] Ibn Jubayr clearly assumes the familiarity of this gesture, which for him requires no explanation. Nevertheless, it is one that has no clear basis in Islamic law, and it is far from obvious either how it originated or how this particular action came to be a widely-understood public sign of repentance.

Ibn al-Jawzī himself testifies to the extent of his hair-cutting activities in his work on preaching, *Kitāb al-quṣṣāṣ wa-l-mudhakkirīn*. In it, the author declares,

> I have not ceased to exhort people and goad them to repentance and piety. To the point when I compiled this book, more than one hundred thousand

1 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1964), 197. Translation mine; also trans. R.J.C. Broadhurst, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952), 230–231.

2 This paper has been a long time in the making; I only belatedly became aware that Prof. Daniella Talmon-Heller has discussed the significance of this practice in her "Charity and Repentance in Medieval Islamic Thought and Practice," in *Charity and Giving in Monotheistic Religions*, ed. Miriam Frenkel and Yaakov Lev (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 269–271. I thank Prof. Talmon-Heller for providing me with this chapter, and hope that this piece will be a worthy supplement to her contribution.

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> men had repented at my hand; I had cut more than ten thousand long locks (*ṭā'ila*) of the hair of youths (*al-ṣibyān*), and more than one hundred thousand people had converted to Islam at my hand.[3]

The penitential cutting of hair was carried on by Ibn al-Jawzī's grandson, a comparably brilliant and popular preacher working in the context of another location (Damascus) and another legal school (Ḥanafī). An account of an emotional occasion in 603/1206–1207 when Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī wanted to depart Damascus for a trip to Hama, only to be mobbed by disconsolate throngs at his final appearance, states that "on that day more than five hundred youths (*shābb*) repented and cut their hair."[4]

Nevertheless, Ibn Jubayr's account makes it clear that the "shearing of the forelock" (*jazz al-nāṣiya*) was not particular to Ibn al-Jawzī's personal following. Describing a sermon given in the Prophet's mosque in Medina by the leading Shāfiʿī jurist Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī, he recounts that:

> He extended his exhortations until he made souls soar from fear and tenderness; the Persians thronged to him proclaiming their repentance with reeling minds and bewildered intellects, casting their forelocks before him. He called for a pair of scissors and cut them off one forelock at a time, and covered the head of the one whose forelock had been sheared with his [own] turban. Immediately, another turban was placed upon [Ṣadr al-Dīn's] head by one of his Qur'ān reciters or those who were sitting with him (*julasā'ih*) who knew of his magnanimous tendency in this regard, so that they hastened to give their turbans in order to attain the precious goal because of [Ṣadr al-Dīn's] virtues that were well-known to them. He

3 Abū l-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-quṣṣāṣ wa-l-mudhakkirīn*, ed. Qāsim al-Sāmarrā'ī (Riyadh: Dār Umayya, 1403/1983), 195. The text edited and translated by Merlin Swartz has "I cut off the hair of more than ten thousand *lax* young men," (*al-ṣibyān al-lāhīn*; emphasis mine), which perhaps suggests that they were repenting of a self-indulgent lifestyle. See Abū l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-quṣṣāṣ wa-l-mudhakkirīn*, ed. and trans. Merlin Swartz (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, [1971]), 231.

4 Abū Shāma, *Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn al-sādis wa-l-sābiʿ* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Mālikiyya, 1947), 49; Louis Pouzet, *Damas au VIIe/XIIIe siècle: vie et structures religieuses d'une métropole islamique* (Beirut: Dar El-Machreq, 1988), 137; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān fī tārīkh al-aʿyān*, ed. Kāmil Salmān al-Jubūrī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1434/2013), 14:521; Daniella Talmon-Heller, *Islamic Piety in Medieval Syria* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 131. See also the incident discussed in Talmon-Heller, "Charity and Repentance," 269–271 (Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt*, 14:542).

> kept on taking off one [turban] after another until he had taken off many of them, and sheared many forelocks.[5]

In a more fleeting reference, Ibn Jubayr mentions that at a preaching session given by another prominent Shāfiʿī jurist, Raḍī al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, at the Madrasa al-Niẓāmiyya in Baghdad, "the penitents hastened to him, falling and tumbling upon his hand; how many forelocks were sheared, and how many joints of the penitents were severed and put asunder by the exhortation!"[6]

Another (younger) contemporary of Ibn al-Jawzī who is known for the quantity of hair shorn at his preaching sessions is the influential Sufi Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), who was active in Baghdad. His popular sermons evoked highly emotional responses; a witness recounted that after al-Suhrawardī recited some mystical verses on one occasion, "people went into ecstasy; much hair was cut (*quṭiʿat shuʿūr kathīra*), and many people repented."[7]

It is not completely clear whether the cutting of hair as a sign of penitence was a new practice in Ibn al-Jawzī's time. Ibn al-Jawzī himself recounts that, approximately a century earlier (in 486/1093), a man from Marw named Ardashīr b. Manṣūr al-ʿAbbādī gave preaching sessions in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Baghdad. The sessions were clearly quite respectable, as they were attended by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī as well as by an innumerable throng of men and women who filled the courtyard, student cells, and roofs of the madrasa. Ibn al-Jawzī recounts that this preacher's style involved more silence than speaking, but nevertheless had a dramatic effect; when he uttered a word, people clamored and went into raptures. Influenced by this ascetic speaker, people abandoned their livelihoods. Most of the young men "shaved their hair and went to stay in neighborhood and congregational mosques"; they also engaged in moral activism such as the pouring out of wine and the smashing of musical instruments.[8] Nevertheless, it is not completely clear from Ibn al-Jawzī's account whether this is an instance of the "shearing of the forelock" as it appears in accounts of twelfth-century preaching. The description does not clarify if the youths' hair was cut by the preacher himself at the culmination

5 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, 178. Translation mine; also trans. Broadhurst, 208–209.

6 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, 196. Translation mine; also trans. Broadhurst, 229.

7 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, n.d.), 3:446; Alexander Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 196.

8 Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī tārīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*, 10 vols. (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1938–1940), 9:75–76; discussed in Jonathan P. Berkey, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 53.

of a sermon, or whether the youths had it cut subsequently as a sign of their changed lifestyle; nor is "shaving," a form of personal presentation sometimes associated with Sufis (as will be discussed below), necessarily to be identified with the more nominal removal of what may have been a single lock of hair. It is interesting, however, that this account shares one feature with Ibn al-Jawzī's account of his own hair-cutting activities in *Kitāb al-quṣṣāṣ wa-l-mudhakkirīn* and with the account of Ibn al-Jawzī's sermon in Damascus: in each case, the shorn penitents are specified to have been youths or young men.

The shearing of forelocks as a sign of penitence appears to have spread quite widely and to have persisted for some time. Al-Jawbarī (fl. first half of the 7th/13th century), in his satirical survey of various types of tricksters and frauds, describes the antics of a preacher set in Egypt in 623/1226. Having arranged a theatrical "repentance" by a confederate, the corrupt preacher cuts his hair, puts a cap on his head, and shatters his musical instrument (to an ecstatic reception from the crowd, many of whom repent at his hands).[9] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa recounts that in 727/1327 he attended a preaching session in the Iranian town of Tustar, which he describes as "a session of knowledge, exhortation, and blessing" (*majlis ʿilm wa-waʿẓ wa-baraka*). Penitents rushed to the preacher, who "took the oath from them and sheared their forelocks. They were fifteen students (*ṭalaba*) who had come from Basra for that purpose, and ten common men of Tustar (*ʿasharat rijāl min ʿawāmm Tustar*)."[10]

Why did the cutting of hair serve as such a powerful and widely-understood emblem of repentance in the context of medieval Islamic preaching? One clue to the significance of the practice may lie in the distinctive language that is often used to describe it. Although some reports speak of the "cutting of hair," more often the penitential act is described as the "shearing of the forelock" (*jazz al-nāṣiya*). The latter phrase is somewhat idiosyncratic, and carries complex religious connotations. Most literally, the term "*nāṣiya*" designates the location of the lock of hair that was cut, on the front of the head. (The verb "*jazza*," also somewhat unusual, is most often used for the shearing of sheep.)

As both the preachers and their audiences must have been aware, the word "*nāṣiya*" is a Qurʾānic term; this fact must have charged it with religious overtones, as well as rendering it subject to extensive and explicit interpretive reflection. Q 55:41 and 96:15–16 vividly describe how the damned will be dragged

9 Manuela Höglmeier, *al-Ǧawbarī und sein Kašf al-asrār—ein Sittenbild des Gauners im arabisch-islamischen Mittelalter (7.13. Jahrhundert): Einführung, Edition und Kommentar* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2006), 127–128.

10 *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa al-musammā Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār fī gharāʾib al-amṣār wa-ʿajāʾib al-asfār*, 2 vols. in 1 (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, 2005), 1:175.

to perdition by their forelocks on the Day of Judgment. In the words of the latter passage (from a short chapter of the Qur'ān that was probably, then as now, widely memorized by ordinary believers):

> Do you see one who forbids a worshipper from praying?
> Do you see if he is rightly guided, or commands piety?
> Do you see him deny and turn away?
> Does he not know that God sees?
> Let him beware!
> If he does not desist, We will drag him by the forelock—
> A lying, sinful forelock!
> Then let him call his associates for help;
> We will call the minions of Hell.
>
> Q. 96:9–18

The Qur'ānic usage (which also includes a reference, in verse 11:56, to God's leading all creatures by the forelock) suggests some of the religious resonance that may have surrounded this particular lock of hair. Indeed, for impressionable listeners of the fire-and-brimstone sermons of the day, removal of the "lying, sinful forelock"—by which, absent a rededication to the religious life, they might one day be dragged to hell—was probably a highly appropriate physical gesture of repentance.

More than a century ago, Ignaz Goldziher argued that "… the forelock (*nāṣiya*) was considered to have a supernatural significance," not only in the pre-Islamic period but in far later days. As evidence for this view, he points to idioms that he claims reflect "survivals of ancient ideas," including *imra'a mash'ūmat al-nāṣiya* (which Goldziher translates as "a woman of unfortunate forelock") and its converse, *mubārak al-nāṣiya* ("possessing a blessed forelock").[11] Joseph Chelhod somewhat similarly saw the forelock as an example of the sacred and powerful nature of hair in general among "people in a state of nature," who vest it with magical powers.[12]

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11 Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. S.M. Stern, trans. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, second printing (New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Aldine Transaction, 2008), 227.

12 Joseph Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les arabes* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955), 131, 135 (translation mine). Annemarie Schimmel also notes that "human hair is regarded in most traditions as filled with power (cf. the story of Samson in the Old Testament)" and observes of the 'forelock' mentioned in the Qur'ān, "to grasp someone (or an animal) by the forelock means to grasp his (or its) most power-laden part, that is, to overcome him completely." Annemarie Schimmel, *Deciphering the Signs of God: A Phenomenological Approach to Islam* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 94, 181.

Goldziher's and Chelhod's interpretations reflect a nineteenth-century belief in the existence of vestigial survivals of primitive practices and ideas. Such ideas were displaced in the mid-twentieth century by a structuralist approach to the significance of hair-related practices. Edmund Leach argued for a cross-culturally consistent sexual signification of hair, writing that "an astonishingly high proportion of the ethnographic evidence" suggests that "in ritual situations: long hair = unrestrained sexuality; close shaven head = celibacy."[13] In response, C.R. Hallpike "argued that long hair is symbolic of being outside of society (witches, intellectuals, and hippies), and cutting … symbolises re-entering society, or living under a particular disciplinary regime within society (soldiers … convicts)."[14] Scholars of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have both applied these proposals to Islamic hair rituals (and the broader hair-related practices of Muslim majority societies such as Turkey) and emphasized that any cross-cultural patterns in the symbolism of hair must be understood within specific contexts that may inflect or even reverse their significance.[15] The "shearing of the forelock" suggests the extent to which a condensed symbol can combine both the meanings proposed by Leach and Hallpike (which in this case seem quite compatible) and far more specific linguistic, religious and social resonances.

Qurʾān commentaries suggest that rather than evoking a magical aura, the "forelock" can sometimes function as a synecdoche for the self. The Shāfiʿī scholar al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) notes in his commentary on the Qurʾān, "The forelock is the hair of the front of the head; it is [also] sometimes used to refer to the whole person, as one says, 'This is a blessed forelock,' referring to the whole person."[16] This idea (repeated, for instance, in the commentary of al-Qurṭubī [d. 671/1272])[17] explains the idioms cited by Goldziher without resort to otherwise undocumented supernatural beliefs; a "woman of unfortunate forelock" is simply an unfortunate woman.

13 Cited in Lloyd Ridgeon, "Shaggy or Shaved? The Symbolism of Hair among Persian Qalandar Sufis," *Iran and the Caucasus* 14 (2010), 247.

14 Cited in Ridgeon, 248.

15 See Carol Delaney, "Untangling the Meanings of Hair in Turkish Society," *Anthropological Quarterly* 67 (1994), 159–172; Ingrid Pfluger-Schindlbeck, "On the Symbolism of Hair in Islamic Societies: An Analysis of Approaches," *Anthropology of the Middle East* 1 (2006), 72–88; Ridgeon, "Shaggy or Shaved?"

16 Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Māwardī, *al-Nukat wa-l-ʿuyūn*, ed. al-Sayyid b. ʿAbd al-Maqṣūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, 6 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1992), 6:308.

17 Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, 21 vols. in 11 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2004), 20:85.

The idea that the forelock—and hair more generally—could function as a symbol of the whole person operated not only on the level of linguistic usage, but on that of symbolic practice. Chelhod has pointed to the role of hair in "bloodless sacrifice," connecting the shearing of the forelock to the offering of a newborn's hair in the *ʿaqīqa* ritual.[18] As Talmon-Heller has discussed, the hair shorn in penitence at preaching sessions could function as a votive offering gathered, saved and displayed by the preacher.[19] However, the cutting and relinquishing (or seizing) of hair had even more complex and specific meanings. As Goldziher himself notes, in pre-Islamic Arabia the *nāṣiya* was shorn from a prisoner of war before his release. M.M. Bravmann has shown that the cutting of the forelock was an integral part of pre-Islamic Arab tribal practice (at least as represented in the Arabic literary heritage of the Islamic period). The victor was considered entitled to kill his vanquished foe, who thus owed him a debt of gratitude for his release (a debt that might be repaid, in money or in praise, at some later point). The "shearing of the forelock"—which remained in the possession of the victor—was emblematic of this transaction.[20] Bravmann notes the significance of "the act of the shearing of one's forelock as a symbol of recognition that one's life has been preserved by someone."[21] Given that it was the prisoner's life itself that was symbolically forfeited and redeemed in this transaction, it seems that here again, the forelock served as an emblem of the entire person; by relinquishing it to his captor, the vanquished warrior acknowledged that he owed his life—his whole self—to the victor.[22]

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18 Chelhod, 131–140. See also Ignaz Goldziher, "Le sacrifice de la chevelure chez les arabes," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 14 (1996), 149–152.

19 Talmon-Heller, "Charity and Repentance," 270–271. According to his own account, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī used hair donated in this way to fabricate a representation of the horses engaged in holy war (*al-khayl al-mujāhidīn*) and other items (there appears to be a lacuna in the text at this point), which he displayed at his preaching session—inspiring the donation of equally massive quantities of hair from those present (*Mirʾāt al-zamān*, 14:542).

20 M.M. Bravmann, *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 199–200, 203 and n. 1 there. C.f. also the verse of al-Khansāʾ cited by al-Māwardī, op. cit., 308, which mentions the shearing of the locks of defeated warriors.

21 Ibid., 203, n. 1.

22 In the *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāq, it is recounted that when Abraha assassinated the emissary of the Negus, the latter "swore an oath that he would not leave Abraha alone until he had trodden his land and cut off his forelock" (*yajuzza nāṣiyatah*). Abraha circumvents this oath by shaving his head and sending the Negus a bag of Yemeni earth. See A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1967), 21; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. Ṭāhā ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Saʿd, 6 vols. in 3 (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1991), 1:159–160.

In addition to apparently reflecting an actual pre-Islamic practice, the motif of the "shearing of the forelock" was perpetuated in Islamic times. It appeared in poetic and historical texts that were transmitted and commented on by medieval scholars,[23] and was also re-purposed to function within an Islamic context. The cutting of the forelock was sometimes associated with the *ahl al-dhimma*, the "protected people" who enjoyed the tolerance of the Islamic authorities as members of monotheistic religious communities.[24] In his *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350) states that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb wrote to his governors to have the forelocks of the *dhimmī*s sheared. Ibn al-Qayyim understands this operation to involve more than the trimming of a lock; he defines the *nāṣiya* as the foremost fourth of the head, and observes that "if a fourth of it was shaved, it was a visible sign and a manifest matter that he was a *dhimmī*."[25] As Bravmann argues, the cutting of the forelock of the *dhimmī*—like that of the captured warrior—symbolically suggests that he enjoys his life as a boon from his vanquisher, in this case the Muslim authorities.[26]

The shearing of the forelock was not merely a gesture imposed by victors on the vanquished, however, but a form of symbolic action that could be undertaken voluntarily and, so to speak, pre-emptively. Ṭabarī recounts an incident during the Ridda wars in the year 11/632–633 in which the besieged Kindites, hearing of the dire fate of their kinsmen, declare:

> Death is preferable to your predicament; shear your forelocks, so that you will be like people who have donated themselves to God so that he would bestow His benefaction on you and you would receive His benefaction, and perhaps He will make you victorious over those evildoers. So they sheared their forelocks, and gave each other oaths and assurances that they would not flee from one another.[27]

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23 For instance, even beyond the instances cited by Bravmann, the "shearing of the forelock" is a routine feature of stories of capture and release in *Kitāb al-Aghānī*; see Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1423/2002), 5:32; 11:103 (two instances), 109; 13:8, 9, 16; 14:11; 17:185, 190; 22:55; 24:43.

24 See Bravmann, 205 (a line of verse from Jarīr in which a tavern-keeper is described as *muqaṣṣaṣ*, glossed as "one whose forelock has been cut off").

25 Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, ed. Ṣubḥī Ṣāliḥ, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1981), 2:749.

26 Bravmann, 205.

27 Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 10 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1960–1977), 3:336. See also the translation in *The*

As Bravmann makes clear, here the "benefaction" (*niʿma*) is equivalent to the boon of the victorious warrior who spares the life of his captive, but the benefactor is God. The offering of the severed forelock is identified with the donation of the self. The significance of the gesture shifts here, as the action of rendering the forelock is performed pre-emptively by the warrior who anticipates and seeks God's benevolent sparing of his life.[28]

The gesture of voluntarily and pro-actively shearing one's own hair on the eve of battle was most widely associated with the Khārijites. Recounting another incident that occurred in the year 11/632–633, Ṭabarī reports that a group of desperate warriors "shaved their heads, as the Khārijites do"[29] (clearly an editorial remark rather than a contemporary description, as the Khārijites had yet to emerge at that date). In the late first and the second century of the Islamic era, Khārijites who were preparing to revolt against the authorities would first cut their hair at the tomb of Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ, a Khārijite leader buried near Mosul.[30] Although this action appears to lack explicit interpretation in the early sources, it seems reasonable to assume that like the Kindites in the previous anecdote, Khārijites sheared their hair as a sign that they resigned their lives to God—perhaps, in this case, less in hopes of divine intervention than in acceptance of martyrdom.

History of al-Ṭabarī, vol. 10: The Conquest of Arabia, trans. Fred M. Donner (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993), 183–184. Also see Bravmann, 203, n. 1.

28 Another possible example of this gesture occurs in accounts of a famous pre-Islamic battle between the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib, before which a leader is supposed to have instructed the Bakrites to shave their heads. However, this was explained as a measure to ensure that the warriors would be able to identify each other during the battle. See *Dīwān Ṭarafa ibn al-ʿAbd*, ed. Durriyya al-Khaṭīb and Luṭfī al-Ṣaqqāl (Damascus: Majmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya, 1395/1975), 109; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship & Marriage in Early Arabia*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley A. Cook (Oosterhout: Anthropological Publications, 1966), 251. Some modern scholars took this anecdote as evidence that warriors sheared their heads as a sign that they committed themselves to fight to the death; see J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1927), 199; Frants Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, trans. Hans Heinrich Schaeder (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1930), 87, n. 243.

29 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 6:399; *The History of al-Ṭabarī, vol. 23: The Zenith of the Marwanid House*, trans. Martin Hinds (Albany: SUNY Press, 1990), 92.

30 Chase F. Robinson, *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 113; Josef van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, 6 vols. (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1991–1997), 2:460–461. See also the report in Abū l-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Jawzī, *Sīrat wa-manāqib ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-khalīfa al-zāhid* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1984), 96, which recounts that, when negotiations between the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and a group of Khārijites break down irreversibly "they insisted on doing battle and shaved their heads …"

By the time that the "shearing of the locks" became a major feature of public preaching sessions, however, the devotional shearing of hair was associated not only with the Khārijites (a group by then long eclipsed in the central lands of the Mashriq) but with the Sufis.[31] If early Islamic warriors had adapted the shearing of hair into a rite of self-devotion to God prior to battle, Sufis further displaced it into the interior battle of the mystical path, using it as an initiatory rite of penance. In a *fatwā* on the shearing of hair by Sufi shaykhs, ʿIzz al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī (d. 660/1262) states that if a shaykh cuts a penitent's hair in accordance with the example of the Prophet (who cut, rather than shaved, his head—shaving the head being an emblem of the Khārijites), then he is helping that individual to perform an action modeled by the Prophet and his Companions. However, the cutting of the hair is not a component (*rukn*) of penitence, nor is it a condition (*sharṭ*) for it.[32] It suffices al-Sulamī that the Prophet cut his hair, even if he is not known to have modeled or instructed this action as a ritual act accompanying repentance. Sufi shearing is thus tolerated at the expense of emptying it of religious significance; it is all right because it is simply a haircut.

Both shaving and less extreme cutting persisted as Sufi gestures of penitence and initiation. In a rather long *fatwā*, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) addresses the issue of "people who shave their heads at the hands of shaykhs and at the graves of people whom they venerate, and consider that to be an act of piety and worship (*qurba wa-ʿibāda*); is it a *sunna* or an innovation (*bidʿa*)?" Ibn Taymiyya replies that there are four categories of shaving the head. One is shaving in the context of the major and minor pilgrimages to Mecca, which is commanded by God and the Prophet and is mandated by divine law (*mashrūʿ*). In this context, shaving is superior to trimming (*taqṣīr*). The second category is shaving one's head for practical reasons, for instance as a medical treatment. This is allowed by the Qurʾān, the *sunna*, and the consensus of the scholars.

The third kind of shaving is performed as a form of devotion, piety, and asceticism (*ʿalā wajh al-taʿabbud wa-l-tadayyun wa-l-zuhd*), outside of the context of pilgrimage to Mecca. This occurs, for instance, if someone instructs a penitent to shave his head on the occasion of his repentance. Someone may also take the shaving of the head as an emblem (*shiʿār*) of the people of asceticism and religion (*ahl al-nask wa-l-dīn*), taking it to be a component of com-

31 For somewhat later examples of hair-cutting as an element of Sufi initiation rites, see Shahzad Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 91–93.

32 *Fatāwā shaykh al-islām ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-Salām*, ed. Muḥammad Jumʿa Kurdī (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1996), 327.

plete piety and regarding those who shave their heads as superior to or more ascetic than those who do not. Another example is the person who trims (*yuqaṣṣir*) the hair of a penitent, cutting off some of his hair, as is done by some self-styled shaykhs. Ibn Taymiyya cites the scissors (for hair trimming) and the prayer rug as two insignia of the Sufi shaykh. All of this, he says, is an innovation that was not commanded by God or His Prophet; it is neither obligatory nor recommended according to any of the authoritative legal scholars, and it was not performed by the Prophet's Companions or by the following generations—or, indeed, by the early figures (such as al-Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ and Ibrāhīm b. Adham) regarded as founding fathers of Sufism. None of them trimmed a penitent's hair, or instructed him to shave his head. The Prophet did not instruct anyone to shave his head upon conversion, nor did he cut anyone's hair.[33]

It is not clear when the shearing of hair emerged as a Sufi initiatory rite. Given Ibn al-Jawzī's deep concern (expressed in works such as *Talbīs Iblīs*) with the crowd-pleasing appeal and resulting competitive edge that Sufi shaykhs enjoyed in comparison with legal scholars, it seems possible that he adapted a Sufi hair-shearing rite for use outside of a specifically Sufi milieu. The shaving of the Sufi aspirant's head was a relatively dramatic gesture that at least temporarily (and sometimes permanently) yielded a genuinely divergent presentation of the self. As Ahmet Karamustafa and Lloy Ridgeon have observed with respect to *qalandar* groups, the most extreme form of shaving (which included the beard, mustache, and eyebrows as well as the scalp and appears to have emerged somewhat later) was a form of intentional and religiously resonant social deviance.[34] Although the shaving of the head was significantly less transgressive than the removal of facial hair, it was nevertheless a significant gesture, and one specifically associated with the Sufi way. To shear only a forelock was, it would seem, a yet milder and more cursory form of ritual cropping.

The difference in religious milieu between the "shearing of the forelock" and the shaving of the head is suggested by the fourteenth-century examples presented by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. In his account of Delhi, he speaks of the shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Nīlī, who "preaches to the people every Friday; many of them repent

33 Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmūʿ al-fatāwā*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭāʾ, 37 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2000), 12:66–70.

34 Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200–1550* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 19 and 110, n. 15; Ridgeon, "Shaggy or Shaved?"

before him, shave their heads, and go into ecstasy, and some of them lose consciousness …"[35] The context is clearly Sufi, as is indicated by the terminology Ibn Baṭṭūṭa uses to describe the shaykh and his associates (one of whom, a *faqīr*, expires in ecstasy during a sermon). This description can be compared with his account of the preacher in Tustar (cited above), in which the penitents only cut their forelocks and there are no specifically Sufi elements in the description. Like the young men inspired to a life of religious commitment by Ardashīr b. Manṣūr, in the report from Ibn al-Jawzī cited above, Sufis sought a significant change in lifestyle and a lasting form of religious discipleship to the shaykhs at whose hands they repented. In contrast, the mass audiences of preachers like Ibn al-Jawzī certainly sought religious regeneration (and may possibly have reformed their lives in other ways) but they were not enacting a rite of initiation into any concrete or ongoing religious association, nor were they seeking permanent distinction from the wider community of the faithful. The penitents who received turbans (and haircuts) from Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī may have enjoyed the blessings and inspiration of contact with a holy man, but the new headgear did not represent investiture into a distinct religious path. Ibn al-Jawzī's hair-cutting activities sought to induct people (particularly young men) into more committed lives as mainstream *sharīʿa*-compliant Muslims, not as a mystical elite.

Indeed, in some cases the "shearing of forelocks" at sessions of public preaching may have served not to produce the distinctive hairdo of the actively pious, but to express (at least symbolic) renunciation of the distinctive hairdo of the privileged and well-to-do. Louis Pouzet hypothesizes, with respect to the lock-shearing activities of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, that they were addressed to the long, dandified locks emblematic of the medieval Damascene *jeunesse dorée*.[36] As we have seen, Ibn al-Jawzī writes of cutting the "long locks" (*ṭāʾila*) of youths.[37] That the sporting of luxurious tresses could be an identifying trait of elite males is suggested by Ibn al-Ukhuwwa's (d. 729/1329) assertion that someone who grows his hair in long locks (*dhawāʾib*) in the manner of noblemen (*ahl al-sharaf*) but does not belong to this group is committing fraud (*talbīs*), since this hairdo may be regarded as an insignia (*shiʿār*) of noble status.[38] The idea that

35 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, 2:37.

36 Pouzet, *Damas*, 137, n. 145.

37 Also note Wellhausen's observation that long locks dangling from the temples were a characteristic mark of the young man, although he is apparently referring primarily to a Bedouin context (Wellhausen, *Reste*, 198).

38 Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-qurba fī aḥkām al-ḥisba*, ed. Muḥammad Maḥmūd Shaʿbān and Ṣiddīq Aḥmad ʿĪsā al-Muṭīʿī (Cairo: al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma lil-Kitāb, 1976), 293;

luxurious locks could be a manifestation of luxury and indulgence is also consistent with one of the symbolic resonances attributed to the Qur'ānic *nāṣiya*. Some commentators interpreted the reference to the "forelock" in chapter 96 of the Qur'ān, which is commonly understood to refer to the Prophet's pagan and hostile uncle Abū Jahl, as an allusion to his love of tending and perfuming his hair.[39] Just as the care of the hair (particularly of long hair) was taken as a sign of luxury and indulgence, the shearing of hair was taken as a signifier of humility (or of humiliation).[40]

Rooted in pre-Islamic Arabian practice—or at least in the image of it that was cultivated and cherished by later Muslims—the "shearing of forelocks" thus had a long and checkered career. It displaced a practical social transaction (the magnanimous release of a prisoner of war, and the debt of gratitude that it created) into the realm of religious expression. Within the religious realm, it seems to have made a transition from a pre-battle self-dedication by religious insurgents to an act of commitment to the religious life by aspiring mystics—and, ultimately, by ordinary Muslims inspired to more fervent piety by skillful popular preachers. The "shearing of locks" remained a flexible and contextually specific form of religious expression. Given the centrality of sexual sin as an object of penitence, the shearing of hair may have carried some overtones of sexual renunciation (as might be suggested by Leach's model); it also reflected submission to a socially-sanctioned disciplinary regime (as suggested by Hallpike's). Daniella Talmon-Heller has demonstrated that in the context of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī's crusade sermons, the motif of dedication to battle once again came to the fore.[41] Although rooted in pagan practice and in the example of schismatic warriors, the cutting of hair was co-opted by preachers of a fervent Sunnī normativity; while laden with religious resonance, it was a rare ritual gesture that almost completely eluded the framework of the *sharīʿa*.

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see also Louise Marlow, *Hierarchy and Egalitarianism in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 167.

39 See al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Qummī al-Naysābūrī, *Gharāʾib al-Qurʾān wa-raghāʾib al-furqān*, ed. Ibrāhīm ʿAṭwa ʿAwaḍ, 30 vols. in 10 (Cairo: Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Ḥalabī wa-Shurakāʾuh, 1390/[1970]), 30:139; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, 32 vols. in 16 ([Tehran?]: n.p., 1980]), 32:24.

40 See Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ*, 20:85.

41 Talmon-Heller, *Islamic Piety*, 131–133.

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CHAPTER 9

Authority in Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī's *Kitāb al-nawādir wa-l-ziyādāt ʿalā mā fī l-Mudawwana min ghayrihā min al-ummahāt*: "The Chapter of Judgments" (*Kitāb al-aqḍiya*)

Mohammad Fadel

1 Introduction: *Ḥadīth* versus *Raʾy* or *Ḥadīth* and *Raʾy*?

The study of early Islamic legal history, in important respects, continues to be dominated by a quest for origins. In its most simplistic form, this quest for origins breaks down into two competing positions. The first, which can be described as the position of Islamic orthodoxy, believes that the rules of Islamic law derive primarily from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad as set forth in both the Qurʾān and his practice (*sunna*), and the practice of his immediate followers and their successors. The work of the *mujtahid*-imams Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796), Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) of the latter half of the first and first quarter of the second *hijrī* centuries, on this view, was largely one of interpretation, systemization, and organization of a legal system the broad outlines of which (including its jurisprudential doctrines regarding sources of law) had already come into existence some one hundred years earlier.[1] The second, which can be described as the position of modern revisionist scholarship, expresses differing degrees of skepticism toward the orthodox Islamic position. Some revisionist scholars go so far as to cast doubt on the historical existence of the Prophet Muḥammad or that the Qurʾānic text was fixed by the time of the Prophet Muḥammad's death;[2] other revisionist scholars, while accepting the historicity of the Qurʾānic text, reject the historicity of the Prophetic *sunna*

1 See, for example, Muhammad Mustafa Azami, *On Schacht's* Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence (Riyadh: King Saud University, 1984).

2 See, for example, Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) and John Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

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in favor of an anonymous communal *sunna* that was transformed into the concept of Prophetic *sunna* by the work of later jurists.[3]

Scholars of the revisionist camp, however, agree that Muslim jurists did not have a theory of the material sources of law that privileged the Prophet's *sunna* until al-Shāfiʿī set forth his theory of the sources of Islamic jurisprudence in his celebrated *al-Risāla*. In addition to laying out the rudiments of what would later become the highly-developed science of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, al-Shāfiʿī is commonly credited by modern revisionist scholars as having established for the first time in Islamic law the predominance of Prophetic *ḥadīth* over other sources of law. As such the formally valid Prophetic *ḥadīth* (*al-ḥadīth al-ṣaḥīḥ al-muttaṣil*), in the view of revisionist scholars, gains its place as the preeminent legal proof among jurists primarily as a result of al-Shāfiʿī's labors.

Professor Norman Calder, in his work *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence*, further develops the implications of the revisionist position by arguing that one can divide texts of Islamic jurisprudence into two generic categories, discursive and hermeneutical. The former are texts that are structured in the form of a dialogue, typically through the "use of the *qultu/qāla* device."[4] The latter are texts that "purport [...] to derive the law exegetically from Prophetic sources."[5] Based on this typology of legal texts, Calder concludes that the *Mudawwana* should be viewed as belonging "to the oldest discernible phase of Muslim juristic thought," given that "[i]t has a discursive approach ... adequately symbolized in the phrase *a-raʾayta*"; "[t]he dominant figures of authority are Medinese jurists of earlier generations, above all ... Mālik himself"; and, although legal judgments attributed to companions were "incorporated in significant numbers ... Prophetic were relatively few and are for the most part clearly secondary."[6] Given the discursive structure of the *Mudawwana*, Calder concludes that "[i]t is ... difficult to accept that there was widespread recognition of the authority of Prophetic hadith—for legal purposes—much before [the] date [of the fixing of the *Mudawwana*]."[7]

In contrast to the *Mudawwana*, Calder argues that the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik is a hermeneutical text that relies on an "'apostolic' theory of authority." Structurally, the text of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* formally subordinates Mālik's authority "to that of the Prophet, Companions, and Successors."[8] Moreover, because Mālik's

3 See, for example, Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959).

4 Norman Calder, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 8.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., 19.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid., 23.

views in the *Muwaṭṭa'* are inevitably prefaced by the statement "*qāla Mālik*," and because such statements invariably appear after the text lists a variety of authority statements, e.g., Prophetic, Companion or Successor *ḥadīth*s the *Muwaṭṭa'*'s structure "takes on the appearance of commentary and thereby initiates the problem of a hermeneutic approach to the law."[9] Based on the structural differences in the *Mudawwana* and the *Muwaṭṭa'*, Calder famously concludes that the *Muwaṭṭa'* "represents a later stage in the development of Islamic juristic theory than the *Mudawwana*."[10] According to Calder, the discursive approach to law continued to prevail in Mālikism until the latter half of the third *hijrī* century when Baqī b. Makhlad (d. 276/889) returned to Andalusia from a scholarly journey to the east and "filled the land of Andalus with *ḥadīth* and *riwāya*."[11] While Andalusian Mālikīs resisted this development, Baqī, according to Calder, enjoyed the backing of the Andalusi Umayyad rulers, and thus was successful in removing independent juristic judgment (*ra'y*) from its pride of place in Mālikī jurisprudence and replacing it with *ḥadīth*, a development Calder argues is reflected in "the transition from the *Mudawwana* to the *Muwaṭṭa'*."[12]

The recently published study of Miklos Muranyi, in which he conducted a detailed analysis and collation of thousands of manuscript fragments (*ajzā'*) of the *Mudawwana* taken from collections in the libraries of the Qayrawān mosque and the Qarawiyyīn mosque in Fez, casts considerable doubt on Calder's dating of the *Mudawwana* and the *Muwaṭṭa'*.[13] Likewise, recent work of historians of Islamic Spain have cast doubt on the importance of the *Muwaṭṭa'* to subsequent developments in Andalusian Mālikism, stressing instead the continued centrality of Mālik's *ra'y*—and hence that of the *Mudawwana*—to the development of Andalusi Mālikism centuries after Calder proposed the demise of *ra'y* and the triumph of *ḥadīth*.[14]

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9 Ibid., 24.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid., 36.

12 Ibid., 37.

13 See, for example, Joseph E. Lowry, "Reviewed works: *Die Rechtsbücher des Qairawāners Saḥnūn B. Sa'īd: Entstehungsgeschichte und Werküberlieferung* by Miklos Muranyi," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123 (2003): 438–440, at 439 (stating that "Muranyi has surely disproved Calder's imaginative reconstruction" of the relative dating of the *Mudawwana* and the *Muwaṭṭa'*).

14 See Alfonso Carmona, "The Introduction of Mālik's Teachings in Andalus," in *The Islamic School of Law: Evolution, Devolution and Progress*, ed. Peri Bearman, Rudolph Peters and Frank Vogel (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 41–56, and Maribel Fierro, "Proto-Mālikīs, Mālikīs, and Reformed Mālikīs in al-Andalus," in ibid., 57–76.

This article also offers a critique of Calder, but one that focuses more on his jurisprudential assumptions regarding the historical trajectory of the development of Islamic jurisprudence rather than the dating of early Islamic legal texts. Calder's work is based on the important observation that genre is relevant to understanding a legal text, and that by paying careful attention to the structure of authority in a legal text, one can glean important insights regarding the implicit jurisprudence animating that text. Calder's conclusion that the *Mudawwana* preceded the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* was largely a result of his assumption that the jurisprudences of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* and the *Mudawwana* were incompatible and therefore, that one had to succeed the other. Because he believed that reliance on *ḥadīth* postdated *raʾy* as a matter of the historical development of Islamic jurisprudential theory, he concluded that the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* could not have been authored prior to the *Mudawwana*, contrary to the claims of traditional Muslim legal historians. Calder never seriously entertained the possibility that both texts shared an implicit jurisprudence that could have simultaneously accounted for the authority structure of each work. To the extent that the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* and the *Mudawwana* share a common jurisprudence, it would not be surprising to learn that far from one text dominating the other, each continued to play vital, although distinct, roles within the Mālikī tradition. Even if Calder was mistaken in his dating of the *Mudawwana* and the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, his question remains both relevant and unanswered: how is it possible to reconcile the different authority structures of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* and the *Mudawwana*? My proposed answer is quite simple, if not necessarily simplistic: different authority structures can coexist in any legal system, including the Islamic one. Specifically, the Mālikī legal tradition could have, to use Calder's terminology, simultaneous commitments to an exegetical tradition and to a discursive one because it adopted an exegetical approach that narrowly construed authoritative texts.[15]

15 An example of such an approach may be found in Ibn al-Labbād (d. 333/944), a fourth-century AH Mālikī jurist of Qayrawān who penned a spirited defense of Mālik against al-Shāfiʿī. In defense of Mālik's rule that a dog's saliva is not impure, and in opposition to al-Shāfiʿī, Ibn al-Labbād argued that a Prophetic *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet ordered special steps to be taken to purify any vessel (*ināʾ*) licked by a dog did not provide any textual basis to conclude that a dog's saliva was impure (*najis*) or that food licked by a dog became impure as a result. Mālik's rule was proof that Mālik hewed more closely to the words of the Prophet Muḥammad than al-Shāfiʿī, who took the *ḥadīth* as general proof that a dog's saliva was impure. In other words, Ibn al-Labbād accused al-Shāfiʿī of engaging in a kind of rationalist process of generalization under the guise of simply following the Prophet's words. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Labbād, *Kitāb al-radd ʿalā l-Shāfiʿī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Majīd b. Ḥamda (Tunis: Dār al-ʿArab, 1986), 53.

Logically, the narrower the interpretive approach that is taken to authoritative texts, the broader the scope for a discursive practice of law would be. Calder's approach to early Islamic jurisprudence, by contrast, is binary: a text is either authoritative (and hence stands in need of proper exegesis) or it is part of a discursive structure unconnected to apostolic authority. But there is no logical reason to assume that apostolic/exegetical authority can only exist at the expense or even the exclusion of discursive authority.

2 *Ḥadīth* and *Raʾy* in the Fourth-Hijrī Century: The Case of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī's *Kitāb al-nawādir wa-l-ziyādāt*

This article will establish that both exegetical and discursive structures of legal authority coexisted in the Mālikī tradition subsequent to the alleged triumph of *ḥadīth* over *raʾy* through an analysis of the authority structure of two issues in the *Kitāb al-aqḍiya* (The Chapter of Judgments) from the fourth-century work *Kitāb al-nawādir wa-l-ziyādāt* by the celebrated North African Mālikī jurist of Qayrawān, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996).[16] The first is the rules governing entering judgment against an absent defendant (*al-qaḍāʾ ʿalā l-ghāʾib*) and the second is whether a judge's ruling changes the moral obligations of the litigants (*mā lā yaḥill bi-ḥukm al-ḥākim wa-mā yaḥill bi-ḥukmih*).

The *Nawādir* is encyclopedic. Its stated goal is the collection of Mālik's legal teachings, as well as those of his students (and sometimes his students' students) that were not included in the *Mudawwana*. Given the breadth and size of the text, fifteen volumes in its printed version, it would be hazardous to venture any generalizations about the overall authority structure of the work. The *Kitāb al-aqḍiya*, however, is more manageable. It appears in volume 8 of the printed edition, between *al-Juzʾ al-thānī min kitāb adab al-qaḍāʾ* and *Kitāb al-shahādāt al-awwal*, and is a rather modest 103 printed pages in length.[17] Studying the *Nawādir* should also be helpful for understanding the practical development of Islamic jurisprudence in the century following the traditional

16 Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, *al-Nawādir wa-l-ziyādāt ʿalā mā fī l-Mudawwana min ghayrihā min al-ummahāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw, 15 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1999). While Professor al-Ḥulw oversaw the editing of the entire series, other scholars may have edited individual volumes, including vol. 8 of the *Nawādir* which contains *Kitāb al-aqḍiya*, and was edited by Muḥammad al-Amīn Bū Khabza.

17 *Nawādir*, 8:143–246.

dating of the *Mudawwana*. Ibn Abī Zayd is a late enough figure for us to assume he was reasonably aware of the jurisprudential debates that had been raging in Islamic legal circles for the previous 200 years, and that this awareness would be reflected in the nature of the arguments he made in his book as well as the authorities he cited. In particular, we can assume that if in fact *ḥadīth* had triumphed over *raʾy* as suggested by Calder, Ibn Abī Zayd would be predisposed to citing *ḥadīth* in favor of legal rules—at least in controversial contexts—over the opinion of Mālikī jurists.

While the issue of *al-qaḍāʾ ʿalā l-ghāʾib* appears to be a very technical one, it generated an enduring controversy between the Mālikīs, who generally permitted it, and the Ḥanafīs, who rejected it.[18] The controversial nature of the issue makes it especially fertile ground to test the teleological hypothesis of Calder which asserts that the progress of Islamic law is marked by a transition from discursive argumentation to exegetical commentary marked by an increased deference to authority statements, typically Prophetic *ḥadīth*. I will contrast Ibn Abī Zayd's treatment of this question with his treatment of another controversial issue: whether the judge's ruling changes the moral status of the act in controversy between the parties to a dispute. While the Ḥanafīs and the Mālikīs take different positions on this question as well, Ibn Abī Zayd in that context deployed arguments that relied on Prophetic authority, while he did not with respect to the first question, even though there were *ḥadīth*s that would appear to have been relevant to this question.[19]

To better describe the authority structure of the *Nawādir* with respect to these two issues, I will begin by giving an account of the sources used and whether they are unique to the Mālikī school, and thus part of the Mālikī discursive tradition, or whether they are authority statements, e.g., Prophetic or Companion *ḥadīth*, that transcend *madhhab*-affiliation and instead call for exegesis rather than dialogue. I will then proceed to discuss some of the dif-

18 For an excellent discussion of Ḥanafī doctrine on this question, see Farhat J. Ziadeh, "Compelling Defendant's Appearance at Court in Islamic Law," *Islamic Law and Society* 3 (1996): 305–315. Indeed, Ḥanafī judges in the Ottoman Empire refused to enforce decisions of non-Ḥanafī judges entered against absentee defendants. Rudolph Peters, "What Does it Mean to be an Official *Madhhab*? Hanafism and the Ottoman Empire," in *The Islamic School of Law*, ed. Bearman et al., 156.

19 Indeed, al-Bukhārī had apparently argued for the permissibility of entering a judgment against an absent defendant using a *ḥadīth* reported by Hind bt. Abī Sufyān. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (Cairo: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 1990), 11:52 (no. 6419). Ibn Rushd would later dismiss this argument as weak without attributing the view to al-Bukhārī. See text at n. 32, *infra*.

ferent *ḥadīth*s that could have been relevant to the discussion, whether or not included in the *Nawādir*. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of what these two issues—the legitimacy of ruling against an absentee defendant and whether the judge's ruling changes the moral status of the act in controversy—tells us about Ibn Abī Zayd's understanding of the relationship of discursive reasoning to exegetical reasoning. While answering the question of the jurisprudential relationship of authoritative texts to discursive authority in the first two hundred and fifty years of Islamic history is beyond the scope of this article, the fact that they could coexist one hundred years after Calder declared the demise of *raʾy* at least raises the possibility that they coexisted in early centuries.

3 Discursive Authority in the *Nawādir*: The Case of Entering Judgment against an Absentee Defendant

The *Mudawwana*—but not the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*[20]—has several texts attributing to Mālik the view that a judge may enter judgment against a defendant who is absent from the court's proceedings.[21] In some of the cases discussed in the *Mudawwana*, the *Mudawwana* takes the view that, where the plaintiff seeks to sue an absentee defendant, the court should hear the plaintiff's evidence and even proceed to judgment against that defendant, subject only to the defendant's right to challenge the evidence entered against him in the event of his return.[22] Only if the defendant was located at a distance of a few days' journey from the court,[23] or if the object of the lawsuit involved real property (*al-dūr*),[24] was the judge obligated to stay the plaintiff's case and order the defendant to appear. Other opinions in the *Mudawwana*, however, suggest that the judge ought to wait for the defendant to make an appearance in court before ruling.[25] All, or substantially all, of the opinions attributed to Mālik on this question in the *Mudawwana* are reported either directly or indirectly by Mālik's most famous student, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim (d. 191/806). Sometimes, Ibn al-Qāsim also reports his own opinion in the *Mudawwana* in

20 I could not find a reference to this issue either in the recension of Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā or that of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī.

21 See, for example, Saḥnūn b. Saʿīd, *al-Mudawwana al-kubrā*, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), 4: 77, 188, 243, 255, 290, and 505.

22 Ibid., 4:77.

23 Ibid., 4:188.

24 Ibid., 4:243.

25 Ibid., 4:255.

response to Saḥnūn in circumstances where he did not know whether Mālik had a view. The primary function of the *Nawādir*, as suggested by its name, is to supplement the *Mudawwana*'s teachings by collecting the teachings of Mālik, his students, and his students' students, as set forth in sources other than the *Mudawwana*.

Ibn Abī Zayd references at least five books in the course of his discussion of this issue: *al-Majmūʿa*, *al-ʿUtbiyya*, *Kitāb Ibn Saḥnūn*, *Kitāb Ibn Ḥabīb* and *Kitāb Ibn al-Mawwāz*. Along with the *Mudawwana*, these works, with the exception of *Kitāb Ibn Saḥnūn*, comprise the primary sources of Mālikī substantive law, and all are attributed to authors who lived in the first half of the third *hijrī* century.[26] In the course of nine printed pages discussing the issue of judgments against absentee defendants,[27] Ibn Abī Zayd indirectly cites the views of ten early Mālikī authorities through these sources: ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238/852–853); Saḥnūn (d. 240/854–855); Ibn al-Qāsim; Ashhab (d. 203/818); Ibn al-Mājishūn (d. 212 or 214/827 or 829); Aṣbagh b. al-Faraj (d. 224–225/839–840); Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 282/896); Shajara b. ʿĪsā al-Maʿāfirī (d. 232/846); Ḥabīb b. Naṣr (d. 287/900); and Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn (d. 256/870).

While it would be dangerous to generalize about the kinds of texts included in these five sources, it is clear that Ibn Abī Zayd did not rely on them for Prophetic or Companion *ḥadīth* to support the position of the Mālikīs against the Ḥanafīs, at least with respect to the issue of *al-qaḍāʾ ʿalā l-ghāʾib*. Throughout his discussion of this issue, Ibn Abī Zayd did not include any proof-text from the Prophet, although some of his authorities refer to actions of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb that were indirectly relevant.[28] Instead, he established the legitimacy of the Mālikī position as against the Ḥanafīs by citing Ibn Ḥabīb's discursive argument in the *Majmūʿa* that if one accepts the rule that judgments entered

26 The author of *al-Majmūʿa* was Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdūs (d. 260–261/873–874). The author of *al-ʿUtbiyya*, also known as *al-Mustakhraja*, was Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿUtbī al-Qurṭubī (d. ca. 254–255/868–869). The author of *Kitāb Ibn Ḥabīb*, also known as *al-Wāḍiḥa*, was ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb b. Sulaymān al-Sulamī al-Andalusī (d. 238/852–853). The author of *Kitāb Ibn al-Mawwāz*, also known as *al-Mawwāziyya*, was Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mawwāz (d. 269/883). Along with the *Mudawwana*, these works are called *al-ummahāt*. Ibn ʿAbdūs and Ibn Saḥnūn were Qayrawānī scholars; al-ʿUtbī and Ibn Ḥabīb were Andalusians; and Ibn al-Mawwāz was an Egyptian from Alexandria.

27 *Nawādir*, 8:197–205.

28 *Nawādir*, 8:198, stating that ʿUmar entered legal judgments against missing persons who were presumed dead (*mafqūd*).

against an agent bind the agent's principal, as the Ḥanafīs do, then one cannot object to a judge hearing a case and entering a judgment against an absentee defendant, because in each case, the defendant is bound despite his absence from the proceedings.[29]

Indeed, Ibn Ḥabīb adduced other examples of Ḥanafī rules that effectively permit a judge to enter a judgment against a party who is absent from the proceedings. One such rule is the judgment of a court adjudicating the life or death of a missing person (*al-mafqūd*). In this case, the Ḥanafīs allowed a judge to declare the missing party deceased based on the testimony of two witnesses, with the result that the missing person's wife becomes free to re-marry, his *umm walad* becomes free, and any of his slaves whom he had designated for emancipation upon his death (*mudabbar*) also attain their freedom, all of this despite the absence of a corpse conclusively proving the death of the missing person. Another such rule is the decision of a court to impose monetary liability on the kingroup (*al-ʿāqila*) of a defendant found guilty of negligent homicide (*qatl al-khaṭaʾ*), even though the kin group is not a party to the trial. A third example is that the Ḥanafīs permit the wife of an absentee husband to obtain a court order permitting her to attach her absent husband's assets in order to provide for her living expenses as well as those of her children.[30]

With the exception of a summary reference to the fact that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had entered judgment against missing persons presumed to be dead,[31] Mālik's early followers, at least to the extent that Ibn Abī Zayd reproduced their arguments accurately, did not resort to exegetical argument to refute the Ḥanafī position. Instead, their arguments were purely discursive in the sense advanced by Calder since they take as propositions positions accepted as true from the perspective of the relevant discursive tradition, in this case the emerging body of Ḥanafī legal doctrine, and try to show why the rational integrity of that tradition should compel it to accept the legitimacy of judgments against defendants who are absent from the proceeding.

But what about Ibn Abī Zayd himself? Did he adduce any exegetical material in favor of the Mālikī position? His approach may be profitably contrasted with that taken approximately two centuries later by Ibn Rushd the Grandson (Averroës) (d. 595/1198), the Mālikī Qurṭubī jurist and philosopher. Ibn Rushd, in contrast to Ibn Abī Zayd, cited two *ḥadīth*s, one, a well-known report that contradicted the Mālikī rule and the other, a report that the Mālikīs cited

29 *Nawādir*, 8:197–198.

30 *Nawādir*, 8:198.

31 See note 28, *supra*.

as evidence in support of their position. Ibn Rushd, however, dismissed the Mālikī's use of that report as a poor argument.[32] Ibn Abī Zayd, however, appears indifferent to justifying the Mālikī rule on the basis of an apostolic proof-text in the sense Calder used that term. What may be particularly significant is that Ibn Abī Zayd did not even make a passing reference to a *ḥadīth* attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in which, after the Prophet appointed him to serve as a judge in Yemen, the Prophet reportedly asked God to bless ʿAlī in his judicial task and told him, "When the two disputants appear before you, do not rule for the first until you hear from the second."[33] There were also credible reports that prominent figures from the generation of the Successors did not permit a judge to rule against an absentee defendant. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī, under the chapter heading "No Judgments May Be Entered Against an Absentee [Defendant]," included in his *Muṣannaf* two Successor proof-texts, one from Shurayḥ and one from ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Ibn Abī Shayba also included in his *Muṣannaf* a report from the generation of the Successors rejecting the practice.[34]

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32 According to the *ḥadīth* relied upon by the Mālikīs, Hind bt. ʿUtba complained to the Prophet that her husband, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb was niggardly and failed to provide adequately for her and her children's needs. In response, the Prophet was reported to have instructed her to take from her husband's property an amount sufficient for her and her children. Abū l-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mujtahid wa-nihāyat al-muqtaṣid*, 6 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1996), 6:232.

33 This *ḥadīth* appears in various collections with slight changes in wording through the *isnād* Simāk → Ḥanash → ʿAlī → the Prophet, with the exception of the version appearing in the *Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān*, where the *isnād* is Simāk → ʿIkrima → ʿAbbās → ʿAlī → the Prophet. The *ḥadīth* can be found in: Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. al-Ashʿath al-Sijistānī al-Azdī, *al-Sunan*, ed. ʿIzzat ʿUbayd al-Daʿʿās and ʿĀdil al-Sayyid, 5 vols. (Ḥimṣ: Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Sayyid, 1974), 4:11–12 (no. 3582); Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sunan*, 10 vols. (Ḥimṣ: Dār al-Daʿwa, 1968), 5:10–11 (no. 1331); Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, ed. Aḥmad Shākir, 22 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1947), 2:83 (no. 690), 165 (no. 882), 289 (no. 1210), 317 (no. 1280), and 318 (no. 1284); Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Jārūd al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Musnad*, ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī, 4 vols. (Cairo: Hajar, 1999), 1:115–116 (no. 127); ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Balabān al-Fārisī, *al-Iḥsān fī taqrīb Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnaʾūṭ, 18 vols. (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1988), 2:451–452 (no. 5065); Abū Bakr ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf Ibn Abī Shayba*, ed. Ḥamad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Jumʿa and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Laḥīdān, 16 vols. (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd Nāshirūn, 2004), 7:757–758 (no. 23493) and 9:500 (no. 29585).

34 ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, 11 vols. (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1970), 8:304–305 (nos. 15306, 15307); Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, 7:758 (no. 23494).

While from an exegetical perspective, a skilled interpreter could easily explain why this *ḥadīth* does not rule out the possibility of entering judgment against an absent defendant, its plain meaning certainly could be taken to prohibit such a procedure. Ibn Abī Zayd, who probably would have been aware of this *ḥadīth*, appears to have been indifferent to resolving the tension between this *ḥadīth*'s plain meaning and the well-established Mālikī rule set forth in the *Mudawwana* permitting judges to enter rulings against absentee defendants. Because it would be rash to conclude, based on Ibn Abī Zayd's indifference to the citation of *ḥadīth* and other proof-texts, that *al-Nawādir* was in fact a second-century text rather than a late fourth-century text, the structure of the *Nawādir* demands a jurisprudential theory that goes beyond an assumed teleological development of Islamic legal reasoning from *raʾy* to *ḥadīth*.[35] To put the question differently, if Ibn Abī Zayd was not interested in justifying the rules of Mālikī law from an exegetical perspective, what was he doing in *al-Nawādir*, at least with respect to the question at hand, and what would have led him to believe that his task was consistent with the jurisprudential primacy of Prophetic *sunna*?

The simple answer is that he may have been gathering the relevant views of leading Mālikī scholars in order to provide a convenient reference for the solution of practical problems facing the administration of justice. In other words, from the perspective of the legal system, answering the threshold question of whether proceedings against an absent defendant are legitimate does not then provide the legal system with any rules as to how such proceedings should be conducted. Accordingly, the "exegetical" question of permissibility, by its very nature, does little to establish a set of rules designed to be applied by courts. Having taken the position that this controversial procedure is permissible, the task of Mālikī jurists was to develop a set of rules governing how this procedure could be implemented. The contribution of Ibn Abī Zayd was to assist in developing a coherent set of rules governing how this procedure would operate, a task that required going beyond the rudimentary teachings of the *Mudawwana*.

Having taken the view, at least implicitly, that the rule derived from various proof-texts requiring judges to hear both sides of a dispute before reaching a decision, is not categorical, the Mālikīs then faced the problem of working out the circumstances in which such proceedings are legitimate. That task

35 Indeed, elsewhere, Ibn Abī Zayd shows himself perfectly capable of citing *ḥadīth* when it suits him. See, for example, *Nawādir*, 8:6 (quoting *ḥadīth*s from the Prophet Muḥammad found in the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī on judging).

necessarily had to be discursive because there were no authoritative texts supporting the practice. Discursive reasoning, as a matter of jurisprudence, therefore, could have operated interstitially to fill in the gaps of texts having, to use Calder's term, "apostolic authority." There is no reason to believe that a text based on apostolic authority such as the *Muwaṭṭa'* is inconsistent with a discursive text such as the *Mudawwana* if one's jurisprudence allows for the possibility that "apostolic authority" may be incomplete and is therefore in need of other forms of authority to further its ends.[36]

This appears to be the implicit jurisprudential approach of Ibn Abī Zayd to this question. From an exegetical perspective, Ibn Abī Zayd might be imagined to say on behalf of the Mālikīs something to the effect that

> While it is true that a judge is ordinarily prohibited from entering a judgment against an absentee defendant, Muslims are also under an obligation to satisfy just claims, and accordingly, a just claim should not be defeated by virtue of the fact that the defendant, for whatever reason, cannot be brought before the court. Judges are required to hear both sides of a dispute only to protect the rights of both parties. Accordingly, where it is possible to protect the rights of the absentee defendant, there is no reason to prevent the plaintiff from presenting his claim just because the defendant cannot be found.

The goal of Mālikī jurists then is to determine, as precisely as possible, those circumstances in which it is "possible" to permit a judge to hear a legal claim despite the defendant's absence. For this reason, Ibn Abī Zayd's discussion proceeds as a string of opinions of early Mālikī authorities who were essentially giving their views on the circumstances in which a judicial proceeding against an absentee defendant would be just.

4 Early Mālikī Doctrine on *al-qaḍā' ʿalā l-ghā'ib*

Early Mālikīs, despite their broad agreement that judgment against an absentee defendant was a permissible procedure in certain circumstances, disagreed as to what those circumstances were. Early Mālikī authorities adopted two

36 As an aside, the absence of any authoritative texts supporting the Mālikī position is at odds with the often casual presumption that Muslim jurists could manufacture *ḥadīth*s virtually at will to support their controversial positions.

basic approaches to this problem, both of which appear to have a basis in the *Mudawwana*. The first approach is based on the nature of the claim. Ibn Abī Zayd cites the *Majmūʿa* as quoting Ibn al-Qāsim for the proposition that Mālik's view of the legitimacy of a proceeding against an absentee defendant depended on the nature of the claim. If the claim was personal to the defendant (*dayn*), there was no objection to trying the plaintiff's claim provided that the defendant was located at a distance exceeding a journey of more than a few days from the court. On the other hand, if the claim involved property that was ordinarily evidenced by a deed (*ḥujja/ḥijāj*), such as real property, then the judge could not proceed without the defendant unless the defendant had repaired from the jurisdiction to a distant land, such as Andalusia relative to Egypt. Ibn al-Qāsim reportedly affirmed this doctrine, both in the *Mudawwana*[37] and according to Ibn Abī Zayd,[38] in the *Majmūʿa*, but permitted an exception where the defendant had abandoned the jurisdiction and taken up residence in a distant land, such as Andalusia or Tangiers with respect to Fusṭāṭ. According to Ibn Abī Zayd the distinction between claims involving personal obligations and claims involving ownership of real property was also reported by other Mālikī authorities such as Aṣbagh[39] and Muḥammad b. al-Mawwāz.[40]

The second approach was a notice-based theory: a judge could proceed against an absent defendant provided that he has exhausted all reasonable means of providing an opportunity for the defendant to answer the claim brought against him, regardless of whether the claim relates to a debt or ownership of real property. This trend among early Mālikī jurists is broadly consistent with Mālik's statement in the *Mudawwana* that a judge should not enter judgment against an absentee defendant's real property, but should instead "wait for him to appear."[41] This line of reasoning, at least as presented by Ibn Abī Zayd, was most closely associated with Ibn al-Mājishūn, who opined that regardless of the nature of the claim, the judge could not enter a judgment against an absentee defendant without first exhausting reasonable methods to secure the defendant's appearance. Accordingly, the judge would give the absentee defendant a deadline by which he must appear, based on the judge's determination of the distance between the court and the defendant. If the defendant still failed

37 *Mudawwana*, 4:243.

38 *Nawādir*, 8:198.

39 Ibn Abī Zayd quotes *Kitāb Ibn Ḥabīb* as reporting Ibn al-Qāsim's view on this issue as well as that Aṣbagh also accepted the distinction between personal claims and real property. Ibid., 201–202. See note 26, *supra*, and the text related thereto.

40 Ibid., 204. See note 26, *supra*, and the text related thereto.

41 *Mudawwana*, 4:255 ("*yusta'nā bih*").

to show up, the judge should establish a second deadline on the assumption that the defendant was located at the furthest point possible (but presumably within the territory of the Islamic state) from the court. The court should also seek out the defendant's agent if he had one, or anyone else who took an interest in his affairs, whether a friend or a relative, to assist in resolving the case. Only after taking these measures could the judge enter a judgment against the absent defendant.[42]

While the different approaches to the threshold question of when a judge may enter judgment against an absentee defendant had roots in the *Mudawwana*, other important aspects of Mālikī doctrine on this issue did not, but instead were derivative of the approach taken to the threshold conditions of permissibility. For example, for those jurists who believed that claims against real property were different from claims involving personal obligations, it was necessary to determine the precise boundaries of the quasi-immunity from the suit that real estate enjoyed so long as its possessor/owner was absent. Suppose a plaintiff had won a judgment against an absent defendant based on an unpaid debt, could the prevailing plaintiff then ask the authorities to sell the defendant's real property in order to satisfy the debt owed to him by the absentee defendant? What about a plaintiff who did not claim that he owned the entirety of the property, but rather that he was a co-owner, along with the current possessor, by means of an inheritance? Could a person possessing a right of first refusal to a parcel of land exercise that right in the absence of the putative purchaser of the realty? Could a non-owner retrieve personal property located on the premises of the absentee defendant-owner? Could a landlord sue a tenant for eviction if the tenant had disappeared, but left his family on the premises? These were some of the particular questions according to Ibn Abī Zayd that were discussed by the generation of Mālik's students and their students arising out of the rule permitting a judge to rule against an absentee defendant while providing a kind of exemption to suits involving real estate.[43]

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42 *Nawādir*, 8:200, 202. According to Ibn Abī Zayd, Ibn al-Mājishūn's views were preserved in the *Majmūʿa* as well as *Kitāb Ibn Ḥabīb*. Ibn Ḥabīb, as reported by Ibn Abī Zayd, also attributed to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam the position that a judge could enter a judgment against an absentee defendant regardless of the nature of the claim.

43 With respect to the first question, Ibn al-Mawwāz, despite his refusal to permit suits against an absentee defendant that challenged his ownership of real property, permitted courts to seize and sell the real property of an absentee defendant to satisfy a personal judgment against that defendant (ibid., 204). With respect to the second question, Ibn Ḥabīb took the view that, after the plaintiff produces evidence of his co-ownership of the property by way of inheritance, the judge should give the defendant an opportunity

All Mālikī jurists, regardless of their view on what kinds of claims could be adjudicated with the absence of the defendant, had to consider the legal consequences of the defendant's reappearance after the judgment, whether he had, a right to challenge the initial judgment, and if so, on what grounds. Here, the initial approach to the claim against the absent defendant was determinative of that absentee defendant's rights upon his return. For those jurists who accepted the notion that a judge could rule against an absentee defendant in all claims involving personal obligations, unless the defendant was located sufficiently close to the court to permit him to be summoned without causing more than a few days' delay, the defendant retained most of his procedural and substantive rights. Accordingly, the returning defendant would be allowed to produce evidence to the court exonerating himself from the obligation to the plaintiff, or impeaching the plaintiff's proof. If, upon consideration of the returning defendant's evidence, the court concluded that it had wrongfully ordered the sale of assets belonging to the defendant, the defendant could not reclaim his sold property; instead, he could sue the original plaintiff to recover the proceeds from the judicial sale prompted by that plaintiff's suit.[44] For the jurists who adopted Ibn al-Mājishūn's position, viz. that the judge must exhaust all reasonable means to contact the defendant and give the defendant repeated stays to allow him the opportunity to defend the claim, the absentee defendant, upon his return, could only challenge the judgment on the narrow grounds of the capacity of the plaintiff's witnesses, e.g. that the plaintiff's witnesses were non-Muslims or slaves; however, he could not substantively impeach the plaintiff's witnesses on grounds such as a conflict of interest or introduce his own evidence negating the plaintiff's claim, such as evidence that he had satisfied the obligation.[45]

This contrast seems largely a function of the different approaches later Mālikī jurists take to the initial question of when a judge can proceed against an absentee defendant. Because the first group of jurists was relatively lenient in permitting the judge to proceed against absentee defendants, these scholars

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to respond based on his distance from the forum (ibid., 198–199), but Ashhab was of the view that if there was proof that the absent defendant came to the house by way of recent inheritance rather than purchase, then the judge could rule immediately in favor of the plaintiff who had established his right to a portion of the property (ibid., 202–203). With respect to the third, fourth and fifth questions, Ibn al-Qāsim, as reported in *Kitāb Ibn Ḥabīb*, responded affirmatively (ibid., 203).

44 Ibid., 199 (quoting Ibn Ḥabīb), 200 (quoting *Kitāb Ibn Saḥnūn*), 201 (quoting Aṣbagh), and 204 (quoting *Kitāb Ibn al-Mawwāz*). See note 26, *supra*, and the text related thereto.

45 Ibid., 203 (quoting Ibn al-Mājishūn).

relaxed the normally binding nature of the judgment by allowing the defendant to challenge the substantive ruling if and when he returned to the jurisdiction. The second group of jurists, by contrast, required that rigorous procedural requirements be satisfied before a judge could rule against an absentee defendant, so as a result denied the returning defendant an opportunity to challenge the substance of the ruling if and when he returned.

5 Exegetical Discourse in the *Nawādir*: The Moral and Legal Consequences of a Judge's Verdict

The *Nawādir*, in Calder's terminology, is not exclusively discursive. Ibn Abī Zayd's discussion of the moral effect of a judicial ruling, which appears shortly after Ibn Abī Zayd's discussion of the permissibility of proceedings against an absent defendant, takes an exegetical tack. Titled "Regarding that which does not become licit as a result of a judicial ruling and that which does become licit," it begins with the citation of a *ḥadīth* on the authority of Saḥnūn as quoted in the *Kitāb Ibn Saḥnūn* in which the Prophet Muḥammad is quoted as saying that

> I am only a man. You bring your disputes to me, but one of you may be more persuasive in his argument than the other, leading me to rule for him in accordance with what I have heard from him. So, whosoever I rule in favor of, taking thereby a right of his brother, let him not take it, for I am only awarding him a piece of Hell.[46]

Ibn Abī Zayd's subsequent discussion of this issue involves both exegetical statements, analysis of particular cases, and inter-*madhhab* polemics. Ibn Abī Zayd began by quoting Saḥnūn as saying that the Prophet's statement means that a judge's ruling does not make an act morally licit for the victorious party in circumstances where "if the judge knew what [the victorious] party knew, he would not have ruled in that fashion."[47] The Ḥanafīs, while in general agreement with this principle, make an exception for fraudulently procured divorces, in which case the wife, despite her knowledge that the witnesses committed perjury, could remarry, even if she married one of the witnesses who provided the perjured testimony. In support of the Mālikī interpretation of the

46 Ibid., 233. See also Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 11:47–48 (no. 6409), and 53 (no. 6420); Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1995), 3:1078 (no. 1713).

47 *Nawādir*, 8:233.

ḥadīth, and contrary to the Ḥanafī interpretation, Saḥnūn reported that both the Mālikīs and the Ḥanafīs agreed that if a wife had direct knowledge that her husband had divorced her three times, but he falsely denied it before the judge and she lacked two witnesses to prove her claim, with the result that the judge ruled, contrary to the actual facts, that she continued to be married to her husband, she was nevertheless morally obligated to refuse him sex because, as a moral matter, she was no longer married to him. Indeed, she was permitted to use force to defend herself against him, with some authorities even permitting her the right to employ deadly force.[48] Accordingly, the opposite must also be true, i.e. when the wife knows that she has not been lawfully divorced, she cannot remarry. In a similar vein, Saḥnūn was quoted as saying that if a slave girl knows that her emancipation was the result of perjured testimony, she cannot allow herself to another man, whether by marriage or otherwise.[49]

A judgment procured by perjured testimony, however, is not the only circumstance in which this principle is relevant. Ibn Abī Zayd also reports Saḥnūn's view that the parties' understanding of the applicable law is also relevant. For example, if the parties' subjective view of the law is different from that of the judge, the judge's ruling in favor of one of the parties based on a different theory of the law is of no moral effect with respect to the prevailing party. Thus, if a man divorces his wife irrevocably (*al-battata*), and the wife brings a suit before a judge who views such a divorce as the equivalent of only one divorce, but both the husband and the wife believe that such a divorce is the equivalent of three divorces, a judicial declaration that it is the equivalent of only one divorce does not transform the triple divorce into a single divorce. From a moral perspective, she could not return to her husband unless she first marries and consummates her marriage with another man, and then subsequently is divorced or widowed from the second husband.[50]

Where the parties have a different understanding of the applicable rule, however, and the ruling is consistent with the subjective understanding of the prevailing party, then that prevailing party is morally free to act on that judgment. Ibn Abī Zayd gives the example of a master who says to his slave, "Give me some water," intending thereby to emancipate him. The master, however, does not believe that such a formula of emancipation is binding, and subsequently repudiates the emancipation. The slave, however, believes that even

48 Ibid., 234.

49 Ibid.

50 The result in this case can be explained on the grounds that the lawsuit was fictitious insofar as there was no dispute between the parties as to the law or the facts, and accordingly, there was no case or controversy for the court to resolve.

oblique formulas (*kināyāt*) of emancipation are binding. In this case, if the slave receives a legal judgment declaring that he is free, the slave is morally justified in acting on the ruling.[51]

A judge's ruling does not, however, resolve all cases in which the parties have a different conception of the law. Here, Ibn Abī Zayd quoted Saḥnūn's analysis of a divorce case in which the husband gives his wife an option to divorce (*takhyīr*), which she then exercises to divorce herself (*ikhtārat nafsahā*). If the wife believes that the effect of exercising her divorce option is a triple divorce, but her husband believes that it is only a single divorce and they take their dispute to a judge who believes that this divorce is only a single divorce which preserves the husband's right to resume the marital relationship (*ṭalāq rajʿī*), a ruling in accordance with the husband's view "does not make licit for him what she believes is forbidden, and it does not make it permissible for her to have intercourse with him willingly."[52]

6 Conclusion

In this paper I have argued that Calder's distinction between exegetical authority and discursive authority is meaningful from a jurisprudential perspective, but it is not a useful tool for dating legal texts. Its irrelevance to dating legal texts was demonstrated by a close analysis of sections of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī's encyclopedic work *Kitāb al-nawādir wa-l-ziyādāt* in which I illustrated that Ibn Abī Zayd used both modes of authority in his book. I also argued that discursive authority dominates in cases where there are no revelatory texts that can be credibly deployed to solve the legal issues at hand.

Even where a relevant revelatory text exists, such as the *ḥadīth*s whose plain meaning prohibits a judge from ruling against an absentee defendant, it does not necessarily lead even a post-Shāfiʿī jurist to adopt an exegetical approach to generating rules. One reason is that *ḥadīth* texts are rarely so explicit so as

51 Ibid., 235 (*fa-lil-ʿabd fī mithl hādhā an yadhhab ḥayth shāʾ bi-mā ḥukim lah*).

52 Ibid. This result is problematic to the extent that it deprives the judgment of any moral effect, even though the parties are acting in complete good faith. Indeed, if this were the correct rule, there would be no point in bringing such a case before a judge. Subsequent developments in Mālikī doctrine, however, would reject Ibn Abī Zayd's analysis of this issue in favor of granting moral legitimacy to all judicial decisions in which the parties acted in good faith. See Mohammad Fadel, "Adjudication in the Mālikī Madhhab: a Study of Legal Process in Medieval Islamic Law," (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1995), 104–117.

to exclude rules that are inconsistent with the plain meaning of the *ḥadīth*. Indeed, in the case of the permissibility of a judge proceeding against an absent defendant, Ibn Abī Zayd did not even bother to provide an alternative interpretation for the relevant *ḥadīth*s in defense of the Mālikī position. What accounts, however, for Ibn Abī Zayd's concern with a proper interpretation of the *ḥadīth* regarding the moral effect of a judicial ruling? I believe the answer is theological: whereas *ḥadīth*s pertaining to judicial procedure could be understood as a rule intended to further human welfare, and thus amenable to rational legal analysis, the *ḥadīth* announcing that a false judgment does not change the prevailing party's moral obligations raises a theological question for which discursive legal reasoning may have no role to play.

From a jurisprudential perspective, then, the choice to adopt a discursive strategy or an exegetical one is not binary; they could, and did, coexist in the post-Shāfiʿī period, and there is no reason to believe that they could not have coexisted in the pre-Shāfiʿī period as well. Accordingly, a text that uses an exegetical strategy cannot be taken as prima facie evidence that it is post-Shāfiʿī nor can the fact that a text adopts a discursive structure be taken as evidence that it is a pre-Shāfiʿī text.

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CHAPTER 10

A Segment of the Genealogy of Sunni *Ḥadīth* Criticism: The Mysterious Relationship between al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī

Jonathan Brown

Most scholars and students first encounter the name of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) through citations of his *Tārīkh Baghdād* in the footnotes of articles on classical Islamic political, sectarian or social-intellectual history. I would contend, however, that al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's massive history of Baghdad was never meant to be, nor has it ever been, at heart, a 'classical source' intended to be plumbed by scholars seeking to understand the development of Islamic civilization or its intellectual tradition. The *Tārīkh Baghdād* is ultimately a *ḥadīth* book, its author a *ḥadīth* scholar.

That al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī is a seminal figure in the Sunni *ḥadīth* tradition is difficult to miss.[1] Abū Bakr Ibn Nuqṭa (d. 629/1231) elegized al-Khaṭīb by stating, "No one of sound mind can doubt that the later scholars of *ḥadīth* are

1 For biographies of al-Khaṭīb, see Abū l-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī tārīkh al-umam*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā' and Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā', 19 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1992), 16:129–132; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī fīmā nusiba ilā l-imām Abī l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1399/1979), 268–271; idem, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. ʿUmar al-ʿAmrawī, 80 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995–2000), 5:31–41; Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī Ibn Nuqṭa al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Taqyīd li-maʿrifat ruwāt al-sunan wa-l-masānīd*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1988), 153–155; Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Aybak Ibn al-Dimyāṭī, *al-Mustafād min Dhayl Tārīkh Baghdād*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā' (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1997), 38–42; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, ed. Shuʿayb Arnā'ūṭ and Muḥammad Naʿīm al-ʿAraqsūsī, vol. 18 (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1996), 270–297; idem, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, ed. Zakariyyā ʿUmayrāt, 5 vols. in 3 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1998), 3:221–227; Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, 2nd ed., ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī (Cairo: Dār Hujr, 1413/1992), 4:29–39; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 16th ed., 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm lil-Malāyīn, 2005), 1:172. See also, Fadwa Malti-Douglas, "Controversy and Its Effects in the Biographical Tradition of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī," *Studia Islamica* 46 (1977): 11–131; Maḥmūd al-Ṭaḥḥān, *al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī wa-atharuhu fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* (Beirut: Dār al-Qur'ān al-Karīm, 1401/1981).

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utterly dependent on (*ʿiyāl ʿalā*) Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb."[2] Indeed, there is hardly a topic among the various fields of the *ḥadīth* sciences on which he did not pen a monograph.[3] In addition to specialized treatises, he also authored landmark general compilations on the proper methods of *ḥadīth* transmission, collection and criticism, such as his *al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya* and his *al-Jāmiʿ fī khtilāf al-rāwī wa-ādāb al-sāmiʿ*. If these works constitute the theoretical or instructional component of al-Khaṭīb's *oeuvre*, then his *Tārīkh Baghdād* stands proudly as the actual body of his practice. In it, al-Khaṭīb demonstrates his indefatigable drive to collect as many Prophetic narrations from as many sources as possible as well as his capacity as a critic synthesizing and applying existing critical opinions to his *ḥadīth* corpus. The *Tārīkh* contains a tremendous number of *ḥadīth*s, some 10,000, many of which appear in no other source.[4] In fact, searches for sectarian, ascetic or apocalyptic *ḥadīth*s almost always lead a researcher to the *Tārīkh Baghdād*, the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* of al-Khaṭīb's teacher Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī (d. 438/1040), the massive *Muʿjam*s of Abū Nuʿaym's teacher al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971) or the *Firdaws al-akhbār* of Shīrawayh b. Shahrudār al-Daylamī (d. 509/1115).

In all of his works, al-Khaṭīb maintains two consistent goals: first, to present, analyze and finally judge the varied schools of thought on matters of *ḥadīth* among the generations of Sunni scholars up to his time; second, to accomplish a *rapprochement* between the austere, often hostile textual tradition of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* and the rationalist-inspired Shāfiʿī/Ashʿarī school of law and legal theory to which he belonged.

In his importance to the consolidation and systemization of the Sunni *ḥadīth* tradition in the fifth/eleventh century, al-Khaṭīb had only one rival: a scholar of Naysābūr who died some fifty-five years before al-Khaṭīb, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014). When, two hundred years after the death of al-Ḥākim and the pinnacle of al-Khaṭīb's career, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245) sat down to pen his definitive treatise on the Sunni science of *ḥadīth* criticism, the *Muqaddima*, al-Khaṭīb's and al-Ḥākim's works served as major sources.[5]

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2 Ibn Nuqṭa, *Kitāb al-Taqyīd*, 154.

3 For an extensive list of al-Khaṭīb's surviving works, see al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 1:172.

4 For discussions and evaluations of the *ḥadīth*s in *Tārīkh Baghdād*, see Khaldūn al-Aḥdab, *Zawāʾid Tārīkh Baghdād*, 10 vols. (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1996).

5 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) notes the prominent place of al-Khaṭīb's multitude of writings in the *Muqaddima* of Ibn al-al-Ṣalāḥ; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Nukat ʿalā nuzhat al-naẓar fī tawḍīḥ Nukhbat al-fikar*, ed. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī al-Atharī (Dammam, Saudi Arabia: Dār Ibn al-Jawzī, 2006), 51.

Al-Ḥākim's most influential works are his widely-cited but regrettably lost history of Naysābūr (*Tārīkh Naysābūr*), his two works on the science of *ḥadīth* criticism, the *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* and the *Muqaddima ilā kitāb al-Iklīl*, and finally his voluminous collection of *ḥadīth*s that he believed met the critical requirements of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, the *Mustadrak*.

It is in the relation of al-Khaṭīb to al-Ḥākim that we find the historical "rub."[6] Al-Khaṭīb lived after al-Ḥākim, whose works we know had reached as far as Andalusia even within their author's lifetime, and al-Ḥākim was devoted to the same field of study as al-Khaṭīb: the systemization of the Sunni *ḥadīth* tradition.[7] So why, in al-Khaṭīb's extant works, do we find no appreciation of al-Ḥākim's contribution to the study of *ḥadīth* or any consultation of his scholarly opinions on matters in the field? Put simply, even an extensive reading al-Khaṭīb's works yields no real evidence that al-Ḥākim was anywhere in view on al-Khaṭīb's scholarly horizons. Nowhere in al-Khaṭīb's two surviving monographs on the science of *ḥadīth* collection and criticism, the *Kifāya* and the *Jāmiʿ*, does al-Ḥākim appear as one of the dozens of Sunni *ḥadīth* masters whose opinions carry weight. Nor does al-Khaṭīb, in the *Tārīkh Baghdād*, ever cite al-Ḥākim's expert opinions on matters of *ḥadīth* criticism. Also, in the curriculum of *ḥadīth* study that he suggests for students, al-Khaṭīb lists none of al-Ḥākim's *ḥadīth* books.[8] There seem to be two possible explanations for this omission. Either al-Khaṭīb was aware of al-Ḥākim's work but was unwilling to integrate his opinions into his scholarship, or he did not have sufficient access to al-Ḥākim's *oeuvre*.

Al-Khaṭīb barely missed meeting al-Ḥākim in person. The latter died in Ṣafar 405/August 1014, while al-Khaṭīb arrived in Naysābūr for his first visit to the city six months later in Shaʿbān 405/February 1015 (this was during al-Khaṭīb's years of collecting *ḥadīth*s and before he started narrating them to students, which he began to do in 412/1021–1022).[9] Nonetheless, al-Khaṭīb had access to several

6 Akram Ḍiyāʾ al-ʿUmarī briefly addresses the question of al-Khaṭīb's access to and reliance on al-Ḥākim's works in the *Tārīkh Baghdād* in his *Mawārid al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī fī Tārīkh Baghdād* (Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, 1975). Al-ʿUmarī, however, only notes that al-Khaṭīb received information from al-Ḥākim and stops short of identifying the sources or channels of this material (ibid., 268–275).

7 Jonathan Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 158.

8 See al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Jāmiʿ li-khtilāf al-rāwī wa-ādāb al-sāmiʿ*, ed. Muḥammad Raʾfat Saʿīd, 2 vols. (Mansoura, Egypt: Dār al-Wafāʾ, 2002), 2:213ff. Al-Ḥākim's books also do not appear in the list of the books that al-Khaṭīb brought to Damascus; al-Ṭaḥḥān, 271ff.

9 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭāʾ, 14 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1997), 10:381; idem, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 1:377.

of al-Ḥākim's major students or scholars who had his books. Al-Khaṭīb studied with the pillar of *ḥadīth* scholarship in Isfahan, Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, who we know had received the author's *Tārīkh Naysābūr* and his *Madkhal ilā l-Ṣaḥīḥ* through correspondence with al-Ḥākim.[10] In addition, in Naysābūr al-Khaṭīb attended the *ḥadīth* dictation session of al-Ḥākim's student and colleague, the famous Shāfiʿī/Ashʿarī theologian and legal theorist, Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 418/1027).[11]

Despite such potential areas of contact with al-Ḥākim's legacy, the *Tārīkh Baghdād* gives the impression that al-Khaṭīb may have chosen to maintain a clear distance from the scholar's works and persona. In his brief biography of al-Ḥākim, al-Khaṭīb notes that he had "numerous" books on the science of *ḥadīth* criticism and collection. He also notes how popular and sought after his *Tārīkh Naysābūr* was. Finally, he mentions that al-Ḥākim had compiled a *ḥadīth* collection of those reports that he felt met the critical standards of al-Bukhārī and Muslim but were not included in their two books (clearly the *Mustadrak*). Much of the entry, however, has a distinctly negative tone. He relates a story in which al-Ḥākim casts aspersions on the abilities of the great Baghdad *ḥadīth* scholar and personal role model of al-Khaṭīb, ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385/985). He also notes that al-Ḥākim leaned towards Shiʿism, having declared several excessively pro-ʿAlid *ḥadīth*s to be authentic according to the standards of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.[12]

Upon closer examination, however, the connection between al-Khaṭīb and al-Ḥākim is not as cold and distant as it seems. Al-Khaṭīb often relies on al-Ḥākim through intermediaries as a source for information in the *Tārīkh Baghdād*, the *Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, the *Jāmiʿ fī khtilāf al-rāwī wa-ādāb al-sāmiʿ* and smaller treatises. At first, one might think that al-Khaṭīb's disapproval of al-Ḥākim caused him to attempt to obscure al-Ḥākim as one of his sources. Indeed, al-Khaṭīb refers to al-Ḥākim with almost every possible permutation of his name: Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḍabbī, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Naysābūrī al-Ḥāfiẓ, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Bayyiʿ. Rarely does he refer to him as al-Ḥākim.

After careful consideration, however, it becomes clear that al-Khaṭīb is not at all trying to conceal the identity of his source. We find that al-Khaṭīb received material from al-Ḥākim from five major intermediaries.[13] When broken down

10 Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*, 158; al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 2:119.

11 Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 2:101.

12 Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 3:93–94.

13 There are two other intermediaries as well with very limited roles in al-Khaṭīb's works: al-Khaṭīb's teacher Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī (see al-Khaṭīb, *Majmūʿat rasā'il fī ʿulūm al–*

according to these intermediaries, the names by which al-Khaṭīb refers to al-Ḥākim assume a striking uniformity. So, rather than trying to obfuscate al-Ḥākim's identity, al-Khaṭīb was only being a thorough and careful transmitter, always labeling al-Ḥākim with exactly the name used by the intermediary from whom he received al-Ḥākim's information.

Furthermore, we find that the different types of material that al-Khaṭīb received from al-Ḥākim also break down neatly according to the intermediary. From Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Qaṭṭān al-Naysābūrī and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marwazī we find that the information al-Khaṭīb cites from al-Ḥākim is uniformly about the technical issues of *ḥadīth* collection and criticism. Information obtained via Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Muqrī is always biographical information about scholars. That received from Hibatallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarī is also biographical, but always concerned with identifying one of al-Bukhārī's or Muslim's transmitters.

This pattern makes even more sense when we compare the material that al-Khaṭīb cites from al-Ḥākim to that found in al-Ḥākim's extant works. The information obtained from Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Qaṭṭān is duplicated exclusively in al-Ḥākim's *Muqaddima ilā kitāb al-Iklīl*,[14] while that received from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī appears in al-Ḥākim's *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*.[15] Material acquired from Hibatallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarī is found in al-Ḥākim's work on the transmitters used in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*.[16] The biographical

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ḥadīth, ed. Naṣr Abū ʿAṭāyā [Riyadh: Dār al-Khānī, 1994], 146; idem, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 2:73) and Abū ʿUbayd Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr al-Naysābūrī (see *al-Kifāya*, 1:429).

14 For Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Qaṭṭān al-Naysābūrī [al-Aʿraj] (generally refers to al-Ḥākim as Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ), see al-Khaṭīb, *al-Kifāya fī maʿrifat uṣūl ʿilm al-riwāya*, ed. Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā al-Dimyāṭī, 2 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Hudā, 2003), 1:399, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Madkhal ilā kitāb al-Iklīl*, ed. Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim Aḥmad (Alexandria: Dār al-Daʿwa, 1983; henceforth *al-Iklīl*), 29; *al-Kifāya*, 1:447, *al-Iklīl*, 60; *al-Kifāya*, 1:448, *al-Iklīl*, 67; *al-Kifāya*, 1:454, *al-Iklīl*, 69; *al-Kifāya*, 1:473, *al-Iklīl*, 64; *al-Kifāya*, 2:375, *al-Iklīl*, 45; *al-Kifāya*, 2:450, *al-Iklīl*, 45; *al-Jāmiʿ*, 1:213, *al-Iklīl*, 61; *al-Jāmiʿ*, 1:324, *al-Iklīl*, 36.

15 For Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marwazī [al-Munkadarī in *Tārīkh Baghdād*] (generally calls al-Ḥākim Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Nuʿaym al-Ḍabbī), see *al-Kifāya*, 2:460; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muʿazẓam Ḥusayn (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif, 1966; henceforth *Maʿrifa*), 68; *al-Kifāya*, 2:462, *Maʿrifa*, 68; *al-Kifāya*, 2:563, *Maʿrifa*, 15; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 13:102, *Maʿrifa*, 98; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 13:103, *Maʿrifa*, 141; *Jāmiʿ*, 1:166, *Maʿrifa*, 79; *Jāmiʿ*, 1:232, *Maʿrifa*, 100.

16 For Hibatallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarī, see *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 9:93, 11:333; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Tasmiyat man akhrajahum al-Bukhārī wa-Muslim wa-mā infarada bihi kull minhumā*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya and Dār al-Jinān, 1987), 123.

information obtained from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Muqrī is found in none of al-Ḥākim's works.[17] This is not surprising, however, since his biographical dictionary of Naysābūr has not survived. It seems very likely that this information is from the *Tārīkh Naysābūr*, however, since al-Khaṭīb occasionally quotes al-Ḥākim directly as the compiler of the information, and these citations bear the stylistic and tonal features of the biographical dictionary genre.[18]

Based on reading the *Tārīkh Baghdād*, the *Kifāya*, the *Jāmiʿ* and a selection of smaller works by al-Khaṭīb, we can conclude that the scholar had at his disposal al-Ḥākim's *Tārīkh Naysābūr*, his small treatise on the transmitters that al-Bukhārī and Muslim used in their *ḥadīth* collections (*Tasmiyat man akhrajahum al-Bukhārī wa-Muslim*), his *Muqaddima ilā kitāb al-Iklīl* and his *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*.

One mystery remains, however. The material that al-Khaṭīb received from one of his major channels to al-Ḥākim, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb, appears in none of al-Ḥākim's surviving works (at least to my knowledge), but uniformly deals with the technical aspects of *ḥadīth* transmission and criticism.[19] Does this constitute data from one of al-Ḥākim's other works on this subject which did not survive? Is this information from the notes that this scholar took during al-Ḥākim's teaching sessions? We do not have enough evidence to determine this.

Conclusion

Far from our initial impression that al-Ḥākim had no discernable effect on the *ḥadīth* scholarship of al-Khaṭīb, we find that al-Khaṭīb actually had at his disposal all but one of al-Ḥākim's most influential works (he does not appear to have had the *Mustadrak*). In fact, al-Khaṭīb even seems to have had access to material from al-Ḥākim that has not survived elsewhere, either a lost work

17 For Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Wāsiṭī al-Muqrī (generally refers to al-Ḥākim as Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Naysābūrī), see *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 2:238; 9:360, 429; 10:147, 271, 446; 11:80; 13:103–104; 11:385 cited directly without intermediary; 10:147 cited directly through intermediary; 10:178 cited directly without intermediary.

18 For example al-Khaṭīb cites al-Ḥākim as saying that one scholar "stayed with us (i.e., in our city) in Naysābūr" for several years and then died; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 10:178.

19 For Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb (generally calls al-Ḥākim Muḥammad b. Nuʿaym al-Ḍabbī), see, *al-Kifāya*, 1:93, 1:233, 1:290, 1:426, 1:456, 1:54, 2:134, 2:156, 2:208, 2:217, 2:276, 2:299, 2:469, 2:503, 2:560; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 13:102 (3×); *al-Jāmiʿ*, 1:168, 1:224, 1:226, 1:253, 2:134.

by al-Ḥākim or a collection of lecture notes on the systematization of *ḥadīth* criticism. Al-Khaṭīb drew on these books of al-Ḥākim in composing his most influential works.

Why then, is al-Ḥākim's role in al-Khaṭīb's scholarship so uncredited? Did al-Khaṭīb not give al-Ḥākim his due for his contributions to scholarship because al-Khaṭīb considered him of dubious character, a questionable figure whose work he could exploit but from whom he hoped to keep a safe distance? This is possible, but I think another explanation is more consistent with al-Khaṭīb's personality. Reading the *Tārīkh Baghdād*, one is struck by how infrequently the author mentions any books.[20] When he does note a scholar's contributions to the written corpus of Islamic thought, he often just describes him as "having composed books" on such and such a subject. Instead, the real thread of consistency running through the *Tārīkh Baghdād* and al-Khaṭīb's other works are the endless chains of transmission that al-Khaṭīb provides from himself back to the Prophetic word or the opinions of the early Muslims. Al-Khaṭīb's world was not one of a set canon of writings or a reverence for bound and named volumes—he did not organize knowledge by book title and author.

For him the scholarly world was still one of unbroken transmission back to the Prophet, the early Muslims and the great scholars of the classical period. For al-Khaṭīb, then, al-Ḥākim was merely another clearing-house of transmitted material. Like al-Khaṭīb, he collected, sorted and sometimes commented on the opinions of earlier figures who loomed much larger and greater in the history of the faith than his own hollow generation. In al-Khaṭīb's writings, in fact, it is surprising how hesitant he is to exert his own opinion forcefully. He would much rather present a selection of opinions from earlier giants, perhaps adding a final comment to guide the reader to the proper conclusion. It is only in his *Jāmiʿ*, written after the *Kifāya* and probably one of the author's last works, that al-Khaṭīb affirms any strong stances on scholarly issues regarding *ḥadīth* transmission or criticism.[21] In my analysis of al-Khaṭīb's relationship to the works of al-Ḥākim, then, I think we should conclude that the matter is not one of al-Khaṭīb not having access to or not valuing al-Ḥākim's writings. He certainly had several of his major books, and he did not hesitate to use

20 Some of the books that al-Khaṭīb does mention, include: Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī's (d. 327/938) *al-Jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl* (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, 9:221); Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī's (d. 277/890–891) *Kitāb al-Maʿrifa wa-l-tārīkh* (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, 9:435); the *Tārīkh* of Ibn Maʿīn (d. 233/848) (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, 11:311); Ibn Manda's (d. 395/1004–1005) *al-Asmāʾ wa-l-kunā* (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, 12:286); Abū Nuʿaym's *Tārīkh Iṣbahān* (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, 12:439); Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim's (d. 378/988) *al-Asmāʾ wa-l-kunā* (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, 13:294).

21 Al-Khaṭīb notes the *Kifāya* in the *Jāmiʿ*, 2:98.

them. But it was the material they included, not the author who collected it, that mattered. What counted were the opinions of the earlier greats like al-Bukhārī or Ibn Ḥanbal. Al-Khaṭīb seems to have held al-Ḥākim in the same estimation as he held himself—when al-Khaṭīb was approached by an admirer who asked him, "Are you the *ḥadīth* master (*ḥāfiẓ*) Abū Bakr?" he replied, "the mastery of *ḥadīth* ended with al-Dāraquṭnī, I am Aḥmad b. ʿAlī the preacher (*al-khaṭīb*)."[22]

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22 Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 3:224; idem, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 18:281.

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CHAPTER 11

Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī and the Companions of the Prophet: An Original Sunnī Voice in the Shīʿī Century

Scott C. Lucas

In most Western studies of Islamic civilization, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014) remains overshadowed by his gifted rationalist and literary contemporaries, such as al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī. Despite James Robson's valuable translation more than half a century ago of one of al-Ḥākim's brief treatises on *ḥadīth* methodology,[1] he has elicited little scholarly interest prior to Jonathan Brown's landmark study, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*.[2] Brown not only demonstrates al-Ḥākim's crucial role in the transmission and canonization of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*, but also argues that his most famous and controversial book, *al-Mustadrak ʿalā l-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, serves in part to invalidate the claim advanced by a group of Muʿtazila that the books of al-Bukhārī and Muslim exhausted the reservoir of sound *ḥadīth*s.[3] Although traces of al-Ḥākim's polemical project against the Muʿtazila and even his rival Ḥanafīs can be detected in his oversized section on the Companions of the Prophet in the *Mustadrak*, his original synthesis of respect for the "Rightly-guided caliphs," love for the family of the Prophet, recognition of approximately 360 Companions, defense of Abū Hurayra, and his negative depiction of Muʿāwiya is even more significant as evidence of the fluidity of the core Sunnī principle of the collective probity of the Companions as late as the turn of the fifth/eleventh century.

Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī witnessed tremendous political changes during his long life. Born in Nishapur in 321/933, he traveled throughout the eastern Muslim world to study with approximately two thousand teachers. While nearly all of his life was spent in Sunnī Sāmānid

1 *An Introduction to the Science of Tradition Being Al-madkhal ilā maʿrifat al-Iklīl by Al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Naisābūrī*, ed. and trans. James Robson (London: Luzac and Co., 1953). Robson also penned the brief entry "al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

2 Leiden: Brill, 2007.

3 Brown, *Canonization*, 154–183.

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and later Ghaznavid territory, he must have been aware of the dramatic rise of the pro-Shīʿī Būyids in Persia and Iraq, the Ismāʿīlī-Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969, and the various Zaydī Imāms in the Caspian region.[4] Most of these Shīʿī rulers were tolerant of Sunnī *ḥadīth* scholars, as demonstrated by the productive careers of al-Ḥākim's contemporaries, ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Saʿīd (d. 409/1018) in Egypt, al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385/995) in Baghdad, and al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971) and Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī (d. 430/1039) in Isfahan. However, this period also saw the emergence of Ghadīr Khumm festivals in Baghdad and Cairo,[5] along with the occasional public imprecation of the first three caliphs, and the growth of Imāmī Shīʿī literature by gifted scholars such as Ibn Bābawayh (d. 381/991–992) and al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022). Such developments certainly elevated Sunnī sensitivities toward the Companions and were probably responsible for much of the controversy over al-Ḥākim's scholarship in Sunnī circles.

As Robson and Brown show, some Sunnīs accused al-Ḥākim of being a hardline Shīʿite (*rāfiḍī*) because of his inclusion of two pro-ʿAlī *ḥadīth*s in his *Mustadrak*, along with his dislike for Muʿāwiya.[6] It is puzzling that these two *ḥadīth*s aroused such ire. The first of them, the statement of the Prophet at Ghadīr Khumm that, "For whomever I am his protector (*mawlāh*), ʿAlī will be his protector," is found in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* and al-Tirmidhī's canonical *Jāmiʿ*, while the second of them, the "Bird *ḥadīth*," is found in al-Tirmidhī's book as well.[7] The charge of being a hard-line Shīʿite was easily defused by al-Ḥākim's Mamlūk-era admirers, such as al-Dhahabī and, at great length, al-Subkī. These later scholars were far more perplexed by al-Ḥākim's inclusion of so many weak *ḥadīth*s in a work claiming to be at the same level of critical rigor as the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*, than by a few pro-ʿAlī *ḥadīth*s. After all, noted al-Subkī, what Shīʿite would put weak pro-ʿUthmān narrations in his collection?[8] And, we might add,

4 The most important of these Imāms, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Muʾayyad Billāh (d. 411/1020), was more of a scholar than a ruler, as he was part of the circle of al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār and Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād in Rayy; see *EI*2, art. "Zaydiyya" (W. Madelung).

5 L. Veccia Vaglieri dates the origin of this festival in Iraq to 352/964 and in Egypt to 362/973; see *EI*2, art. "Ghadīr Khumm."

6 Robson, *Introduction*, 3–5; Brown, *Canonization*, 159–160. Interestingly, al-Dhahabī insists that al-Ḥākim is "only a *shīʿī*" (*shīʿī faqaṭ*) rather than a *rāfiḍī* in his *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, ed. ʿAlī Muʿawwaḍ et al., 11 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1995), 6: 216.

7 Al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Aḥmad Shākir et al., 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, n.d.), 5: 633, 636–637 (Kitāb al-manāqib: Bāb fī manāqib ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; and the following untitled chapter). See also A.J. Wensinck et al., *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, 8 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1936–1988), 7: 334 (w-l-y).

8 Robson, *Introduction*, 4. Subkī's defense can be found in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*,

what Shīʿite would praise 360 Companions, including Abū Hurayra and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ?

What his detractors may have detected and his defenders minimized was al-Ḥākim's unique and unconventional presentation of the Companions of the Prophet. Here, the second complaint some Sunnīs directed against al-Ḥākim, namely his failure to praise Muʿāwiya, suggests his unwillingness to extend the collective probity of the Companions to all members of this class of men and women.[9] But, before we explore the shadowy role of Muʿāwiya in the *Mustadrak*, we must identify its structure and compare it with earlier and contemporary writings on the lives and excellences (*faḍāʾil*, *manāqib*) of the Companions.

Al-Ḥākim's *Mustadrak* consists of 50 books containing approximately 8,800 *ḥadīth*s.[10] As is to be expected, most of these book titles are found in one or both of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*. A less anticipated finding is that only 31 percent of the *ḥadīth*s in the *Mustadrak* are in legal books, which suggests that al-Ḥākim's application of his construct of the "standards of Bukhārī and Muslim" yielded a relatively modest increase of *ḥadīth*s, many of which are probably found in the other four canonical *ḥadīth* collections.[11] Even more stunning is the fact that 29.5 percent of the reports in the *Mustadrak* are found in the "Book on the Knowledge of the Companions." Its 2,600 reports dwarf the second largest book in the *Mustadrak*, that on Qurʾānic commentary, which contains 1,129 reports. In contrast, the nine books related to prayer have 580 *ḥadīth*s, the "Book on Sales" contains 246 reports, and the "Book on Faith" has 287.

Al-Ḥākim carefully walks his reader through the lengthy section on the Companions.[12] He warns him at the outset that much of the material will not be of the standards of al-Bukhārī and Muslim and that he has no choice

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ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Ḥilw and Maḥmūd al-Ṭanāḥī, 10 vols. (Cairo: ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, n.d.), 4: 155–171.

9 Despite dramatic stories of al-Ḥākim being barricaded in his house or having his mosque destroyed by Karrāmites, Brown observes that these accounts appear only in later biographical sources; see *Canonization*, 159. For an example of these stories, see Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnaʾūṭ, 28 vols. (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 2001), 18: 175–176.

10 Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak ʿalā l-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAṭā, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2002). There are two books on the topic of prophetic medicine (*ṭibb*), which led the editor to enumerate 51 books instead of 50. This edition, like the earlier Hyderabad one, is printed with al-Dhahabī's critical comments in the footnotes.

11 For example, most of the *ḥadīth*s in the "Book on Divorce" of *al-Mustadrak* can be found in the *Sunan*s of Abū Dāwūd and al-Tirmidhī.

12 This section extends from vol. 3: 64 to vol. 4: 98 of the 2002 Beirut edition of *al-Mustadrak*.

but to rely on several distrusted experts, such as al-Wāqidī, for biographical data. Al-Ḥākim also clarifies that his goal in this section is both historical and hagiographical—that is, to provide reports detailing the Companions' death dates, genealogies, and praiseworthy qualities.

The "Book on the Knowledge of the Companions" is divided into the following four sections:[13]

1) The First four Caliphs and the *ahl al-bayt*[14] (6 men, 1 woman)
2) Companions arranged according to death date (About 215 men, 1 woman)
3) Additional Companions in no discernible order (About 85 men)
4) Female Companions of the Prophet (About 55 women)

This structure is unique in the biographical and hagiographical literature on the Companions prior to and contemporary with al-Ḥākim. While he conforms to the dogmatic Sunnī position of opening his book with the "Rightly-guided caliphs" in their historical sequence, he manages to elevate ʿAlī's status as the sole member of the pious caliphs and the *ahl al-bayt*. Al-Ḥākim justifies his restriction of the term *ahl al-bayt* to just ʿAlī, Fāṭima, and their two sons by means of a chapter of 15 *ḥadīth*s strategically placed between the chapter on ʿAlī and the chapter on Fāṭima.[15] While al-Ḥākim includes many blood relatives of the Prophet in his chronological section of "The Book on the Knowledge of the Companions," his decision to exclude them from the initial section results in a unique group of seven Companions who crown the broader collectivity of Sunnism's greatest generation. This contrasts with al-Bukhārī, who presents the Prophet's blood-relatives Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, al-ʿAbbās, and Fāṭima between his entries on ʿAlī and al-Zubayr, and mentions al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn several entries later; and Muslim, whose entries on the *ahl al-bayt* appear throughout his hagiographical chapters.[16]

13 Note that al-Ḥākim does not follow the 12-part classification of the Companions that he proposes in the seventh category (*nawʿ*) of his theoretical work on the *ḥadīth* disciplines; see al-Ḥākim, *Kitāb maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muʿaẓẓam Ḥusayn (Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīda, 1979), 22–25.

14 As we shall see, al-Ḥākim uses the expression *ahl al-bayt* as a technical term only in reference to ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, as opposed to the broader meaning of "blood-relatives."

15 The first five *ḥadīth*s of this chapter, from five different Companions, identify the *ahl al-bayt* whom God purifies in Qurʾān 33:33 as ʿAlī, Fāṭima, and their two sons; *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 158–160 (Kitāb maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba: wa-min manāqib ahl rasūl Allāh).

16 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī bi-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Bin Bāz, 15

While it is probably an act of over-interpretation to read al-Ḥākim's "Seven Exceptional Companions" as a response to the Ismāʿīlī use of the number seven in their esoteric interpretations, his selection contrasts sharply with the broader trend among Sunnīs to open their writings on the Companions with the "Ten Promised Paradise."[17] The *Musnad*s of al-Ṭayālisī (d. 203/819) and Ibn Ḥanbal begin with these ten individuals; the section on the Companions in the "Book on Excellences" in the *Jāmiʿ* of al-Tirmidhī opens with the nine men present in one version of Saʿīd b. Zayd's "Ten Promised Paradise" *ḥadīth*;[18] and Ibn Ḥanbal's *Kitāb faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*,[19] Ibn Ḥibbān's (d. 354/965) *Tārīkh al-ṣaḥāba*,[20] and Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī's *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* and *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*[21] all follow faithfully the formula of placing these ten men ahead of the other Companions. In the cases of the books of Ibn Ḥibbān and Abū Nuʿaym, the *ḥadīth* of the "Ten Promised Paradise" is cited explicitly as justification for distinguishing these Companions from the masses, which makes it noteworthy that al-Ḥākim did not adopt this approach as an organizational principle. Even more striking is al-Ḥākim's presentation of Fāṭima and, due to her early death, Khadīja, in the traditionally "male" section of his discussion of the Companions, rather than in the women's section that, conventionally, occurs at the end.[22]

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vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995), 7: 348–363 (Kitāb faḍāʾil aṣḥāb al-nabī); and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim bi-sharḥ al-Nawawī*, ed. Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī, 18 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2000), vols. 15–16 (Kitāb faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba).

17 For references to and analysis of this concept, see Maya Yazigi, "*Ḥadīth al-ʿashara*, or the Political Uses of a Tradition," *Studia Islamica* 86 (1997): 159–167. The ten Companions of this class are the first four caliphs, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Saʿīd b. Zayd, and Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. Yazigi observes increased interest in the concept among Sunnīs in the eleventh century (161–162).

18 This variant substitutes the Prophet for Abū ʿUbayda; see Yazigi, "*Ḥadīth al-ʿashara*," 161.

19 Ed. Waṣī Allāh ʿAbbās, 2 vols. (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1983).

20 *Tārīkh al-ṣaḥāba alladhīna ruwiya ʿanhum al-akhbār*, ed. Būrān Ḍinnāwī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1988).

21 *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyāʾ*, 10 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1967–1968); and *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. ʿĀdil b. Yūsuf al-ʿAzzāzī, 7 vols. (Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan, 1998).

22 The scholar whose work comes closest to al-Ḥākim's organization is Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī (d. 360/971), in his *Kitāb al-sharīʿa*, ed. ʿAbdallāh al-Dumayjī, 6 vols. (Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan, 1997). The lengthy section on the Companions in this work begins with the first four caliphs, then presents eight additional members of the *ahl al-bayt*, prior to completing the remaining six "men promised paradise." There are three significant differences, though, between the organization of the books of al-Ājurrī and al-Ḥākim: 1) al-Ājurrī dwells on the virtues of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar at far greater length than does

The bulk of the "Book on the Knowledge of the Companions" demonstrates al-Ḥākim's keen historical sensibility and his goal of expanding the number of venerated Companions found in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*. Al-Ḥākim, whose pioneering history of Nishapur in Arabic is basically lost,[23] incorporates the genealogical and necrological data found in the writings of Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Lahīʿa, al-Wāqidī, Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, and, less frequently, Abū ʿUbayda.[24] This historical section includes approximately 50 martyrs, from the battle of Badr (2/624) through the Battle of Ḥarra (63/683), and identifies more than 45 men and women related to the Prophet Muḥammad by blood, marriage, or clientage.[25] Given the contemporary Imāmī Shīʿī celebration of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn and Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's (d. 356/967) martyrological compendium, *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, al-Ḥākim appears to be reminding Sunnīs that they, too, should have deep reverence for the Prophet's family and all of the Companions who sacrificed their lives for the cause of Islam.

In his *Mustadrak*, al-Ḥākim is also highly successful at expanding the scope of Companions deserving recognition beyond the size of the analogous books in the third/ninth century *ḥadīth* collections. He provides notices for approximately 360 individuals, which places his book between the 55 men and women honored in one or both of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*, or the 37 men and women showcased in the *Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849),[26] and the more exhaustive bio-

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al-Ḥākim; 2) al-Ājurrī does not distinguish the first four caliphs and *ahl al-bayt* as an independent class from the remaining Companions; 3) al-Ājurrī includes a substantial chapter on Muʿāwiya, whereas al-Ḥākim paints this Companion in dark colors and opts not to give him an entry in the *Mustadrak*.

23 According to Richard Bulliet, al-Ḥākim's history is "preserved in a single, drastically abbreviated manuscript which contains little more than the name of each individual;" Richard Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), xi.

24 There are also a small number of references to al-Ṭabarī's opinions in this section, such as in the entries of Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān and al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays; *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 428 and 602. Note that al-Ṭabarī's *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*, which has been translated as volume 39 of *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, is, according to its translator, devoid of any ordering principle in its current state; see al-Ṭabarī, *Biographies of the Prophet's Companions and Their Successors*, tr. Ella Landau-Tasseron, vol. 39 of *The History of al-Ṭabarī* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1998), xix. The transmitter of the *Dhayl*, Makhlad b. Jaʿfar (d. 369/979–980), is also al-Ḥākim's informant for his Ṭabarī material.

25 For example, al-Ḥākim highlights Ṭalḥa's four marriages to sisters of the Prophet's wives: ʿĀ'isha's sister, Umm Kulthūm; Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh's sister, Ḥamna; Umm Ḥabība bt. Abī Sufyān's sister, Rifāʿa; and Umm Salama's sister, Qarība; *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 419–420 (Kitāb maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba: Dhikr manāqib Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Taymī).

26 Ed. Ḥamad al-Jumʿa and Muḥammad al-Laḥīdān, 16 vols. (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd,

graphical dictionaries, such as Ibn Saʿd's (d. 230/845) *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, Ibn Ḥibbān's *Tārīkh al-ṣaḥāba*, and Abū Nuʿaym's *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*, which contain notices for 1,200, 1,600, and 4,235 Companions, respectively. Even Abū Nuʿaym's famous *Ḥilya* contains only 161 men and women, 85 of whom are listed among the "People of the Portico" (*ahl al-ṣuffa*), which is far fewer than those present in al-Ḥākim's "Book on the Knowledge of the Companions."[27]

It should be clear from this brief overview of the structure of the "Book on the Knowledge of the Companions" that al-Ḥākim has harmonized his respect for Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān with his enthusiasm for the family of the Prophet in general, and, in particular, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn. While the authors of all of the *ḥadīth* collections mentioned in this study venerate Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, none places them so conspicuously at the beginning of their books on the Companions in a special class with the first three caliphs. Al-Ḥākim balances his appreciation of the Prophet's broader family with his respect for the fallen-soldier Companions from a variety of clans and tribes outside of Banū Hāshim. Two final important features of the "Book on the Knowledge of the Companions" in the *Mustadrak* that distinguish it from other Sunnī works from this period are its spirited defense of Abū Hurayra and its negative depiction of Muʿāwiya in the margins of the entries of approximately a dozen Companions.

Abū Hurayra's entry in the *Mustadrak* is unique in that he is the only Companion whose reputation al-Ḥākim defends vigorously.[28] While Imāmī and even Zaydī Shīʿa have long dismissed Abū Hurayra as an unreliable transmitter of prophetic *ḥadīth*,[29] al-Ḥākim, quoting the venerable Shāfiʿī master-scholar

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2006). Likewise, al-Tirmidhī honors 43 specific Companions in his *Jāmiʿ* and Ibn Ḥanbal mentions only 27 in his *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba*. For more analysis on this topic, see Scott Lucas, *Constructive Critics*, Ḥadīth *Literature, and the Articulation of Sunnī Islam* (Boston: Brill, 2004), 255–282.

27 It should be noted that many of these notices in the *Mustadrak* do not, in fact, include prophetic praise of the individual or denote any exceptional qualities on their behalf, which perhaps explains why al-Ḥākim titled his long section "Knowledge of the Companions," rather than "Virtues of the Companions."

28 There is one other case of al-Ḥākim seeking to "correct" misperceptions about a small group of Companions. In his lengthy entry on ʿAlī, al-Ḥākim endeavors to cast the failure of Ibn ʿUmar, Usāma b. Zayd, Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Abū Masʿūd, and Abū Mūsā to support ʿAlī's caliphate in a positive light or to deny that they even refrained from giving him the oath of allegience; *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 124–126.

29 For Zaydī/Baghdādī Muʿtazilī criticisms of Abū Hurayra, see Lucas, *Constructive Critics*, 254. For their attitudes on the Companions more broadly, see Etan Kohlberg, "Some Zaydī Views on the Companions of the Prophet," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39 (1976): 91–98.

of Nishapur, Ibn Khuzayma (d. 311/923), identifies four theological groups of detractors, about whom more will be said below. Al-Ḥākim might also be reacting to al-Bukhārī's slight of not including a chapter on the merits of Abū Hurayra in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, although Muslim and al-Tirmidhī award him a few honors in their books. Muslim has three *ḥadīth*s in his hagiographical chapter on Abū Hurayra in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, one of which attributes his incredible quantity of *ḥadīth*s to his poverty, freedom from commercial distractions, and a miraculous blessing from the Prophet himself.[30] Al-Tirmidhī is more generous in his chapter on Abū Hurayra, as he relates four prophetic *ḥadīth*s and four Companion reports, most of which he evaluates as "poorly attested" (*gharīb*) and "fair" (*ḥasan*). Two of these prophetic *ḥadīth*s concern the miraculous episode of Abū Hurayra's memory-enhancing cloak, and another reports a supernatural bag of dates which the Prophet blessed and subsequently provided food for him until the time of ʿUthmān's assassination.[31] Al-Tirmidhī also provides the testimony of the senior Companion, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbaydallāh, who observed Abū Hurayra's habit of relating numerous statements from the Prophet that no one else had mentioned, in a report al-Ḥākim incorporates, with minor variants, in his *Mustadrak*.[32]

Al-Ḥākim gives no indication of his defense of Abū Hurayra in the initial pages of his chapter devoted to this controversial Companion. After his review of the confusion over Abū Hurayra's name (*ism*) and death date,[33] and mention of Muʿāwiya's patronage of his heirs, al-Ḥākim provides testimony from the Prophet, Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn ʿUmar, ʿĀ'isha, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmr b. Umayya, Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, and Ṭalḥa in favor of Abū Hurayra's authority. One of the more fascinating reports involves Abū Hurayra's denial of having told al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmr a *ḥadīth* that he claimed to have heard from him. Abū Hurayra said, "If you heard this from me, I would have a written copy of it." The two men walked to Abū Hurayra's house, and, upon finding the *ḥadīth* in question "in one of his books of prophetic *ḥadīth*," Abū Hurayra remarked, "I told you that

30 According to Abū Hurayra, the Prophet said, "Whoever spreads out his garment will never forget anything he hears from me," and Abū Hurayra seized this opportunity; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim bi-sharḥ al-Nawawī*, 16: 44–46 (Kitāb Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba: Bāb min faḍā'il Abī Hurayra al-Dawsī).

31 Al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 5: 683–686 (Kitāb al-manāqib: Bāb manāqib li-Abī Hurayra).

32 Ibid., 5: 684–685; compare with al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 585.

33 Al-Ḥākim's preference concerning Abū Hurayra's name is ʿAbd al-Shams prior to his conversion and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān afterwards. As for his death date, he provides the options of 58 (Abū Maʿshar), 58 or 59 (Ḍamra b. Rabīʿa), 57 or 55 (Hishām b. ʿUrwa), and 59 (Wāqidī); *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 578–581 (Kitāb maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba: Dhikr Abī Hurayra al-Dawsī).

if I related it to you directly, I would have a written copy of it!"[34] Even though al-Dhahabī evaluates this *ḥadīth* as "suspect" (*munkar*) and al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmr does not appear in the early *rijāl* collections, we can interpret this report as an effort on the part of al-Ḥākim to provide a more natural explanation for Abū Hurayra's enormous quantity of prophetic material, rather than miracle stories involving garments and blessings.

Al-Ḥākim unexpectedly interjects his authorial voice near the end of the chapter on Abū Hurayra in the *Mustadrak*. He declares that, "Anyone who seeks to become a *ḥadīth* expert,[35] from the earliest time to our current age, is among the followers [of Abū Hurayra] and his partisans (*shīʿatih*). [Abū Hurayra] is the foremost and most worthy recipient of the title '*ḥadīth* expert'."[36] Following these remarks, al-Ḥākim introduces Ibn Khuzayma, who points out a couple of cases of Abū Hurayra's extraordinary care in transmitting *ḥadīth*s and then states, "Only those people whose hearts God has blinded speak poorly of Abū Hurayra for the purpose of undermining his reports, the meanings of which they cannot grasp."[37] Ibn Khuzayma proceeds to identify four theological types whose tenets (*madhhab*) are challenged by Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth*s: 1) Denier of the divine attributes (*muʿaṭṭil jahmī*; i.e., Muʿtazilī); 2) Khārijī; 3) Qadarī (Muʿtazilī); and 4) an ignorant aspiring jurist who relies upon *taqlīd* (probably Ḥanafīs). Ibn Khuzayma argues that the adherents of each of these groups, when faced with Abū Hurayra's *ḥadīth*s that affirm the divine attributes, illegality of shedding Muslim blood, *qadar*,[38] or a legal position contrary to his legal school, all adopt the same strategy: the categorical declaration that Abū Hurayra's reports are unacceptable as evidence. It is clear that this practice reeks of intellectual dishonesty in the eyes of Ibn Khuzayma, who labels the two Muʿtazilī positions on the denial of the Divine Attributes and denial of *qadar* as "disbelief" (*kufr*) and "polytheism" (*shirk*) and the Khārijī one as "error" (*ḍalāl*). Brown's identification of the *Mustadrak* as possessing a polemical edge against the Ḥanafī-Muʿtazilī "Patricians of Nishapur" is clearly affirmed in this entry.[39]

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34 Al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 584–585.

35 Literally, "memorize *ḥadīth*" (*ṭalaba ḥifẓ al-ḥadīth*).

36 Al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 586.

37 Al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 587.

38 Ibn Khuzayma understands *qadar* to mean all "past determinations (*al-aqdār al-māḍiya*) that God determined and decreed prior to their acquisition (*kasb*) by humans;" *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 587.

39 For more on the intense Shāfiʿī-Ḥanafī rivalry in Nishapur, see Bulliet's classic *The Patricians of Nishapur* cited above.

Al-Ḥākim rounds out his defense of Abū Hurayra with what presumably was his strongest evidence in favor of his probity—the testimony of other Companions. A total of twenty-eight Companions transmitted *ḥadīth*s from Abū Hurayra, according to al-Ḥākim, which indicates that they all considered him a trustworthy authority of prophetic *sunna*. While many of these individuals are obscure, the list does include prominent names, such as Zayd b. Thābit, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn ʿUmar, Ibn al-Zubayr, Ubayy b. Kaʿb, Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh, ʿĀ'isha, and Anas b. Mālik. Al-Ḥākim follows this list with his observation that the most famous, noble, and erudite members of the Successor class were the "companions of Abū Hurayra," although he resists listing their names in the interest of space. He concludes this passionate chapter with the following supplicatory prayer:

> O God, protect us from disagreeing with the position on Abū Hurayra—the preserver (*ḥāfiẓ*) of religious laws—espoused by the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds, the elect Companions, the religious leaders (*a'imma*) among the Successors and subsequent generations (May God be pleased with them all).[40]

In sharp contrast to his spirited defense of the integrity of Abū Hurayra, al-Ḥākim's treatment of Muʿāwiya in the *Mustadrak* is most unflattering. His decision not to offer Muʿāwiya an entry among the 360 Companions in his book is the first clue that al-Ḥākim had strong feelings about the fifth caliph.[41] We learn that, during his governorship, Muʿāwiya irritated the Anṣārī leader ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, whom ʿUmar had to cajole to return to Palestine,[42] and treated the dedicated soldier, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, with scorn and mockery.[43] In response

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40 Al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 588. Technically, Abū Hurayra gets the last word in his entry: "The Messenger of God promised a raid on India. If I achieve martyrdom, I will be among the best martyrs; and if I return, then I am [still] Abū Hurayra, the devout (*al-muḥarrir*)."

41 Muslim, al-Ḥākim's Nishapuri predecessor, also refrained from inserting a chapter on Muʿāwiya in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, in contrast to al-Bukhārī and al-Tirmidhī, both of whom included very short chapters for him. Al-Ḥākim's contemporary, Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, also has a flattering entry for Muʿāwiya in his large biographical dictionary of the Companions; see his *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*, 5: 2496–2500.

42 Al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 400 (Dhikr manāqib ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit).

43 Abū Ayyūb was in need of a few slaves to work his lands, and Muʿāwiya refused to help him due to his earlier lack of support for ʿUthmān, according to one narration. Abū Ayyūb said to Muʿāwiya, "The Messenger of God (ṣ) said that selfishness (*athara*) would arise after him." Muʿāwiya said, "What did he command you to do [when this came about]?" Abū Ayyūb said, "To be patient." Muʿāwiya replied, "So be patient!" This *ḥadīth* may be part of

to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's concern that ʿAmmār b. Yāsir was killed by his forces at Ṣiffīn, Muʿāwiya claims that ʿAlī "killed" ʿAmmār b. Yāsir by bringing him in front of his army's lances.[44] Al-Ḥākim also depicts Muʿāwiya expressing contempt for Qurʾānic law and prophetic *sunna* regarding the distribution of war booty and the kissing of the pillars of the Kaʿba.[45]

The more damning reports depict Muʿāwiya as a corrupt and even murderous ruler. The Companion Saʿīd b. Zayd, one of the "Ten Promised Paradise," studiously avoided being in Medina when the order came from Damascus for Muslims to give the oath of allegiance to Yazīd.[46] Muʿāwiya purportedly sent 100,000 dirhams to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr as an incentive for him to give the *bayʿa* to Yazīd, which the latter promptly returned prior to seeking refuge in Mecca.[47] Muʿāwiya convinced ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib to abandon his role as general in al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī's army in exchange for two million dirhams,[48] and al-Ḥasan himself made peace with his father's adversary possibly for as much as five million dirhams.[49] He also chastised the venerable Companion Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, another of the "Ten Promised Paradise," for not vilifying ʿAlī. Saʿd retorted with three prophetic *ḥadīth*s indicating ʿAlī's elevated status, which Muʿāwiya never again repeated during his time in Medina.[50] Even the heroic conqueror of Khurāsān, al-Ḥakam b. ʿAmr al-Ghifārī, was put in chains and died shortly thereafter for defying Muʿāwiya's demand that all gold and sil-

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ʿAbbāsid propaganda, as the vexed Abū Ayyūb immediately turns to Ibn ʿAbbās, who, in one narration, quintuples Abū Ayyūb's request, providing him with 20,000 dirhams and 40 slaves; *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 520, 522 (Dhikr manāqib Abī Ayyūb al-Anṣārī).

44 ʿAmr's concern derives from the famous *ḥadīth* that "the rebellious party will kill ʿAmmār" (*taqtuluh al-fiʾa al-bāghiya*), which he claimed to have heard from the Prophet's mouth; *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 436–437 (Dhikr manāqib ʿAmmār b. Yāsir).

45 For the war booty, see *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 501 (Dhikr al-Ḥakam b. ʿAmr al-Ghifārī); for the kissing of the two pillars, see ibid., 3: 624 (Dhikr ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib).

46 This report suffers from the historical problem that Saʿīd died in either 50 or 51 AH, and Muʿāwiya did not seek the oath of allegiance for Yazīd until close to the end of his reign in 60 AH; *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 496–497 (Dhikr manāqib Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl ʿāshir al-ʿashara).

47 *Al-Mustadrak*, 3: 542 (Dhikr manāqib ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān died in AH 53, so this report is probably apocryphal.

48 *Al-Mustadrak*, 3: 656 (Dhikr ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ṭayyār).

49 *Al-Mustadrak*, 3: 191 (Min faḍāʾil al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib). Al-Ḥākim also includes a report that a daughter of al-Ashʿath b. Qays who was married to al-Ḥasan was bribed to poison him, although no mention is given as to the identity of the patron of this act; ibid., 3: 193.

50 *Al-Mustadrak*, 3: 117 (Min manāqib amīr al-muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib).

ver booty be sent to Syria rather than divided in the field in accordance with Qur'ānic prescriptions.[51]

Finally, al-Ḥākim grants a notice to Ḥujr b. ʿAdī, "the monk of the Companions of Muḥammad,"[52] who was sent by the Umayyad governor Ziyād b. Abīhi from Kufa to Syria and then executed by either Muʿāwiya personally or one of his henchmen.[53] The cause of his execution, as indicated in the reports, was Ḥujr's unwillingness to relinquish his oath of allegiance to ʿAlī (or his descendants) despite the triumph of Muʿāwiya over al-Ḥasan. Al-Ḥākim includes a stirring report in which ʿAbdallāh b. Zayd al-Bajalī replies to the Syrian masses' call for the execution of Ḥujr by informing Muʿāwiya, "If you [execute him], we will say 'You were in the right'; but if you pardon him, we will say, 'You acted virtuously' (*aḥsanta*). To pardon is nearer to piety,[54] and every ruler is responsible for his flock."[55] The message from al-Ḥākim is clear—Muʿāwiya did not have to execute Ḥujr, and his decision to act in this manner is one more example of his impiety.

The lengthy "Book on the Knowledge of the Companions" in the *Mustadrak* reveals an unexpected flexibility in the core Sunnī principle of the collective probity of the Companions. Al-Ḥākim respects both the sequence of the first four caliphs and provides entries for about 300 male and 50 female Companions, positions anathema to the creed of an Imāmī Shīʿite. His unabashed admiration for the *ahl al-bayt*, whom he restricts to ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn, might at first blush indicate Zaydī sympathies, but he invalidates this potential interpretation by his valiant defense of the integrity of Abū Hurayra. Even al-Ḥākim's surprisingly negative depiction of Muʿāwiya, who lurks in the shadows of the notices of pious Companions, might be justifiable if one takes

51 *Al-Mustadrak*, 3: 501 (Dhikr al-Ḥakam b. ʿAmr al-Ghifārī).

52 *Rāhib aṣḥāb Muḥammad*; this appears to be al-Ḥākim's personal sobriquet for him.

53 For a pro-Umayyad view of this affair, see *EI2*, art. "Ḥud̲jr b. ʿAdī al-Kindī" (Henri Lammens). Lammens' observation that the earliest sources do not consider him to be a Companion should be modified in light of a second entry for Ḥujr among the Companions who converted after the conquest of Mecca in Ibn Saʿd's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. ʿAlī ʿUmar, 11 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 2001), 6: 239. Much of the information in this entry is repeated in *al-Mustadrak*, where it is attributed to Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 531–532 (Dhikr manāqib Ḥujr b. ʿAdī). Ibn Saʿd has a longer entry for Ḥujr in his section on the Kufan Successors, where he also mentions that many scholars say that Ḥujr met the Prophet as part of a delegation (*wafd*); *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, 8: 337–340.

54 Arabic: *wa-l-ʿafw aqrab lil-taqwā*. This sentence echoes Qur'ān 2:237—*wa-an taʿfū aqrabu lil-taqwā*.

55 *Al-Mustadrak*, 3: 532 (Dhikr manāqib Ḥujr b. ʿAdī).

seriously the Sunnī *ḥadīth*s, "Whoever vilifies ʿAlī, vilifies [Muḥammad]"[56] and "[ʿAmmār] will be killed by the rebellious party." In short, al-Ḥākim seems to be saying: "Just look at all these amazing Companions! We love ʿAlī, Fāṭima, and their children as much as anyone; and if you disapprove of Muʿāwiya's actions, there is still a place for you here, at the Sunnī table, too."

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56 *Al-Mustadrak*, 3: 130.

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CHAPTER 12

Ibn Rushd and Thomas Aquinas on Education

*Sebastian Günther**

> We must accept from our predecessors, whether they share our religion or not, whatever accords with the truth.
>
> IBN RUSHD, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*[1]

In the 1990s, when I spent some time researching in Egypt, I had the opportunity to attend a symposium at the *Masjid al-Nūr* (Mosque of Light), one of the largest mosques in Cairo. The exclusive topic of this symposium was Ibn Rushd, the renowned twelfth-century Muslim philosopher, jurist, physician, and astronomer from al-Andalus (or Islamic Spain), who was known in medieval Europe by the Latinized form of his name, Averroes. The papers at this meeting were given by scholars from different Egyptian universities and displayed a great variety of approaches to assessing Ibn Rushd as an intellectual and author. In fact, several of these papers were rather critical of Ibn Rushd's work, emphasizing disapproval through frequent reference to his rationalist philosophy and, as certain of these presenters saw it, his "departure" from Islam, for he had shown too much interest in Aristotelian philosophical thought. On numerous occasions, statements were made to the effect that the works of Ibn Rushd marked the end of classical Islamic philosophy (which had paid its dues to Islamic religious thought) and the beginning of medieval European philosophy. One discussant even ventured that today it was almost a precarious enterprise for Muslims to engage in the study of Ibn Rushd's work because his rationalist philosophy posed the risk of leading good Muslims astray from the

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1 The quotation in the epigraph refers to statements made by Ibn Rushd in his *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl* (see n. 24).

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right path of traditional Islamic faith. Interestingly, Mahmoud Zakzouk, Professor of Islamic Philosophy at the Faculty of Religion at Al-Azhar University and Egypt's Minister of Islamic Endowments and Religious Affairs at that time, stated in his concluding address to the conference that Ibn Rushd was a complex but, nonetheless, truly Muslim intellectual and was actually a *jawhara lil-falsafa al-islāmiyya* (jewel of Islamic philosophy). He added that, since Ibn Rushd wrote in Arabic, educated Arabs of our era could and should read the books of this medieval Muslim philosopher.

Shortly thereafter during a meeting with a colleague at the Roman Catholic Saint Joseph University in Beirut, the controversial question of the reception of Ibn Rushd's ideas among certain scholars in the Arab world and in Europe came up again in the context of his influence on Islamic and Western thought in general, and on Thomas Aquinas's philosophical theology in particular. These discussions on Ibn Rushd and Thomas Aquinas sparked my curiosity as to the role these medieval intellectuals may have played in the history of ideas and especially the field of pedagogy in both the Islamic world and the West, and as to whether they are still relevant today in our increasingly culturally diverse Western societies.

Ibn Rushd's and Thomas Aquinas's pedagogical ideas and the connection between these two scholars in this regard constitute a highly interesting focus of study. There are two reasons for this perception: on the one hand, knowledge acquisition and education have been generally recognized as key factors for the growth of societies in both medieval and modern times; on the other hand, the historical foundations of Islamic education in particular—and its impact on modern societies—have so far attracted much less attention than they deserve. This study makes an effort towards changing this situation.

The first part of my investigation focuses on the pedagogical implications of Ibn Rushd's discussions of (a) intellectual and practical reasoning, logic, and imagination as a basis of learning; (b) the approaches, strategies, and objectives of teaching and learning; and (c) the role that the intellect, scriptural and demonstrative truths, and happiness as the final objective of instruction play in this regard. In particular, I will draw on Ibn Rushd's *The Decisive Treatise Determining the Nature of the Connection Between the Divinely Revealed Law and Philosophy*, as well as on select passages from his *Exposition of the Methods of Proof Concerning the Beliefs of the Community*, his *Incoherence of* [*al-Ghazālī's*] *"Incoherence of the Philosophers"*, and his *Long Commentary on* [*Aristotle's major treatise*] *"De Anima* (*On the Soul*)."

The second part compares Ibn Rushd's concepts of learning with some of Thomas Aquinas's key ideas on education. The main sources for this enterprise are Thomas's *Disputed Questions on Truth* and *Summa Theologica*. These

two works are of particular interest, since on several occasions Thomas refers explicitly to Ibn Rushd in developing his own views on education.

The conclusion contextualizes my findings to show how a deeper understanding of these particular medieval scholars' positions on the aims, contents, methods, and ethics of teaching and learning may be of help for us today when dealing with contemporary issues in humanistic education, even though Ibn Rushd and Thomas Aquinas were primarily concerned with the relationship between education and revelation. It is, of course, also noteworthy that Ibn Rushd's scholarly views and their significance for Thomas Aquinas have already been studied to some degree in Western scholarship through the lenses of theology and philosophy. The important works of Majid Fakhry, Emeritus Professor of Philosophy at Georgetown University, Bernardo Carlos Bazán (working in the Latin tradition only), Augustin Pavlovic, Edward P. Mahoney, Richard C. Taylor, and Markus Stohldreier need to be mentioned in this regard.[2] However, a comparative analysis of the ideas that Ibn Rushd and Thomas Aquinas offer from a distinct 'philosophy of education' perspective has not yet been attempted.

1 Ibn Rushd

Life and Scholarship

Abū l-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Rushd—or Averroes, as he is known in the Western tradition—was born in Cordoba, al-Andalus, in 1126, the son and grandson of distinguished Cordoban judges. He received an

2 See Majid Fakhry, *Averroes, Aquinas and the Rediscovery of Aristotle in Western Europe* (Washington, DC: Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, History and International Affairs, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 1997) (Occasional Papers Series); and idem, *Averroes: His Life, Works and Influence* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2001). See also Carlos Bernardo Bazán, "Intellectum Speculativum: Averroes, Thomas Aquinas and Siger of Brabant on the Intelligible Object," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 19 (1981), 425–446; Augustin Pavlovic, "Saint Thomas et son attitude à l'égard d'Averroès," *Synthesis Philosophica* 4.2 (1992), 303–315; Edward P. Mahoney, "Aquinas's Critique of Averroes's Doctrine of the Unity of the Intellect," in *Thomas Aquinas and His Legacy*, ed. David M. Gallagher (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1994), 83–106; Richard C. Taylor, "Averroes' Epistemology and Its Critique by Aquinas," in *Medieval Masters: Essays in Memory of Msgr. E.A. Synan*, ed. R.E. Houser (Houston: University of St. Thomas Press, 1999), 147–177; and Markus Stohldreier, *Zum Welt- und Schöpfungsbegriff bei Averroes und Thomas v. Aquin. Eine vergleichende Studie* [*Averroes's and Thomas Aquinas's Notions of the World and the Creation: A Comparative Study*] (München: Grin, 2009).

excellent education, with a special emphasis on Islamic law, philosophy, and medicine. In about 1153, while staying in the city of Marrakesh, in what is today Morocco, Ibn Rushd became a member of a board of education appointed to support ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, then ruler of the Almohad dynasty, in implementing his "grandiose project of building schools and literary institutions throughout the realm."[3] In this capacity, Ibn Rushd also helped prepare new schoolbooks and re-work other teaching material in order to reform the educational system.[4]

It was during this time in Marrakesh that Ibn Rushd met the famous Spanish-Arab philosopher Ibn Ṭufayl (1110–1185). Six years later, in 1159, Ibn Ṭufayl introduced Ibn Rushd to Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf (r. 1163–1184), the enlightened sovereign of the Almohad dynasty that ruled during the twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries over large parts of North Africa and al-Andalus. Caliph Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf, known for his genuine interest in philosophy, was seeking someone to write commentaries on Aristotle (384–322 BC), and entrusted Ibn Rushd

3 Abū l-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Rushd (Averroes), *The Decisive Treatise and Epistle Dedicatory* (Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl wa-taqrīr mā bayna l-sharīʿa wa-l-ḥikma min al-ittiṣāl wa-Risālat al-ihdāʾ al-mulaqqaba bil-Ḍamīma), trans. Charles E. Butterworth (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2011), xiv (introduction). For a detailed study of Ibn Rushd's life and scholarly work, see Roger Arnaldez, *Averroes: A Rationalist in Islam*, trans. David Streight (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000).

4 ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (1094–1163), the first ruler of the Almohad dynasty, reportedly established a number of new schools in Marrakesh. In the course of these educational reforms, he is said to have asked (probably in the year 1153) for Ibn Rushd's support in organizing those educational institutions. Interestingly, one of the schools about which the ruler ʿAbd al-Muʾmin consulted Ibn Rushd was a college that specialized in preparing *muwaẓẓafūn* (clerks) for their work in the Almohad administration. The college's curriculum obligated students to memorize Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ* as well as Ibn Tūmart's *Aʿazz mā yuṭlab* (*The Most Cherished of What Is Required* [*to Live the Life of a Good Muslim*]). (Ibn Tūmart [d. 524/1130] was the Mahdī of the Almohads and founder of their movement.) In addition to training in legal issues and the religious-ideological foundations of the ruling Almohads, the students also received physical and even military training in preparation for their roles as future administrators, while the caliph guaranteed all living expenses, including the costs of the horses and weapons. Later, the school's graduates replaced senior administrators from the previous Almoravid Dynasty, who were then appointed *fī l-mashūra* (as councilors) to the junior administrators. Cf. the anonymous book, *Kitāb al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya fī dhikr al-akhbār al-marrākishiyya* (*The Book of Embroidered Cloaks: On the History of Marrakesh*), ed. Suhayl Zakkār and ʿAbd al-Qādir Zamāma (Casablanca: Dār al-Rashād al-Ḥadītha, 1979), 150–151; this text has been dated to the fourteenth century. See also Muḥammad al-Manūnī, *Ḥaḍārat al-Muwaḥḥidīn* (*The Civilization of the Almohads*) (Casablanca: Dār al-Tūbqāl lil-Nashr, 1989), 17; and Dominique Urvoy, *Ibn Rushd* (Averroes) (London: Routledge, 1991), 33.

with this undertaking when the philosopher Ibn Ṭufayl recommended him for the task. Ibn Rushd's first official duties, however, were legal. In 1169, he was appointed judge in Seville, and two years later in Cordoba. Ibn Rushd also served for several years as the physician of the Almohad ruler in Marrakesh before returning to Cordoba as Chief Judge.

After Caliph Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf died in 1184, Ibn Rushd fell out of favor. Due to his rationalist views, he was accused of heresy and was forced into exile in Lucena, a largely Jewish village near Cordoba. His philosophical books were banned and many of them burned. It appears that public pressure from conservative religious scholars, who had rallied the mob against Ibn Rushd's philosophical ideas, played a role in these events. Shortly thereafter, however, Ibn Rushd was reinstated and continued to serve the Almohads until his death in Marrakesh in 1198.

Despite what these dramatic events in Ibn Rushd's life seem to indicate, al-Andalus remained one of the most vital strongholds of genuine Islamic learning and creative intellectual exchange. Moreover, al-Andalus was very cosmopolitan and perhaps the only place at this time that still benefited from what we would call today a 'network' of Muslim, Jewish, and Christian scholars. This was true in spite of the fact that by the 1100s, the Reconquista was well underway and Muslim-Christian tensions were increasing on both sides of the border.

The Almohads had, as previously mentioned, a strong interest in philosophy. This is remarkable since the Almohad dynasty developed from a conservative populist reform movement, which propagated the revival of Islam on the basis of a literal understanding of the Qurʾān and the prophetic traditions on the one hand, and a political rule and religious mission by the sword on the other.[5] These complex religious, political, and intellectual circumstances in al-Andalus and the Maghreb in the twelfth century found one of their numerous expressions in the phenomenon that, in private, the Almohads strongly promoted philosophical studies, while in public they endorsed a literal interpretation of the Word of the Qurʾānic revelation and a strict adherence to the tradition of the Prophet Muḥammad, making this rigid religious approach their state doctrine. This restrictive approach led some of the most conservative religious scholars in the realm of the Almohads to discredit philosophy and philosophers in public, and to incite the people against any form of rationalist thought. It was in this complicated situation that Ibn Rushd formed his ideas. What is more,

5 Maribel Fierro, "The Legal Policies of the Almohad Caliphs and Ibn Rushd's *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid*," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 10.3 (1999), 226–248, esp. 236.

these conditions may also offer insight into why Ibn Rushd gave the relationship between faith and reason such a central role in so many of his writings.

To the historian of Western philosophy, Ibn Rushd is best known for his commentaries on Aristotle. In their Latin versions, these commentaries significantly influenced the development of Aristotelianism both in medieval Europe and in Renaissance Italy. His commentaries included criticism of earlier commentators on Aristotle, both non-Muslim and Muslim, and he developed Aristotle's ideas with his own original insights. In the Muslim world, it is above all Ibn Rushd's writings in defense of philosophy that have left their mark. These works quite clearly show Ibn Rushd's individualistic way of thinking and his considerable writing skills. They include, first, a trilogy devoted to logic and the usefulness of demonstrative proof in matters of the Islamic religion.[6] Second, there is Ibn Rushd's well-known reply to a work of the famous Muslim theologian and mystic, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (1058–1111), in which he offered a logical critique of the philosophical systems of the Muslim scholars Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (ca. 870–950) and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh Ibn Sīnā (or Avicenna, as he was known in the Latin West, 980–1037).[7]

In Ibn Rushd of Cordoba, Aristotelian thought in Islam reached its peak. Although this twelfth-century Andalusian thinker did not have any direct fol-

6 Ibn Rushd also wrote a commentary on Plato's *Republic*. Whether Ibn Rushd had access to a translation of the original Greek or was commenting on a translation of a summary of this work's political themes cannot be conclusively determined. In addition, Ibn Rushd authored commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoge* ("Introduction" to Aristotle's logical work on "Categories"), on one of the treatises by Alexander of Aphrodisias on the intellect, along with short commentaries on some of Galen's medical treatises, as well as a short commentary on Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and on aspects of the philosophies of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. These latter works, however, are not extant. Cf. Michael E. Marmura, "Ibn Rushd (Averroës)," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer (New York: Scribner, 1988), vol. 10: 571–575, esp. 572; and Averroes, *The Decisive Treatise*, xv–xvi (introduction).

7 In this book, al-Ghazālī criticized al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā to the extent of condemning them as heretics especially for three points of doctrine: their concepts of an eternal world, their denial of bodily resurrection, and their view that God's knowledge does not include particulars. While al-Ghazālī titled his critique of the philosophical thought in the Aristotelian tradition *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (*The Incoherence of the Philosophers*), Ibn Rushd called his detailed response to it *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* (*The Incoherence of 'The Incoherence'*) and in it refuted al-Ghazālī's critique of the philosophers paragraph by paragraph. Cf. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *The Incoherence of the Philosophers* [*Tahāfut al-falāsifa*]: *Parallel English-Arabic Text*, trans. M.E. Marmura, 2nd ed. (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2000); and Marmura, "Ibn Rushd (Averroes)," 572. See also Catarina Belo, "Averroes on God's Knowledge of Particulars," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 17.2 (2006), 177–199.

lowers among medieval Muslim scholars, the Latin and Hebrew translations of his incisive commentaries on Aristotle found an attentive audience among European Christian and Jewish scholars, with the thirteenth-century Italian Dominican Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) being one of Ibn Rushd's most prominent "disciples" and critics.

Intellectual Reasoning as a Basis of Learning

Ibn Rushd's book, *Faṣl al-maqāl wa-taqrīr mā bayna l-sharīʿa wa-l-ḥikma min al-ittiṣāl* (*The Decisive Treatise Determining* [*the Nature of*] *the Connection between the Divinely Revealed Law and Philosophy*), was first published in 1177 and is today one of his best-known writings. According to the author's own words, the main purpose of *The Decisive Treatise* is to prove, first, that Islamic Law "[generally] summons to reflection on beings and the pursuit of knowledge about them" and, second, that the religious law in Islam explicitly compels, facilitates, and even safeguards rational learning.[8] These two major propositions provide the theoretical framework for Ibn Rushd's reflection on education in *The Decisive Treatise*. Furthermore, Ibn Rushd introduces a third powerful and practical component to this discussion by suggesting that philosophy and logic may—and indeed, should—be applied for the good of the larger society.

Pedagogically, it is noteworthy that Ibn Rushd begins his *maqāl* (discourse) about religious law and philosophy by reassuring the reader that *qiyās ʿaqlī* (intellectual reasoning), or a combination of intellectual reasoning and *qiyās sharʿī* or *qiyās fiqhī* (legal reasoning), is both an appropriate and divinely sanctioned method of learning. Ibn Rushd supports this view scripturally by referring to several Qurʾānic verses, including "the saying of the Exalted, So, reflect, you who have eyes [to see and understand]" (Qurʾān 59:2).[9]

Approaches to Education

On this basis, Ibn Rushd identifies two main approaches to Islamic learning. One approach is text-oriented in terms of its sources and traditional in its methodology. It rests on the Qurʾān and is supplemented by prophetic tradi-

8 Ibn Rushd (Averroes), *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl wa-taqrīr mā bayna l-sharīʿa wa-l-ḥikma min al-ittiṣāl & Risālat al-ihdāʾ al-mulaqqaba bil-ḍamīma*, in *Philosophie und Theologie von Averroes*, ed. Marcus Joseph Müller (München: Franz, 1859) [Reprinted in Publications of the Institute for Arabic-Islamic Sciences: History of Islamic Philosophy 63], 1–26, at 1–2; idem, *On the Harmony of Religion and Philosophy: A Translation, with Introduction and Notes, of Ibn Rushd's* Kitāb faṣl al-maqāl*, with Its Appendix* (Ḍamīma) *and an Extract from* Kitāb al-Kashf ʿan manāhij al-adilla, trans. George F. Hourani (London: Messers, Luzac & Co., 1961), 44–45.

9 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 2, trans. Hourani, 45 (slightly adjusted).

tions and the commonly accepted interpretations of the Qur'ān. Thus, it relies on the authority of the Scripture and the sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad, along with the consensus of religious scholars and the analytical methods of interpretation that had already been commonly established. Ibn Rushd states that this (traditional) kind of learning is the most appropriate for ordinary citizens. The other approach is fully intellectualized and creative. It dwells on (a) *burhān* (demonstrative reasoning), (b) *taṣdīq* ([rational] assent),[10] and (c) *takhayyul* ([attentive] imagination). Therefore, Ibn Rushd recommends this approach only for those capable of advanced learning. He argues that, according to this focused, imaginative, and creative kind of learning, philosophy is not only a natural component of religion and of its study, but it is truly instrumental in directing and correcting the traditional beliefs of faith.[11]

Furthermore, in the context of the Holy Scripture as the main source for acquiring both theoretical and practical knowledge, two categories of teaching are determined: one aimed at forming concepts, and the other at reaching formal decisions or judgments. The first principal teaching method—instructing the student to compare, contrast, and classify objects, events, and ideas—is based on two techniques: (a) conceiving "an object in itself" and (b) conceiving "a symbol of it." The second major teaching method, Ibn Rushd suggests, relies on three different techniques: (1) demonstration, (2) dialectical argumentation and (3) the use of rhetoric in order to employ language effectively and persuasively in communication.[12] In this regard, Ibn Rushd relies heavily on Aristotle. Furthermore, if these principal teaching activities are viewed in connection with mind processes such as abstraction and generalization from examples, as a result of which learning or forming (new) concepts takes place, Ibn Rushd's ideas almost seem to anticipate the modern theory of 'concept learning' (also known as 'category learning'). This is a specific cognitive learning theory that was not incorporated into modern pedagogy before 1960 when

10 For *taṣdīq* (assent or affirmation), used in classical Islamic philosophy to mean the apprehension or conception of something together with a judgment (of the intellect), see my article "The Principles of Instruction Are the Grounds of Our Knowledge: Al-Farabi's (d. 950) Philosophical and al-Ghazali's (d. 1111) Spiritual Approaches to Learning," in *Trajectories of Education in the Arab World: Legacies and Challenges*, ed. Osama Abi-Mershed (London: Routledge, 2010), 15–35, esp. 16, fn. 6.

11 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 2, tr. Hourani, 58–61. See also Joseph A. Buijs, "Religion and Philosophy in Maimonides, Averroes, and Aquinas," *Medieval Encounters* 8 (2002), 160–183, esp. 163; and Mesut Okumus, "The Hermeneutics of Ibn Rushd," *Journal of Islamic Research* 2 (2009), 46–65.

12 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 15–17, trans. Hourani, 64.

the American psychologist Jérôme Seymour Bruner (b. 1915) and others published their research on this approach to education.

Most interesting with regard to religious education is Ibn Rushd's key statement that scriptural teaching basically aims at providing two things: *theoretical knowledge* for humankind to see the truth, and *practical knowledge* for human beings to lead a truthful life. Both of these components, however, are needed to attain the final goal of all learning: happiness "in This World and in The Next." Ibn Rushd addresses his readers directly when he says:

> You ought to know that the purpose of Scripture is simply to teach "true knowledge" and "right practice." "True knowledge" is knowledge of God … and of the beings as they really are …. [It is also] knowledge of [what brings] happiness and misery in the next life. "Right practice" consists of (a) performing those acts which bring happiness, and (b) avoiding those acts which bring misery. It is the knowledge of these acts that is called "practical knowledge."[13]

Course and Strategies of Teaching and Learning

In delineating his thought, Ibn Rushd discusses several aspects significant to both religious and secular education in *The Decisive Treatise*.

First, regarding the course of learning, Ibn Rushd advises educators to ensure that at all levels of instruction, the methods of teaching as well as the topics to be taught, are appropriate to both the learner's intellectual capabilities and the circumstances under which learning takes place. Disregard of this basic rule risks frustrating learners. It could cause learners to doubt the more universal aspects of the divine truth and may even result in disbelief. Ibn Rushd insists, furthermore, that learning should take place in what we may today call a "holistic" way so that a comprehensive understanding of the subject of study is acquired. This was evident in the Qur'ān from "His saying, Have they not studied the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and whatever things God has created?", which is a quotation from Qur'ān 7:185. Ibn Rushd explains this further by stating: "This is urging the study of the totality of beings."[14]

Second, considering the nature of knowledge acquisition, Ibn Rushd states that learning is essentially a process in which the learner familiarizes himself with what was unfamiliar to him. However, Ibn Rushd's most remarkable con-

13 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 19, trans. Hourani, 63 (slightly adjusted). See also Oliver Leaman, "Ibn Rushd on Happiness and Philosophy," *Studia Islamica* 52 (1980), 167–181.

14 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 2, trans. Hourani, 45.

tribution to the world of learning in this context was the way he illustrates this view by taking the mental process of reflection as an example:

> Since it has now been established that the Law has rendered obligatory the study of beings by the intellect, and reflection on them, and since 'reflection' (*i'tibār*) is nothing more than 'inference' (*istinbāṭ*) and drawing out the unknown from the known, and since this is reasoning or at any rate done by reasoning, therefore we are under an obligation to carry on our study of beings by intellectual reasoning. It is further evident that this manner of study, to which the Law summons and urges, is the most perfect kind of study using the most perfect kind of reasoning; and this is the kind called 'demonstration' (*burhān*).[15]

On the one hand, by advocating the concept that intellectual consideration of the existing world basically means to "infer and draw out the unknown from the known," Ibn Rushd (like his Muslim philosophical predecessors, al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, a faithful Aristotelian) reveals his intimate familiarity with Aristotelian logic and its core: the concept of conclusion or syllogism. Besides, Ibn Rushd seems to indicate here his awareness of the Socratic concept that human beings have inherited certain knowledge upon which they build their educational voyage.[16] Importantly enough, however, Ibn Rushd stresses two things: understanding the Divine and the physical reality (including human nature) is clearly mandated by the Divinely Revealed Law and that the acquisition of "demonstrative knowledge of God the Exalted and all the beings of His creation" is the best way to reach this goal.[17]

On the other hand, Ibn Rushd promotes the idea that students should be academically challenged so that they learn to (a) think critically when examining information; (b) question the validity of data; and (c) draw conclusions based on the ideas resulting from related investigations, so that they better understand "the totality of beings" or larger concepts of both the world and the divine. This observation is important, because—as the contemporary American educator Peter Ewell puts it—without reflection, learning ends "well short of the reorganization of thinking that deep learning requires."[18]

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15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Peter T. Ewell, *Organizing for Learning: A Point of Entry*, draft prepared for discussion at the 1997 AAHE Summer Academy at Snowbird, National Center for Higher Education Management Systems (NCHEMS), accessed March 27, 2012, http://www.intime.uni.edu/model/learning/learn_summary.html.

A third point relates more closely to intellectual (as distinct from scriptural or tradition-bound) reasoning as a particular strategy of education. Ibn Rushd strongly asserts, "we are under an obligation to carry on our study of beings by intellectual reasoning (*qiyās ʿaqlī*)," because "this manner of study, to which the [Divinely Revealed] Law summons and urges, is the most perfect kind of study. [It uses] the most perfect kind of reasoning [which] is called 'demonstration' (*burhān*)." If Scripture conflicts with the conclusions of demonstrative learning, then there is a need for (a) allegorical and symbolic interpretation of the apparent meaning of Scripture, and for (b) imagination to comprehend it fully.[19]

Regarding the importance of attentive imagination in learning, Ibn Rushd insists, as indicated above, that there are two ways of forming concepts in the mind: one that aims to conceive the object itself, and another that seeks to conceive a symbol of it.[20]

As for religious learning more specifically, Ibn Rushd articulates four strategies: First, there is learning without any need for allegorical interpretation. This kind of learning is based on certainty resulting from well-established concepts and judgments. It is applicable to scriptural texts that are unequivocal in meaning since they do *not use symbols*. Second, there is learning that needs allegorical interpretation to some extent. This kind of learning is also based on certainty resulting from accepted ideas or opinions. However, the texts to be studied do *use symbols in their conclusions*, although they are unequivocal in terms of their premises. Third, learning that requires allegorical interpretation to some extent is also appropriate in the case of texts whose *premises do use symbols* while their conclusions are straightforward and clear. Finally, there is learning that may or may not use allegorical interpretation, depending on the intellectual capacity of the learner. It applies to text whose "premises are based on accepted ideas or opinions, without being accidentally certain," but whose "*conclusions are symbols for what it was intended to conclude*." In these cases, the duty of the well-educated elite is to interpret these texts allegorically, while the little-educated masses must accept their literal meaning.[21]

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19 Ibn Rushd explains this further by stating that allegorical (and symbolic) interpretation means the "extension of the significance of an expression from the 'real' to 'metaphorical' significance, [that is, a process similar to] … calling a thing by the name of something resembling it or a cause or consequence or accompaniment of it". Cf. Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 7, trans. Hourani, 50.

20 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 19, trans. Hourani, 64. For Ibn Rushd's complex view of *taṣawwur bil-ʿaql* (conceptualization by the intellect), see Taylor, *Averroes' Epistemology*, 158.

21 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 20, trans. Hourani, 65.

Intellect and the Intercultural Context of Learning

Ibn Rushd does not explicitly list a curriculum of higher learning. He does, however, mention repeatedly that 'logic' and 'demonstrative syllogism' constitute the basis for dealing with almost all other sciences, be they religious or profane. What he expressly prescribes are the study of Scripture, theology, jurisprudence, physics, and metaphysics. In a clear manner, he mentions or refers to the natural sciences such as mathematics, geometry, astronomy, and geography, as well as other disciplines such as medicine, psychology, and music. Emphasis is also given to ethics, aesthetics, and to what we today would call social and political sciences. Yet, philosophy is for Ibn Rushd not only "the friend and milk-sister of religion," but "the art of arts," crowning the Averroist curriculum.[22]

With the importance that Ibn Rushd generally placed on intellectual reasoning, it is not surprising that the discussion of logic forms an important part of *The Decisive Treatise*. In fact, Ibn Rushd passionately advocates the view that the student of religion must first study logic if he eventually wants to master demonstration in religious matters—just as the jurisprudent must first study legal reasoning if he wants to practice law. But it is important to note that Ibn Rushd specifically advises students to learn logic from the ancient masters, in spite of the fact that they were *al-qudamā' qabla millat al-Islām* (the ancients prior to the community of Islam). Indeed, learning from others, whether they are Muslim or not, is always a wise choice and a natural prerequisite for the advancement of knowledge because:

> It is difficult if not impossible for one person … to discover all the knowledge that he needs …. [If what our predecessors, whether they] share our religion or not [said is correct, then] we should accept it from them; while, if there is anything incorrect in it, we should draw attention to it [and set things right] ….[23]

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22 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 26, trans. Hourani, 70.

23 It is worth pointing out that Ya'qūb b. Isḥāq al-Kindī (ca. 800–873), "the Philosopher of the Arabs," says something very similar at the beginning of his *Fī l-falsafa al-ūlā* (On First Philosophy). Al-Kindī states here: "It is proper that our gratitude be great to those who have contributed even a little of the truth, let alone to those who have contributed much truth, since they have shared with us the fruits of their thought and facilitated for us the true (yet) hidden inquiries …. If they had not lived, these true principles with which we have been educated … would not have been assembled for us, even with intense research throughout our time," cf. Alfred Ivry, *Al-Kindi's Metaphyisics: A Translation of Ya'qūb ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī's Treatise* "On First Philosophy" (*Fī l-Falsafa al-ūlā*), *with Introduction and Commentary* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1974), 57.

> [Moreover], whenever we find in the works of our predecessors of former nations a theory about beings and a reflection on them conforming to what the conditions of demonstration require, we ought to study what they said about the matter and what they affirmed in their books. We should accept from them gladly and gratefully whatever in these books accords with the truth.[24]

Freedom in Learning

Ibn Rushd makes a particularly intriguing point when insisting that everybody be permitted to study the intellectual heritage of the past without restriction, as long as the student "unites three qualities: natural intelligence, religious integrity, and moral virtue." In contrast:

> Whoever forbids the study of [the books of the previous generations] to anyone who is fit to study them … is blocking people from the door by which the [Divine] Law summons them to knowledge of God, the door of theoretical consideration which leads to the truest knowledge of Him. Such an act [represents] extreme ignorance and [indeed] estrangement from God the Exalted.[25]

For intelligent students, Ibn Rushd sees, therefore, no reason not to be successful in studying, whether it concerns religious or non-religious subject matter, unless they are misled "through lack of practical virtue, unorganized reading, [or] tackling [the study materials] without a teacher."[26]

Restrictions in Learning

Still, Ibn Rushd cautions, "the inner meaning [of things] ought not to be [taught to] anyone who is not a person of learning and who is incapable of understanding it." Explaining the inner meaning to people unable to understand it means destroying their belief in the apparent meaning without putting anything new in its place. Therefore, if there were a request to explain "the inner meaning [of things]" to the common population, Ibn Rushd suggests that it would be best for the learned to pretend ignorance and quote the Qur'ān on the limitations of human understanding—because the fear of God is most important in this world, it helps preserve the health of both the body and the soul![27]

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24 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 2–5, trans. Hourani, 45–48.

25 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 5, trans. Hourani, 48 (slightly adjusted).

26 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 18, trans. Hourani, 62.

27 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 9, 21, trans. Hourani, 52, 66.

Ibn Rushd further posits that the content and method of teaching and learning must correspond to the capabilities of the individual human mind. Consequently, there must be specific methods of instruction for the learned elite, and different ones for the common people. For those truly capable of becoming learned, a spectrum of strategies and tools for knowledge acquisition is appropriate, including: *iʿtibār* (reflection), *faḥṣ* (examination), *istinbāṭ* (deduction and discovery), *naẓar burhānī* (demonstrative study), *qiyās ʿaqlī* (intellectual reasoning),[28] *tamthīl* (comparison and analogy) as well as *taʾwīl* (allegorical interpretation), *aqāwīl jadaliyya* (dialectical reasoning), *aqāwīl burhāniyya* (demonstrative reasoning), and *aqāwīl khiṭābiyya* (rhetorical reasoning). These kinds of highly creative learning techniques are exclusive but legitimate and, in fact, divinely mandated, as "The Divine Law has urged us to have demonstrative knowledge of God the Exalted and all the beings of His creation."[29] It is "the duty of the elite" to employ these techniques and tools of learning.

As for instructing the common people, Ibn Rushd suggests—following his famous predecessor, the logician al-Fārābī—that the most appropriate methods are those making use of a limited number of teaching topics, concise and persuasive arguments, and rhetorically effective language and symbols. Ibn Rushd emphasizes that paying close attention to these pedagogical specifications is necessary, because the natural abilities and innate dispositions of "the masses" do not allow them to understand complex arguments. While rhetorical and, in part, dialectical arguments may be comprehensible to the majority of people, the demonstrative method of learning is restricted to the elite. Only the elite are fully capable of learning by *ʿaql* (intellect) and *ḥiss* (sense), which means that they may go beyond the apparent limits in understanding and set off toward new academic horizons.[30]

The "duty of the masses," however, "is to take [the pieces of information provided in the Scripture] in their apparent meaning in both respects, i.e.[,] in concept and judgment." The natural capacity of the common people "does not allow more than that," for most of them "only grasp apparent meanings."[31]

Therefore, Ibn Rushd warns in his *al-Kashf ʿan manāhij al-adilla fī ʿaqāʾid al-milla* (*Exposition of the Methods of Proof Concerning the Beliefs of the Commu-*

28 Ibn Rushd specifies that the jurist would have only "reasoning based on opinion" (*qiyās ẓannī*) at his disposition, while the "people endowed with knowledge [of God]" (*ʿārif*) can rely on "reasoning based on certainty" (*qiyās yaqīnī*). For these aspects of his discourse, see Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 1, 3, 6–8, 23, trans. Hourani, 44, 46, 49, 51, 67.

29 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 2, trans. Hourani, 45.

30 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 21, trans. Hourani, 66.

31 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 20, trans. Hourani, 65.

nity) that the learned must not mention to the masses that, in addition to basic intellectual understanding and sense perception, there is a category of human learning based on profound, nearly unlimited, rational inquiry and interpretation. He says:

> We maintained … that the *sharīʿa* (religious law) consists of two parts: *ẓāhir* (external) and *maʾūl* (interpreted), and that the external part is incumbent on the masses, whereas the interpreted is incumbent on the learned. With respect to that part, it is the duty of the masses to take it at face value, without attempting to interpret it. As for the learned, it is not permissible to divulge their interpretations to the public, as ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib, the Prophet's son-in-law and the Fourth Rightly-Guided Caliph], God be pleased with him, said: "Address people in a language that they understand; do you want God and his Messenger to lie?"[32]

In Ibn Rushd's view, the intellectual desire of the learned to strive for depth of learning is a particular privilege that is God-given, and the masses do not enjoy it. In fact, the understanding of the masses was "confined to the practicable, generable, and corruptible."[33] Therefore, the main objective of learning for the majority of common folk must be its practical aspects. The more practical knowledge is, the more suitable it is for the masses, as it helps them to adhere to sound beliefs and to achieve good behavior.[34]

As a kind of conclusive remark at the end of his *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* (*Incoherence of* [*al-Ghazālī's*] *'Incoherence of the Philosophers'*), Ibn Rushd supports this view from a different, although slightly more reconciliatory perspective. He maintains here that universal wisdom and happiness gained by studying philosophy are exclusive to the learned elite, while basic religious instruction is specific to the common people. He states:

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32 Ibn Rushd (Averroes), *al-Kashf ʿan manāhij al-adilla fī ʿaqāʾid al-milla*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ḥanaf, supervised by Muḥammad ʿĀbid al-Jābirī (Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-ʿArabiyya, 1998), 99. See also Ibrahim Najjar, *Faith and Reason in Islam: Averroes' Exposition of Religious Arguments* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2001), 17.

33 Urvoy, *Ibn Rushd*, 21–22, and esp. 56–57.

34 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 21, trans. Hourani, 66; see also Gallus Maria Manser, "Das Verhältnis von Glaube und Wissen bei Averroes," *Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie* 24 (1911), 398–408; 25 (2011), 9–34, 163–179, 250–277 (includes the chapter "Averroes und Thomas von Aquin," 259–277) [Reprinted in Publications of the Institute for Arabic-Islamic Sciences: The History of Islamic Philosophy 63]. Furthermore, see, above all, Hubert Dethier, "Averroes's Dialectic of Enlightenment: Some Difficulties in the Concepts of Reason," *Sartonia* 15 (2002) (Sarton Chair Lectures), 59–93, esp. 63, 82.

In short, the religions are, according to the philosophers, obligatory, since they lead towards wisdom in a way universal to all human beings, for philosophy only leads a certain number of intelligent people to the knowledge of happiness, and they therefore have to learn wisdom, whereas religions seek the instruction of the masses generally.

Notwithstanding this, we do not find any religion that is not attentive to the special needs of the learned, although it is primarily concerned with the things in which the masses participate. And since the existence of the learned class is only perfected and its full happiness attained by participation with the class *of* the masses, the general doctrine is also obligatory for the existence and life of this special class, both at the time of their youth and growth (and nobody doubts this), and when they pass on to attain the excellence which is their distinguishing characteristic.[35]

2 Thomas Aquinas

Life and Scholarship

Let us now turn to Thomas Aquinas.[36] Thomas was born in 1225 near the Italian town of Aquino, to a noble family related to the Hohenstaufen dynasty of the Holy Roman emperors, as well as to the Kings of Aragon, Castile, and France. At the age of fourteen, he became a student of the liberal arts at the imperial

35 Ibn Rushd continues this line of thought by pointing out: "[I]t belongs to the necessary excellence of a man of learning that he should not despise the doctrines in which he has been brought up, and that he should explain them in the fairest way, and that he should understand that the aim of these doctrines lies in their universal character, not in their particularity, and that, if he expresses a doubt concerning the religious principles in which he has been brought up, or explains them in a way contradictory to the prophets and turns away from their path, he merits more than anyone else that the term unbeliever should be applied to him, and he is liable to the penalty for unbelief in the religion in which he has been brought up." Cf. Ibn Rushd (Averroes), *Averroes' Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (*The Incoherence of the Incoherence*), 2 vols., trans. Simon Van Den Bergh (Cambridge: The University of Cambridge Press, 1954) (paperback 2008), 359–360.

36 Since there has already been much research done on Thomas Aquinas's moral theory and ethics, a few words to introduce Thomas's life and work may suffice here. For a brief summary of his moral theory, see Ralph McInerny, "Aquinas' Moral Theory," *Journal of Medical Ethics* 13 (1987), 31–33. Further, see Leo J. Elder, *Ethics of St. Thomas Aquinas: Happiness, Natural Law and the Virtues* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2005); and Anton Charles Pegis, "Aquinas, St. Thomas," in *The Encyclopedia of Education*, ed. Lee C. Deighton, 10 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1971), vol. 1: 250–257.

studium generale in Naples, a school that later became part of the University of Bologna, which has commonly been viewed as the oldest secular university in Europe. Here Thomas Aquinas was probably introduced to the works of Aristotle and Ibn Rushd. These studies of philosophy in the Aristotelian tradition had a particularly deep formative influence on Thomas's own theology and philosophy. Thomas continued his studies at the University of Paris (1245–1248) and in Cologne (1248–1252), where the Dominicans were just opening a *studium generale*, that is, a monastic institution of higher learning.[37]

Thomas Aquinas spent about half of his professional life teaching at the University of Paris (1252–1259 and 1268–1272). He also lectured at the Dominican *studia generalia* in Naples, Orvieto, and Rome (1259–1268), where he was engaged in the same theological-philosophical course of teaching and studying as he was in Paris. During these years, Thomas became profoundly engaged in the heated debate about whether and how the metaphysical, ethical, psychological, and natural scientific writings of Aristotle that had been recovered during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries "should be integrated in the established curriculum and what the implications for the reformation of that curriculum were."[38] The Dominican Albertus Magnus of Cologne, who became bishop of the prestigious German diocese of Regensburg and an advocate of the peaceful coexistence of science and religion, had a particular influence on Thomas Aquinas's views in this regard.

After a life that saw as much reward for admirable scholarship and activities in the church as it did of criticism, Thomas Aquinas died in 1274 in Fossanova, a Cistercian abbey near Rome.

As a priest in the Dominican order and a theologian by profession, Thomas was an immensely influential, though (in his own time) controversial philosopher. As is known, his philosophical concepts exerted a lasting influence not only on Christian theology, but also on Western philosophy and thought in general, and in his two most famous books, the *Summa Theologica* and the *Summa Contra Gentiles*, they played a fundamental role in consolidating his enduring cultural impact.[39]

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37 Stephen F. Brown, ed., *Aquinas on Faith and Reason* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishers, 1999), xi–xii. For a comprehensive survey, see Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas: The Person and His Work*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1997).

38 Alasdair MacIntyre, "Aquinas's Critique of Education: Against His Own Age, Against Ours," in *Philosophers on Education: New Historical Perspectives*, ed. Amelie O. Rorty (London: Routledge, 1998), 95–108, esp. 96–97.

39 Thomas Aquinas intended his *Summa Theologica* to be a manual for students, comprising

Educational Philosophy

Like Ibn Rushd, Thomas Aquinas discusses education within the theological and philosophical framework of his major writings. Furthermore, neither Ibn Rushd nor Thomas Aquinas developed in any of their writings a systematic 'philosophy of education' as such, although Thomas composed two important treatises on teaching: One, titled *On the Teacher* (*De Magistro*), is devoted to the "theory of the educability of the human individual." It draws its inspiration from a report of a philosophical disputation that Thomas conducted in about 1257 as a newly appointed professor at the University of Paris. It is included as Question 11 in his larger work, *Disputed Questions on Truth*. Here Thomas attempts to define various concepts pertinent to education, including terms such as knowledge, teaching, learning, and discovery. He maintains, for example, that teaching "is nothing else than to cause knowledge in another in some way," while hypothesizing that, "if the knowledge is caused by one person in another, the learner either had it already or he did not." These central ideas of the educational process are elaborated further in his statement:

> Knowledge, therefore, pre-exists in the learner potentially, not, however, in the purely passive, but in the active sense. Otherwise, man would not be able to acquire knowledge independently. Therefore, as there are two ways of being cured, that is, either through the activity of unaided nature or by nature with the aid of medicine, so also there are two ways of acquiring knowledge. In one way, natural reason by itself reaches knowledge of unknown things, and this way is called discovery; in the other way, when someone else aids the learner's natural reason, and this is called learning by instruction.[40]

The other major discussion of teaching, "*Whether One Man Can Teach Another?*", appears in part one, question 117, article one of his *Summa Theologica*. Here he first explores four reasons why one person should not be called 'teacher' of another, all arguments that he later refutes. He hypothesizes that (a) to be called teacher and educator is an honor proper to God alone (cf. Matt. 23:8),

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the main theological teachings of his time. In contrast, his *Summa Contra Gentiles* is a treatise on how humans, through insights into the material world, come to achieve knowledge of the divine, rather than, as its title may seem to suggest, a work "against infidels."

40 Thomas Aquinas, *Disputed Questions on Truth*, translated from the definitive Leonine text by Robert W. Mulligan, S.J. West Baden College (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1952), question 11, article 1, 526–527.

therefore no human can be called another human's master or teacher; (b) "causing knowledge" in another person would be like "creating reality" which is impossible, as a result of which learning would be impossible, too; (c) learning requires "intellectual light" and the student's ability to compare what he learns with something that he already knows; yet no human can be the provider of or "teach" another either of these things; and finally, (d) teaching means for the teacher to propose to the student certain signs and gestures in order to instruct him. However, if the teacher uses signs already known to the student, this process cannot be called teaching. Yet, if the signs are unknown to the student, the student will not be able to understand and learn either. In refuting these ideas and arguing in favor of the educability of man, Thomas Aquinas refers to Paul ("Whereunto I am appointed a preacher and an apostle … a teacher of the Gentiles in faith and truth"; 1 Timothy 2:7) and, in particular, to Ibn Rushd, whose theory of the intellect, as presented in the latter's commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima*, Thomas discusses.[41]

Practical Reasoning as a Basis of Learning

Regarding the general process of education, Thomas Aquinas believed that learning may be initiated by a teacher. Furthermore, he stresses that a good teacher must build his teaching on the gradual development of human nature. Indeed, a good teacher should anticipate and follow the sequence that the student himself would choose, if the option of making the decision were offered to him.[42]

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41 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica, Complete English Edition in Five Volumes*, trans. by Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York: Benziger Bros., 1947–1948), part i, question 117, article 1, 569. See also József Kormos, "Thomas von Aquin über die Möglichkeit des Unterrichtens und der Erziehung," *Studia Theologica* 6.2 (2008), 182–189, esp. 184–185. For more information on the ways in which medieval Jewish writers and the Latin West came into contact with Islamic philosophy in general and Ibn Rushd's ideas in particular, see, for example, the insightful studies by Charles E. Butterworth and Blake A. Kessel, *The Introduction of Arabic Philosophy into Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 1994); O. Leaman, "Jewish Averroism," in *History of Islamic Philosophy*, ed. S.H. Nasr and O. Leaman (London: Routledge 1996), 769–780; C. Wilson, "Modern Western Philosophy," in the same volume, 1013–1029; as well as H.A. Wolfson, "The Twice-Revealed Averroes," *Speculum* 36 (1961), 373–392.

42 Thomas Aquinas's *Disputed Questions on Truth* (*De Veritate*) ix, 1, according to MacIntyre, "Aquinas's Critique," 102. See also Robert Pasnau, *Thomas Aquinas on Human Nature: A Philosophical Study of "Summa theologiae" Ia 75–89* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), esp. chapters 9–11 ("Mind and Image," "Mind and Reality," and "Knowing the Mind").

Thomas explains that the skills of argumentation and debate should be taught to young people even at an early stage of education. Familiarity with these formal methods of interactive and representational discussion helps them to progress in critical thinking and reasoned decision-making. These intellectual qualities are important prerequisites for more advanced studies. For Thomas Aquinas, the curriculum of higher learning thus includes first and foremost logic, followed by mathematics and the natural sciences, but also moral and political philosophy, metaphysics, and theology.

Approaches to Education

In his *Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, Thomas Aquinas suggests the following course of study:

> [T]he proper order of learning is that boys first be instructed in things pertaining to logic because logic teaches the method of the whole of philosophy. Next, they should be instructed in mathematics, which does not need experience and does not exceed the imagination. Third, in natural sciences, which, even though not exceeding sense and imagination, nevertheless require experience. Fourth, in the [political and] moral sciences, which require experience and a soul free from passions .... Fifth, in the sapiential and divine sciences (i.e., metaphysics and theology), which exceed imagination and require a sharp mind.[43]

Interestingly, Thomas states in the first part of his *Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics* that no one can call himself "a good student of political sciences nor any part of moral sciences comprised under political sciences," unless he follows reason and refrains from concupiscence, anger, and other negative emotions caused by passion. He clarifies also that the end of moral science, as all practical sciences, "is not knowledge alone ... but human action."[44] This insight is of general importance to learning. It also shows the great extent to which Thomas is in agreement not only with Aristotle, but also with Muslim philosophers in the Aristotelian tradition such as al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and, above all, Ibn Rushd.

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43 Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. C.I. Litzinger, foreword by Ralph McInerny (Notre Dame: Dumb Ox, 1993), vi, lecture 7, §1211, 13; see also MacIntyre, "Aquinas's Critique," 103.

44 Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics* i, lecture 3, §38–40, 13.

The different roles that "experience" and "established knowledge" and "sense perception" and "imagination" play in learning at the various stages of a human life are addressed by using the example of mathematics. Thomas states:

> [T]he principles of mathematics are known by abstraction from sensible objects (whose understanding requires experience); for this reason, little time is needed to grasp them. But the principles of nature, which are not separated from sensible objects, are studied via experience. For this, much time is needed .... [T]he nature of mathematics is not obscure to [the young] because mathematical proofs concern sensibly conceivable objects while things pertaining to wisdom are purely rational. Youths can easily understand whatever falls under the imagination, but they do not grasp things exceeding sense and imagination; for their minds are not trained to such consideration both because of the shortness of their lives and many physical changes they are undergoing.[45]

While in the thirteenth century the inclusion of most of Aristotle's works in the curriculum of higher learning resulted in a general advancement of the respective scholarly disciplines, the two major educational concepts of Thomas Aquinas that we have just mentioned, namely, the one determining that teaching should lead the student from the basic to the more complex topics, and the other defining instruction as a gradual development of a—perhaps God-given—human nature and personality were "notably absent" from the medieval university, as the contemporary philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre (b. 1929) observed.[46] In fact, we may add that these educational concepts remained utopian in Europe until the father of modern education, the seventeenth-century Czech bishop-reformer John Amos Comenius (1592–1670), planted in the European educational discourse the idea that teachers should ensure a rapid, pleasant and thorough education which follows in "the footsteps of nature." Famously, Comenius's principal, pansophic maxim derived from this view was to "teach everything to everybody."[47] But it took as long as two centuries before the Swiss pedagogue Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) firmly implemented in Western education a method of instruc-

45 Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics* i, lecture 3, § 38–40, 13.

46 MacIntyre, "Aquinas's Critique," 103.

47 Sebastian Günther, "Be Masters in That You Teach and Continue to Learn: Medieval Muslim Thinkers on Educational Theory," *Comparative Education Review* (Chicago) 50.3 (2006) (Special Issue: *Islam and Education—Myths and Truths*), 367–388, esp. 387–388.

tion that was in line with the laws of human nature, and which placed the emphasis on student spontaneity and self-activity in the process of learning.

Course and Strategies of Teaching and Learning

In his work most clearly dedicated to the teaching profession, *On the Teacher*, Thomas Aquinas devoted much thought to learning theory. From the viewpoint of Christian theology, this treatise gives voice to his general conception of learning as a self-determined activity, and of the teacher's relation to such action. Thomas puts forth in this text a wealth of ideas central to educational philosophy. Four major pedagogical propositions that he offers can be summarized as follows:[48]

First, in order for learning to take place, students must face an issue that arouses their interest and about which they are willing to learn. The teacher should then facilitate the students' learning activities and guide them to the knowledge of truth. According to Thomas, truth exists in the mind of God as well as in things (that is, the "embodied ideas of God") and, finally, in the mind of the human being who, by abstracting and interpreting the meaning of the universe, comes to know God. Second, the teacher must have perfected his own knowledge. Only then can the teacher truly help the students organize their experience and knowledge, and instruct them further. Third, the teacher must appreciate the special significance of *method* for education. He must know that the reflective processes leading the student to knowledge acquisition determine the method of instruction. Fourth, the teacher must respect the students' freedom in learning. Still, he should help them avoid errors and their often-discouraging effects.

Not surprisingly, one of Thomas Aquinas's more specific pieces of advice for the teacher concerns teaching methods and learning strategies. Thomas closely links this topic to the Aristotelian syllogism. He stresses, for example, that the presentation of the subject matter to be taught must be logical, precise, and lucid. Clarity is central to successful instruction. Moreover, he gives priority to the way in which the teacher presents his material, which must be both effective and appealing to the mind. Further recommendations include the use of a question-answer sequence in discussing topics, the review of historic solutions of problems, the use of symbols as tools for instruction in particularly unfamiliar things or ideas, and the linking of the subject under discussion with

48 Mary Helen Mayer, *The Philosophy of Teaching of Saint Thomas Aquinas* (Harrison, New York: Roman Catholic Books, 1928), 92.

as many other subjects as possible. The emphasis here is on what is *possible*, because one should not risk confusing the student.[49]

Intellect and the Question "Can One Human Teach Another?"

In his discussion of epistemological questions and education as presented in the treatise *On the Teacher*, Thomas Aquinas repeatedly mentions Aristotle and Ibn Rushd, but also often draws on the positions of the Latin Church father, philosopher, and theologian St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430), and the Muslim polymath Ibn Sīnā.

Thomas also refers to these scholars in his famous *Summa Theologica*, a systematic compendium of theology, written between about 1265 and 1273. Here, Thomas expressly quotes Ibn Rushd in particular when contemplating the question of whether one human is actually capable of teaching another or whether only God truly deserves the designation 'teacher.' Thomas says, for example:

> As Averroes argues, the teacher does not cause knowledge in the disciple after the manner of a natural active cause. Wherefore knowledge need not be an active quality: but is the principle by which one is directed in teaching, just as art is the principle by which one is directed in working.[50]

Under this overarching theme, Thomas Aquinas also discusses the relation of learning to the intellect. He acknowledges that he—like Aristotle and Ibn Rushd before him—believes that understanding is essentially the result of a process during which the human intellect passes from a state in which it does not think to a subsequent state in which it does. He also stresses two more specific aspects, in which he differs somewhat from his predecessors. First, the human intellect produces understanding in two ways: through the involvement of the 'active' (or illuminating) intellect and the 'passive' (or receptive) intellect, both of which are, according to Thomas, inherent in the human mind.

Second, nothing is present in the mind as it exists in reality; instead, Thomas posits, the mind conceives only the 'structures' (or nature) of things, not their material conditions.[51]

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49 Mayer, "The Philosophy of Teaching," 96–103.

50 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, part i, question 117, article 1, 570.

51 Thomas Aquinas, *Über den Lehrer:* Quaestiones disputatae de veritate, Quaestio XI, *Summa theologiae*: Pars I, quaestio 117, articulus 1, ed. and trans. Gabriel Jüssen et al. (Hamburg: Meiner, 1988). Thomas Aquinas, *Über den Lehrer*, xl–xlii (introduction by Heinrich Pauli).

Thomas Aquinas agrees with his predecessor, Ibn Rushd, that the 'active intellect' is "not multiplied in the many human bodies, but is one [and the same] for all men."[52] However, he disagrees with Ibn Rushd on his concept (as stated in the Latin translation of Ibn Rushd's *Long Commentary on "De Anima"* iii, 5) that there is also only one universal 'passive' (or receptive) intellect, which is capable of abstracting knowledge from corporeal forms and structures and is shared by all humans.

Indeed, in his various commentaries on Aristotle's *De Anima* and his *The Incoherence of* [*al-Ghazālī's*] *'Incoherence of the Philosopher'*, Ibn Rushd proposes that the 'passive' or (what he and his Muslim predecessors al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā called) the 'potential' or 'material' intellect is "a single power common to [all] individual … human … souls."[53] It is "receptive" of all material forms, without being itself a "body" or a "form in a body," or "at all mixed with matter." Since "its … nature is to receive forms," this intellect cannot contain "the nature of those material forms itself" which it processes.[54] Also, this one 'passive intellect' shared by the entire human species was understood as an "ungenerated," "indestructible," and "eternal" disposition.[55] Consequently, according to Ibn Rushd, the differences between individuals in their mental depiction or representation of real objects result from the differences in these individuals' history of sense perceptions. Hence, the 'passive' (or potential/material) intellect refers to the *potentiality* for intellectual thought, with which all humans are born.[56]

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52 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, part i, question 79, article 5, 400.

53 Ibn Rushd (Averroes), *Long Commentary on the De Anima of Aristotle*, trans. Richard C. Taylor with Thérèse-Anne Druart (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 269–271, esp. 289. See also Ibn Rushd (Averroes), *Über den Intellekt. Auszüge aus seinen drei Kommentaren zu Aristoteles' De anima. Arabisch—Lateinisch—Deutsch* (*On the intellect: Extracts from his three commentaries on Aristotle's* De anima. *Arabic-Latin-German*), ed. David Wirmer (Freiburg: Herder, 2008). Furthermore, see Michael E. Marmura, "Some Remarks on Averroës's Statements on the Soul," in *Averroës and the Enlightenment* [First Special International Philosophy Conference on Ibn Rushd (Averroës) and the Enlightenment (Cairo 1996), Fifth Afro-Asian Philosophy Conference Organized by the Afro-Asian Philosophy Association, and Five Dialogues on Averroës and His Influence: Remembering G. Hourani], ed. Mourad Wahba and Boutros Boutros-Ghali (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1996), 279–291.

54 Ibn Rushd, *Long Commentary*, 270–271, 385–386, 396–397.

55 Ibn Rushd, *Tahāfut*, 6, 180. However, Ibn Rushd admits: "This question is one of the most difficult in philosophy, and the best explanation that can be given of this problem is that the material intellect thinks an infinite number of things in one intelligible, and that it judges these things in a universal judgment, and that which forms its essence is absolutely immaterial." Ibn Rushd, *Tahāfut*, 358.

56 The complex issue of Ibn Rushd's differing positions regarding the 'material' or 'potential'

Thomas Aquinas is fully aware of the consequences that this theory of "one eternal, information-receiving-and-processing intellect, shared by all humankind," has for the concept of learning. As Ibn Rushd proposed (according to Thomas Aquinas), if there is only a single "information-receiving-and-processing" intellect common to all humankind, then all people would receive in their minds the same, i.e., identical "intelligible structures" of things. Consequently, no teacher would actually be able to inculcate in a student knowledge that is different from his own. In fact, as Thomas observes in his treatise *On the Teacher*, according to Ibn Rushd, the educator would teach the students nothing but "how to order" the information "already existing" in their souls so that it becomes fit for intellectual comprehension and education. This calls to mind what was said above about Ibn Rushd's idea of "uncovering and drawing out the unknown from the known" as "the most perfect" and indeed divinely sanctioned way of studying.[57]

This Averroistic perception of the learning process, however, was flawed in Thomas Aquinas's view. Thus, Thomas agrees with Ibn Rushd in terms of certain arguments, but rejects others. Thomas states:

> Averroes, commenting on *De Anima iii*, maintains that all men have one passive intellect in common .... From this it follows that the same intelligible species belong to all men. Consequently, he held that one man does not cause another to have a knowledge distinct from that which he has himself; but that he communicates the identical knowledge which he has himself, by moving him to order rightly the phantasms in his soul, so that they be rightly disposed for intelligible apprehension.
>
> This opinion is true so far as knowledge is the same in disciple and master, if we consider the identity of the thing known: because the same objective truth is known by both of them. But so far as he maintains that all men have but one passive intellect, and the same intelligible species, differing only as to various phantasms, his opinion is false ....[58]

(for 'passive') intellect, is thoroughly discussed by Herbert A. Davidson, *Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes on Intellect: Their Cosmologies, Theories of the Active Intellect, and Theories of Human Intellect* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), chapter 7 ("Averroes on the Material Intellect"), 258–314. See also Alfred L. Ivry, "Averroes on Intellection and Conjunction," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 86.2 (1966), 76–85, esp. 77; and Holger Winkelmann-Liebert, "Die Intellektlehre des Averroës," *Der Islam* 82 (2005), 273–290, esp. 274–275.

57 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl*, 2.

58 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, part i, question 117, article 1, 569.

In other words, Thomas Aquinas agrees with Ibn Rushd's concept of the learning process at a syllogistic level, in noting that the knowledge of a teacher and that of a student could be considered identical if one equates knowledge of a thing or idea with truth as such. Thomas also expresses his agreement with Ibn Rushd on the belief that knowledge exists "potentially" in the student. However, this would not mean that the student already "possesses the knowledge." Rather, it would indicate that the student has the "potential" to acquire it, if somebody (a teacher) or something (an idea) acts upon him, or exerts influence or has an effect on him. Yet, Thomas fundamentally disagrees with Ibn Rushd's major postulates that (a) there is only one 'passive' or 'receptive' intellect shared by all humans, and that (b) information would differ only in its individual content, not in its structural manifestation. Instead, Thomas argues that, while the passive intellect is one specific capacity of thinking, it represents, at the same time, a multitude of processes to the effect that each person possesses own "passive" intellect, whose nature it is to "receive," "retain," and process information.[59]

3 Conclusion

The larger point of this debate on the intellect is that Thomas Aquinas was the first scholastic thinker to call on every human to make actual use of his mind for his own benefit and for the good of society. From today's perspective, one can only imagine the kind of attention—and controversy—such a proposition must have sparked in thirteenth-century Europe; and we know from history that it actually did. *Theologically speaking*, Thomas Aquinas was at one with St. Augustine and the traditional beliefs of the Church in advocating that God—the divine light and truth—illumines humans. However, at the same time he "rebuilt" the Christian view of the world and of humankind in the Aristotelian spirit when suggesting that God had given human beings their own light by which they see, know, and guide themselves. *Pedagogically speaking*, through his discussion of Ibn Rushd, Thomas Aquinas articulated the idea that each human being thinks "on his own"—that is, Aquinas articulated a concept, which changed the world of Christian learning. Although Thomas Aquinas's equation of religious concepts with secular knowledge—and his attempt to

59 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, part i, question 117, article 1, 569; see also question 76, article 2 (Whether the intellectual principle is multiplied numerically according to the number of bodies; or is there one intelligence for all men?), 372–375.

harmonize the two kinds of learning—never questioned the central role of religion in human life, it did, however, pave the way for a secularization of knowledge and education in the Latin West that was, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, promoted by the scholastic thinker William of Ockham (1288–1348), the humanist philosopher Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), and other intellectuals.[60] Yet, already during the thirteenth-century controversial debates about the relation of religion to philosophy, some scholastic scholars—especially in Paris—came to champion the idea that philosophy and natural reason were superior to divinely revealed knowledge, but, of course, not without facing strong resistance from a more conservative clergy.

Thomas Aquinas seems to represent an innovative middle course in this regard, as he synthesized aspects of the traditional religious teachings and spiritual practices of the Church with Aristotelian learning and Averroism.[61] In addition, he must certainly be seen as a Christian scholar whose openness and keenness to discuss issues presented by a Muslim philosopher and Aristotle-recipient such as Ibn Rushd significantly enlivened both academic discourse in the Latin West and the interest of European scholars in Islamic thought. This role of Thomas, if seen from today's perspective, is a pioneering achievement in its own right. Yet, significantly enough, Thomas's epistemological argument—that "human thought is formed and stimulated by each individual human mind"—severed the direct bond of the *individual* person with the Divine during a person's lifetime. Consequently, for Thomas, perfect contemplation of God and complete happiness were not yet possible in This World; they were possible only in the Next. Ibn Rushd, in stark contrast, famously argued that the "passive (or receptive) intellect" is a single substance that all human minds share. Thus, for Ibn Rushd "knowledge of the divine essence" and "human perfection"—in addition to the attainment of happiness as the final end of the educational process—are already possible in This World. Regarding these major aspects of learning, Ibn Rushd's and Thomas Aquinas's educational philosophies differ fundamentally. They are, in fact, mutually exclusive.

60 See, for example, W.M.E. Logister, "The Communicative Theology of William of Ockham: A Contemporary Interpretation," in *Theology and Conversation: Towards a Relational Theology*, ed. Jacques Haers and Peter De Mey (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 761–779, esp. 762.

61 Thomas Aquinas presents this view on several occasions both in his *Disputed Questions* and later in his *Summa Theologica*; cf. Kirk Templeton, "Avicenna, Aquinas, and the Active Intellect," *Journal of Islamic Philosophy* 3 (2008), 40–67, esp. 59.

However, the Muslim and the Christian scholar also share a number of educational concepts that are significant today when dealing with contemporary issues in humanistic education in our increasingly diversified western societies.

1. We may recall, for example, the centrality both scholars grant to (a) scriptural truth as a source of wisdom, (b) the priority of logic, demonstration, as well as intellectual and practical reasoning in learning and teaching, (c) the usefulness of careful contemplation and the duty of learning from the past, as well as (d) the academic freedom students and teachers should enjoy in choosing the study materials, and indeed throughout the educational process. In other words, for these medieval thinkers, contemplation and study lead to knowledge of reality itself, and to useful answers to current questions. This view is utterly different from what modern educators in many Western universities encounter when facing requests to simplify teaching even further, to restrict it to mere problem-solving, and to limit it to instruction in skills that enable students to "get things done."

2. Both Ibn Rushd and Thomas Aquinas highlighted in their discussions of education the importance of *logic* (as the discipline that is, in a medieval context, most obviously devoted to pure and formal thought), and the need for *rational inquiry*, *intellectual reasoning*, and *demonstration* (as the most efficient pedagogical strategies). In fact, Ibn Rushd considers reason, rational thinking, and a purposeful, reflective assessment of evidence as fundamental to teaching and learning so as to reach a better understanding of both the world and the divine. For him, other reasoning processes—such as rhetoric and sophistry (used by politicians), dialectical discourse (preferred by theologians), or poetic communication (sometimes employed by prophets)—are valid, but subordinate to demonstration, which is thus favored by the philosophers. Similarly, Thomas Aquinas stresses that *demonstration*, the development of *critical thinking* abilities, and what he calls *practical reasoning*, are central to the intellectual and moral formation and growth of the human being. In addition, it becomes clear that in his discussion of these issues, Thomas Aquinas was strongly influenced by Ibn Rushd's ideas.

3. Ibn Rushd and Thomas Aquinas also share a common belief in the importance of ethics and virtue in this process. For Ibn Rushd, the rational power of the intellect is given to humans only so that they may reach their goal of ultimate moral and intellectual perfection. Humanity was granted this rational power to create, understand, and live according to ethical standards. Yet, next to the theoretical aspects of this power, there is an important practical side to

it, which is, in Ibn Rushd's understanding, rooted in sensory experience and closely related to moral virtues like friendship and love. In a strikingly similar manner, Thomas stresses that the course of action which leads to human perfection and happiness is based on "a scheme of practical life" defined by three related things: (a) the common good (in the sense of freely shaping one's life by responsible action), (b) virtues (in the basic meaning of striving for moral excellence), and (c) laws (not simply meant to restrict people, but rather to direct human acts). As Thomas put it:

> [A] law is nothing else than a dictate of reason in the ruler by whom his subjects are governed .... [Also,] every law aims at being obeyed by those who are subject to it. Consequently it is evident that the proper effect of law is to lead its subjects to their proper virtue: and since virtue is "that which makes its subject good," it follows that the proper effect of law is to make those to whom it is given, good, either simply or in some particular respect.[62]

This aspect of Thomas's account of human perfection and ultimate happiness provides the premise for his "conclusion about the nature of teaching and learning and the kind of education that human beings need."[63]

4. There is one more point Ibn Rushd and Thomas Aquinas have in common: the fact that both scholars were controversial figures in their own time within the intellectual circles of their faiths, and in Ibn Rushd's case, remained so for several centuries thereafter. However, while Thomas Aquinas was canonized in 1323 by Pope John XXII, proclaimed Doctor of the Church (doctor ecclesiae) by Pope Pius V in 1567, and in 1880 was declared patron of all Roman Catholic educational establishments, the rationalist thinker Ibn Rushd remains highly disputed in the Muslim world.

It is, therefore, particularly noteworthy that in recent years the rationalism in Ibn Rushd's thought seems to play an increasing—though certainly not determinative—role in the intellectual debates in the Arab world. For certain prominent Muslim intellectuals, like the Egyptian philosopher and hermeneutic specialist Ḥasan Ḥanafī (b. 1935) and the secular Moroccan thinker Muḥam-

62 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, part ii, question 92, article 1, 1001.

63 MacIntyre, "Aquinas's Critique," 98, 100. It is also interesting to stress that Thomas Aquinas determines two things needed for virtue to emerge: (a) individual friendship, because one cannot achieve virtue in isolation, and (b) communal solidarity, because achievement of the good of the individual is inseparable from the common good of society.

mad ʿĀbid al-Jābirī (1936–2010), Ibn Rushd became a leading figure in their pleas for a modern Muslim civil society, which acknowledges its debt to its own Islamic past and heritage, but is, at the same time, open to other cultures and civilizations.[64]

It appears that these liberal Arab intellectuals appreciate the dynamic cultural and religious diversity of al-Andalus as a special phenomenon characterized by intellectual openness, scientific curiosity, reason, and, above all, the successful practice of 'cultural dialogue' instead of a 'clash of civilizations'. The rediscovery of the classical Islamic and the medieval Christian intellectual heritages is an opportunity for the Muslim and Western worlds. Given the general principle of the potential universality of all rational knowledge, Ibn Rushd's and Thomas Aquinas's educational ideas have lost nothing of their initial thought-provoking appeal. Indeed, they appear to be relevant and useful even today when considering contemporary issues in education, be it in the Middle East or the Western world.

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64 See, above all, the important study by Anke von Kügelgen, *Averroes und die arabische Moderne. Ansätze zu einer Neubegründung des Rationalismus im Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), esp. 208, 214, 225–237. It is interesting to note here that Ḥanafī, quite different from Ibn Rushd, does not speak of knowledge permissible only to the elite (*khāṣṣa*) and knowledge accessible also to the common people (*ʿāmma*). Instead, Ḥanafī advocates granting the masses also unrestricted access to the knowledge of the elite (cf. Kügelgen, *Averroes und die arabische Moderne*, 214). For Jābirī, cf. 282–288. Jābirī studied, in particular, Ibn Rushd's role in society as a critic, philosopher, and theologian. For him, the Maghrebi-Andalusian heritage represents the cornerstone of what he called "the era of [critical] re-formulation" (*ʿaṣr tadwīn jadīd*) of Arabic-Islamic thought and society (cf. Kügelgen, *Averroes und die arabische Moderne*, 270, 283, 288).

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CHAPTER 13

Teaching the Learned: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī's *Ijāza* to Muʾayyadzāda ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendi and the Circulation of Knowledge between Fārs and the Ottoman Empire at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century

*Judith Pfeiffer**

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—the time between the dissolution of Ilkhanid rule in the mid-fourteenth century and the establishment of the early modern regional states of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals at the turn of the sixteenth century—were a period of exceeding political decentralization

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and scholarly mobility in the Nile to Oxus region. New centers of learning, new forms of social collectivities, including Sufi and intellectual socio-religious networks, and new forms and taxonomies of knowledge played increasingly important roles in the multi-cephalous political and intellectual landscape of the post-Mongol Islamicate societies. In the case presented here such non-capital cities as Amasya, Aleppo, Kāzarūn, Shiraz, and Edirne were important nodes in the circulation of knowledge, and so was the at least nowadays relatively little known scholar, *qāḍī* and recipient of the present *ijāza* Mu'ayyadzāda (d. 922/1516), whose education depended to a significant extent on his wide travels and crossing of the political and confessional boundaries of the time.

The *ijāza* presented here refers to several other highly mobile scholars of the first half of the fifteenth century, including the lexicographer Majd al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415) who is known as the author of the *Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*,[1] the astronomer Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Mūsā b. Maḥmūd Qāḍīzāda al-Rūmī (d. after ca. 835/1432), and the Shāfi'ī scholar Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1430).[2] Its main protagonists, however, are the Shiraz-based polymath Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī (d. 908/1502), who issued the *ijāza*, and its recipient, the Ottoman scholar Mu'ayyadzāda 'Abd al-Raḥmān Efendi.

1 On the latter, in turn, Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791) wrote an equally famous commentary, known as *Tāj al-'arūs*. Al-Fīrūzābādī as well was born in Kāzarūn, the town from whose vicinity also hailed Dawānī, the author of the *ijāza* presented here. He studied in Shiraz, Wasit, Baghdad, and Damascus, and spent extended periods of time in Mecca and Delhi before being appointed as a *qāḍī* in Yemen in 1395. Apparently he converted his house in Mecca into a Mālikī school, and not surprisingly, in the present *ijāza* his name figures as an important node in a learned North African lineage for the transmission of the *Ḥizb al-Baḥr*, a litany of Qur'ānic verses and supplications, the authorship of which is ascribed to the North African scholar Abū l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī. On al-Zabīdī, see C. Brockelmann, "Muḥammad Murtaḍā," *EI*^{2} 7 (1993), 445. On al-Fīrūzābādī, see H. Fleisch, "al-Fīrūzābādī," *EI*^{2} 2 (1965), 926–927. The partial inventory of the books once held in Mu'ayyadzāda's library lists a commentary on this work ("*Sharḥ Ḥizb al-baḥr*"); TSA.D. 9291/1, fol. 3a.

2 On Ibn al-Jazarī, see Tayyar Altınkulaç, "İbnü'l-Cezerî," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 20 (1999), 551–557; Aḥmad Pākatchī, "Ibn-i Jazarī," *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif-i buzurg-i islāmī* 5 (1369/1990), 231–234; İlker Evrim Binbaş, "A Damascene Eyewitness to the Battle of Nicopolis: Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429)," in *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204–1453: Crusade, Religion and Trade between Latins, Greeks and Turks*, ed. Nikolaos G. Chrissis and Mike Carr (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 153–175, and the references below.

1 Mu'ayyadzāda ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendi

Mu'ayyadzāda was born in Amasya in North Central around 860/1456 to a family of *qāḍīs* and *shaykhs* that came ultimately from Iran, and had possible Kāzarūnī connections.[3] He enjoyed a good education and grew close to the Ottoman prince and later Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II (r. 886–918/1481–1512), who was then the governor of Amasya.[4] In 884/1479 Bayezid's father, Sultan Mehmet II (Fatih, r. 855–886/1451–1481), issued an order for the capture of Mu'ayyadzāda because he thought that he had a bad influence on his son, but Bayezid helped Mu'ayyadzāda to escape to Aleppo. There Mu'ayyadzāda undertook the study of Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) grammar (the *Mufaṣṣal*) and was told that if he wished to deepen his education, he ought to move to Shiraz and study with Dawānī. This he did, and he possibly arrived there some time in 884/1479.[5] More than half a decade later, soon after he acceded to the Ottoman

3 Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nuʿmāniyya fī ʿulamā' al-dawla al-ʿUthmāniyya*, ed. Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabā'ī Bihbahānī (Tehran: Kitābkhāna-yi Mūza va-Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 1389/2010), 257–261; Hoca Saʿeddin, *Tâcu't-Tavârîh* ([Istanbul]: Tabhâne-yi Âmire, 1279–1280/1862–1863), 2: 554–556; idem, *Tacü't-Tevarih*, ed. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1992), 5: 222–225; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1949), 2: 657–660; idem, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1984), 232; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Müeyyed-zâde," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 8 (²1997), 786–790; Hasan Aksoy, "Müeyyedzâde Abdurrahman Efendi," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 31 (2006), 485–486; Cemal Kurnaz, "Osmanlı tarihinde iz bırakan Amasyalı bir aile: Müeyyedzâdeler," in *I. Amasya Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Amasya: T.C. Amasya Valiliği, 2007), 2: 647–666. I am grateful to Salih Şahin for bringing this article to my attention, and for providing me with a copy of it.

4 On Amasya as a political and intellectual center during this period, see Petra Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te İstanbul, 1976) (Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te İstanbul 42), 37–38, 60, 74, 77, 83–84, 86–87, 178, n. 104. On the intellectual and administrative circles around Bayezid, see Hedda Reindl, *Männer um Bāyezīd: Eine prosopographische Studie über die Epoche Sultan Bāyezīds II. (1481–1512)* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1983), especially 18.

5 The *Shaqā'iq al-Nuʿmāniyya* (p. 259) states that Mu'ayyadzāda left Amasya around 881/1476. However, the *Munsha'āt-i Farīdūn* (1274: I, 263–264; 270) give 12 Muḥarram 884/14 April 1479 as the date of Sultan Mehmet's order. An ownership mark by Mu'ayyadzāda on the *Zīj-i Mujmal* that Mawlānā Kūchak dedicated to Prince Bayezid in the 1470s suggests that Mu'ayyadzāda was still present in the environs of Amasya in January 1477 (Ms. Istanbul, Revan 1713, frontispiece). Mu'ayyadzāda also acquired a copy of the astronomical tables (*zīj*) of al-Wābkanawī (d. ca. 720/1320) in Rabīʿ I 882/beg. 22 June 1477 in Lādhīq ("*fī qaṣabat Lād*[*h*]*īq*"), Bayezid's summer resort near Amasya (Ms. Istanbul, Ayasofya 2694, fol. 1a). We also know from a note in

throne, Bayezid called for Mu'ayyadzāda to return to Ottoman lands, which apparently brought Mu'ayyadzāda's sojourn in Shiraz to a relatively abrupt end. The *ijāza* presented here relates how close Dawānī and Mu'ayyadzāda had grown over time, and bears witness to the haste in which the *ijāza* was composed when a letter arrived that called Mu'ayyadzāda to re-join Bayezid. Mu'ayyadzāda moved first to Amasya and then Istanbul in 888/1483,[6] and soon rose in the ranks of the Ottoman administration where he held various offices, including the headship of the Kalenderhane Medrese in Istanbul and an appointment to the qāḍīship of Edirne in 899/1494. He was appointed *kazasker* or chief military judge (*qāḍī al-ʿaskar*) of Anatolia in 907/1501, and held the office of *kazasker* of Rumelia between 911–917/1505–1511.[7] When Bayezid's son, the Ottoman Sultan Selim (r. 1512–1520) acceded, he made Mu'ayyadzāda *qāḍī* of Karaferye (the modern Veroia in Greece) and then again *kazasker* of Rumelia, but he was soon removed from office because of his age. Mu'ayyadzāda died in 922/1516 and was buried in the Eyüp cemetery on the Golden Horn in Istanbul.

Mu'ayyadzāda is relatively little known, at least in modern Anglophone scholarship. He was most prolific in the area of law and has left a series of *fatwā*s, though he also composed works in the area of *kalām*, including a commentary on Ījī's *Mawāqif*,[8] and a collection of epistles by him has also survived.[9] While he has thus written in much less diverse fields than Dawānī, and

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Mu'ayyadzāda's own hand that he had completed copying Ṭūsī's 184-folio *Taḥrīr Iqlīdis* by 18 Ramaḍān 885/24 November 1480 "in Shiraz" (Ms. Istanbul, Veliyüddin Efendi 2304, fol. 184a), and we know that he returned to Amasya in Ramaḍān 888/beg. 3 October 1483 (see below). Taşköprüzade's statement that Mu'ayyadzāda stayed for seven years in Shiraz needs to be revised in the light of the above evidence from manuscript colophons. On Mu'ayyadzāda's copy of al-Wābkanawī's work, see S. Mohammad Mozaffari, "Wābkanawī's Prediction and Calculations of the Annular Solar Eclipse of 30 January 1283," *Historia Mathematica* 40 (2013): 235–261, at 241. On Mawlānā Kūchak's *Zīj-i Mujmal*, see A. Tunç Şen, "Reading the Stars at the Ottoman Court: Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) and His Celestial Interests," 27 (unpublished paper in preparation for publication). I am grateful to the author for making this article accessible to me.

6 Brockelmann, *GAL* (Berlin: Emil Felber, 1902), 2: 227. According to Taşköprüzade, Mu'ayyadzāda arrived in Amasya in Ramaḍān 888/beg. 3 October 1483, i.e., roughly three and a half months after the present *ijāza* was issued, which is dated 11 Jumādā I 888/17 June 1483. He stayed in Amasya for forty days, before moving on to Constantinople. *Al-Shaqā'iq al-Nuʿmāniyya*, 259.

7 Brockelmann, *GAL*, 2: 227.

8 Brockelmann, *GAL*, 2: 228.

9 More than five dozen manuscripts of works written or copied by Mu'ayyadzāda are kept in Turkish libraries alone. For references, see: Aksoy, "Müeyyedzâde Abdurrahman Efendi;" Kurnaz, "Osmanlı tarihinde iz bırakan Amasyalı bir aile;" and Ms. Leiden, Or. 11.780 = Arab.

while he may have been less of a public intellectual than a public administrator, one of his legacies was the establishment of a 7,000 volume private library in Edirne ("excluding duplicates," as Taşköprüzade indicated).[10] While it was not uncommon for scholars in the sixteenth century to gather large numbers of books, his collection was extensive for a private library of that time (and even today), especially if one takes into account a mobile life that included major stations in Amasya, Aleppo, Shiraz, Constantinople, and Edirne.[11] While Mu'ayyadzāda's library has long been dispersed, his contemporaries claimed that it held many books that could otherwise not be found or had previously not been heard of in Ottoman lands,[12] and the contents of those books which are known to have been formerly part of this library reveal the impact of its founder Mu'ayyadzāda's studies in Shiraz, which was then a major center of learning, and which included, in addition to Dawānī, such luminaries as Ṣadr al-Dīn Dashtakī (d. 903/1498), Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dashtakī (d. 949/1542), Mīr Ḥusayn Maybūdī (d. 909/1504), and Shams al-Dīn al-Khafrī (d. 942/1535).[13] Two of the

3522, *Majmūʿat Rasāʾil* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī Muʾayyadzāda al-Amāsī, of which another copy is Ms. Berlin Om. 488 (Ahlwardt 4828). See Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden* (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007), 12: 212. This particular copy was clearly a scrapbook, but was also meant for everyday use, as it is prefaced by three folios of notes, quotations, and a *fihrist*. The titles all seem to be related to law (*ṭahāra*, *zakāt*, *buyūʿ*, and the like). This particular copy was completed in the year 1148 (bing yüz qırq sekiz; fol. 135b). There are indeed several works in the field of *kalām* extant in the Escorial that were authored by Muʾayyadzāda. See, H. Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial. Tome Premier: Grammaire—Rhétorique—Poésie—Philologie et Belles-Lettres—Lexicographie—Philosophie* (Reprint Hildesheim 1976 [originally published in Paris 1884]), 1: 140–144 (No. 236). Aksoy has pointed out that Muʾayyadzāda was also an accomplished poet writing in Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish under the *makhlaṣ* "Hâtemî," though a divan does not appear to have survived. On Muʾayyadzāda's activities as a poet and further references on this topic, as well as examples of Muʾayyadzāda's poetry, see in particular Kurnaz, "Osmanlı tarihinde iz bırakan Amasyalı bir aile."

10 *Al-Shaqāʾiq al-Nuʿmāniyya*, 261. On Muʾayyadzāda's famous library, see İsmail E. Erünsal, *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi II, Kuruluştan Tanzimat'a Kadar Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), 37–38, notes 191, 192 and 194, and idem, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2008), 127.

11 On book collecting during this period, see Lale Uluç, "Ottoman Book Collectors and Illustrated Sixteenth-Century Shiraz Manuscripts," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 87–88 (1999): 85–107; also: http://remmm.revues.org/299.

12 *Al-Shaqāʾiq al-Nuʿmāniyya*, 261.

13 On Shiraz at the turn of the sixteenth century, see Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*.

volumes that were apparently once part of Mu'ayyadzāda's library are today held in Leiden. These are Ms. Or. 513, a collective volume in several hands that contains, among others, an abridgment of a work on conic sections (*Kitāb Abulūnyūs fī l-Makhrūṭāt*, ff. 1b–87a)[14] and Ms. Or. 606, a copy of the autograph of Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī's *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, which bears an owner's note by "'Abd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Mu'ayyad, Friday 7 Ramaḍān 901, in Qusṭanṭīniyya."[15] We also know from an owner's note on a copy of the astronomical tables (*zīj*) prepared by the scholar of Marāgha and Tabriz, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Wābkanawī's (ca. 670–720/1270–1320), that the manuscript which is now held in Istanbul was in the possession of Mu'ayyadzāda in Rabīʿ I 882/beg. 22 June 1477.[16] Mu'ayyadzāda's interest in astronomy tallies with the cultivation of the science of the stars among Bayezid and his circle and its potentially crucial role in the circulation of knowledge between the Ottoman Empire and Renaissance Europe.[17] While not an astronomer himself, Mu'ayyadzāda may have opened crucial capillary connections through his studies in Shiraz and the books that he brought from there, some if which, as stated by his contemporaries, were not available at that time in the Ottoman Empire, whereas others made it to Leiden already by the mid-seventeenth century. Dawānī's *ijāza* confirms that Mu'ayyadzāda studied astronomy in the Marāgha vein with him, and as recent

14 The other works contained in this volume are copies of the *Kitāb al-Masākin* "in the revised edition by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī," (ff. 91a–93b); Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr al-Manāẓir* (ff. 93b–100a); a fragment on mathematics from Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Rāzī's encyclopedic *Kitāb Ḥadā'iq al-anwār fī ḥaqā'iq al-asrār* (ff. 101a–107a); and a copy of Bīrūnī's *Istikhrāj al-awṭār fī l-dā'ira* (ff. 108b–129a). Witkam, *Inventory*, vol. 1: 225–226. In other words, the volume contains works on geometry, mathematical geography, optics, and mathematics, which are close to the topics that Mu'ayyadzāda studied with Dawānī. This copy bears a borrower's note dated "Friday 25 Rabīʿ I 928 in Qusṭanṭīniyya, borrowed from 'Abd al-Razzāq b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad." (See Figure 13.1.) While this entry post-dates by six years the commonly accepted death date of Muʿayyadzāda, it most probably refers to the latter's library, as the name, location, and general period fit, and the contents of the collective volume (scientific works, including two by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī) match Muʿayyadzāda's interests. As the name of Mu'ayyadzāda's third son was 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 936/1530), it is very likely that the book was originally part of Mu'ayyadzāda's library. On Mu'ayyadzāda's son 'Abd al-Razzāq see M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Müeyyed-zâde," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 8 (²1997), 786–790, at 790a.

15 Witkam, *Inventory*, vol. 1: 255–256. A copy of the owner's mark is here reproduced with the kind permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden.

16 The manuscript is currently held in Istanbul in the Ayasofya collection (Ms. 2694). S. Mohammad Mozaffari, "Wābkanawī's prediction," 241.

17 See Şen, "Reading the Stars at the Ottoman Court."

scholarship has made apparent, one had to be relatively well initiated to understand where Wābkanawī stood with regard to Marāgha scholarship.[18]

While the remit of Muʿayyadzāda's surviving publications seems relatively limited, the Ottoman theologian and biographer Taşköprüzade (901–968/1495–1561), whose father Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā (857–935/1453–1529) was a contemporary of Muʿayyadzāda and like him a close associate of Bayezid II, stated that Muʿayyadzāda was an intellectual of the first caliber in the *ʿaqlī* and *naqlī* sciences (in this order), composing poetry in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic, and that he had written many remarkable works especially in the area of *kalām*, but that these had remained drafts, as he did not find the time to write them out due to his official duties as a *qāḍī* (*"wa-lil-mawlā l-madhkūr kalimāt kathīra wa-laṭāʾifʿajība baqiyat kulluhā fī l-musawwada, manaʿahu ʿan tabyīḍihā ishghāluhu bi-umūr al-qaḍā'"*).[19] According to Hoca Saʿdeddin (d. 1008/1599), some of these drafts were later plagiarized by other scholars.[20]

While it looks as though he had only a moderate number of students of his own,[21] Muʾayyadzāda's close connection with the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II and his circle had indirect repercussions on some of his teachers back in Shiraz,

18 Y. Tzvi Langermann, "From My Notebooks: A Compendium of Renaissance Science: *Taʿalumot ḥoḵmah* by Moses Galeano," *Aleph* 7 (2007): 285–318; Robert Morrison, "A Scholarly Intermediary between the Ottoman Empire and Renaissance Europe," *Isis* 105 (2014): 32–57; Şen, "Reading the Stars at the Ottoman Court."

19 Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqāʾiq al-Nuʿmāniyya*, 261. This is echoed by the *Tāj al-tavārīkh*, which reports that his administrative activities prevented Muʾayyadzāda from publishing those works on various "curious" topics that therefore remained in draft format. Hoca Saʿdeddin, *Tâcu't-Tavârîh*, vol. 2: 554–556.

20 "Müeyyedzade'nin güncel işlerinin çokluğu yazdıklarını temize almaya engel olduğundan, çok güzel deyişleri karalamalar arasında kalmıştır. Yazdığı kağıtları da bilim hırsızları çalmıştır." *Tacü't-Tevarih*, vol. 5: 224. The partial inventory of the books once held in Muʾayyadzāda's library indicates that some of the rough copies of his works (*musawwadāt-i marḥūm*) were retrieved by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I soon after his death in 922/1516 (TSA.D. 9291/1, fol. 3b).

21 For one of them, Shāh ʿAlī Chalabī al-Ghulām, see ʿAlī b. Bālī al-Āydīnī, *al-ʿIqd al-manẓūm fī dhikr-i afāḍil-i Rūm* (*Dhayl al-Shaqāʾiq al-Nuʿmāniyya fī ʿulamāʾ al-dawla al-ʿUthmāniyya*), ed. Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabāʾī Bihbahānī "Manṣūr" (Tehran: Markaz-i Pazhūhish-i Kitābkhāna-yi Mūza va-Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 1389/2010), 24–25. One of Muʾayyadzāda's most influential students in the Ottoman Empire was the famous Hanafi Ottoman jurist Ebussuud Efendi (d. 982/1574); Muʾayyadzāda's prominent protégés furthermore included the Ottoman historian, *shaykh al-islām*, and poet Ibn-i Kemal (Kemalpaşazade, d. 940/1534) and the poet Necati (d. 914/1509); İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevı, 1988), 604–606, 616–617.

who felt encouraged to enter into direct contact with Bayezid and made overtures to seek his patronage. Thus, Dawānī dedicated at least three of his works to this Ottoman Sultan and received a letter from him together with a financial reward in return, to which he responded with a *mathnavī* praising Bayezid.[22] Dawānī's closest rival in Shiraz, Ṣadr al-Dīn Dashtakī (d. 903/1498), also dedicated several of his most important works to the same Bayezid II, who had apparently recommended Mu'ayyadzāda "Chelebī" to him.[23] Mu'ayyadzāda seems to have been primarily a student of Dawānī. Nonetheless, when he returned to Constantinople Dashtakī asked him to take along a copy of his glosses on ʿAlī Qūshchī's commentary on the *Tajrīd al-iʿtiqād*, which he had completed by 888/1483 for Bayezid II.[24] Later, after the Safavids had come to power in Iran, Dawānī's son-in-law and successor as the head of his *madrasa* in Shiraz after Dawānī's death, Muẓaffar al-Dīn ʿAlī Shīrāzī (d. 922/1516), moved to the "safe lands of Anatolia" ("güven içinde bulunan Rum diyarına göç etti") and found protection by Mu'ayyadzāda, who had by then become *kazasker* of Anatolia and recommended him to Bayezid for a teaching position.[25]

The exchange of knowledge went in both directions, as Mu'uayyadzāda apparently brought with him books and presented these to Dawānī as gifts. Among these was the *Tahāfut* of the Ottoman scholar Khojazāda Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā (838–893/1434–1488), another individual from the scholarly circle around Bayezid II.[26]

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22 Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 11–12.

23 Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Lārī, "Mir'āt al-advār va-mirqāt al-akhbār: Faṣlī dar sharḥ-i ḥāl-i buzurgān-i Khurāsān va-Mā-varā' al-nahr va-Fārs," ed. ʿĀrif Nawshāhī, *Maʿārif* 13.3 (Isfand 1375/March 1997), 91–113, at 104; Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 19.

24 Lārī, "Mir'āt al-advār va-mirqāt al-akhbār," 104; Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 19 and 76, fn. 13. According to Pourjavady, Ṣadrāyī Khūyī in his *Kitābshināsī-yi Tajrīd al-iʿtiqād* (to which I had no access) stated that the first set of Dashtakī's glosses on Qūshchī's commentary of the *Tajrīd al-iʿtiqād* which Dashtakī dedicated to Bayezid II "was given to the Sultan by Mu'ayyadzāde in 887/1482." This probably needs to be emended to 887/1483, as an earlier visit by Mu'ayyadzāda to the Ottoman Empire is not known.

25 Hoca Sadettin Efendi, *Tacü't-Tevarih*, vol. 5: 248–249.

26 Dawānī apparently liked the book a lot, and thanked Mu'ayyadzāda and God for sending it, saying that if he had not seen it before completing his own work on the same topic, he would have been embarrassed. Hoca Sadettin Efendi, *Tacü't-Tevarih*, vol. 5: 120. According to the same source, Bayezid II had previously asked Khojazada to write a commentary on the *Mawāqif*, which he initially declined. On Khojazade, see *Uluslararası Hocazâde Sempozyumu (22–24 Ekim 2010 Bursa) Bildiriler: International Symposium on Khojazâda (22–24 October 2010 Bursa) Proceedings*, ed. Tevfik Yücedoğru, Orhan Ş. Koloğlu, Ulvi Murat Kılavuz, and Kadir Gömbeyaz, (Bursa: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 2011). On

All of this indicates that the political and intellectual boundaries between the Ottoman scholarly elites and their eastern neighbors during the last quarter of the fifteenth century were much more fluid than they were to become soon thereafter with the establishment of the Twelver Shi'i Safavid state in Iran at the turn of the sixteenth century.[27] Mu'ayyadzāda, in turn, became a vector in Ottoman lands for the dissemination of the knowledge that he had acquired in Shiraz, and remained closely affiliated with Bayezid's branch of the Ottoman family. He dedicated a work on intricate *kalām* matters to Bayezid's son Korkud, which he prefaced with a *qaṣīda* in Arabic,[28] and while Mu'ayyadzāda's heirs apparently sold off his rich library, it appears from a document that has survived in the Topkapı Sarayı Archives that another one of Bayezid's sons, the Ottoman Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–1520), attempted to gather Mu'ayyadzāda's books after they had been dispersed and sold by appointing a special unit (*hay'at*) under the leadership of a certain Aydın from among his personal servants for the explicit task to collect these, even if they had to be bought back from the booksellers.[29] The number of books that had been found by the time that this directive was issued was 2,112, and Selim I ordered them to be gathered in a safe place, asking for the most valuable books among them to be moved to his personal library in the Palace.[30] Some of those that were retrieved were apparently used in the Istanbul observatory before they were dispersed again;[31] copies are found today also in Bursa, Kütahya, Leiden.

Bayezid's own library, see İsmail E. Erünsal, "The Catalogue of Bâyezid II's Palace Library," *Kütüphanecilik Dergisi, Belge Bilgi Kütüphane Araştırmaları* 3 (1992): 55–66.

27 For a bird's-eye view and interpretation of both these shifts and the highly osmotic relationships in several areas of learning in the light of the shifting curricula in the Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal *madrasa*s during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Francis Robinson, "Ottomans—Safavids—Mughals: Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 8 (1997): 151–184. See also Cevad İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim* (Istanbul: İz, 1997). See now also the dissertation by Christopher Markiewicz, "The Crisis of Rule in Late Medieval Islam: A Study of Idrīs Bidlīsī (861–926/1457–1520) and Kingship at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century," (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2015).

28 *Tâcu't-Tavârîh*, vol. 2: 554–556, at 556.

29 TSA.D. 9291/1, 1b–10a. I am currently preparing this document for publication. The books had apparently been sold by Mu'ayyadzāda's oldest son 'Abd al-Fattāḥ, and only 2,112 titles are listed in the inventory. For more details see İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 127. Since we know that 'Abd al-Fattāḥ died within a year of his father's death, Selim I must have acted exceedingly swiftly, and yet many books had already been sold. On 'Abd al-Fattāḥ's death within a year of that of his father, see M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Müeyyed-zâde," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 8 (²1997), 786–790, at 790.

30 Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 126–127; idem, *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi II, 38*.

31 Oral communication by İhsan Fazlıoğlu, 7 December 2013.

The total of 2,112 is considerably less than the 7,000 books mentioned by Taşköprüzade, but it is still a substantial number. Ismail Erünsal, who has worked extensively on Ottoman libraries and their endowments, has identified one of the books that formerly belonged to Mu'ayyadzāda, which is now held in the Bursa Eski Eserler Kütüphanesi Hüseyin Çelebi Ms. 823.[32] As mentioned above, further titles have surfaced in libraries in Istanbul and Leiden, and there is no doubt that more copies will be identified in the future, as ever better catalogues and research tools become available.

Mu'ayyadzāda's life spanned the crucial period between the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople by Bayezid II's father Fatih (r. 1451–1481) and the immense expansion of the Ottoman Empire into the East, incorporating Anatolia, the Levant, Egypt, and the Hijaz, an expansion that transformed the Ottoman sultanate from a polity with a primarily non-Muslim population into a state the majority of whose population were Muslim, soon to be followed by the establishment of the Ottoman 'classical' *ilmiye* under Bayezid II's grandson Süleyman (r. 1520–1566).[33] Mu'ayyadzāda's life also paralleled the period of the major religious transformation of Iran from a majority Sunni to an officially Imami Shi'i polity, which had major repercussions both in the political and cultural realms. Mu'ayyadzāda's protection and patronage in Ottoman lands of Muẓaffar al-Dīn 'Alī Shīrāzī after the establishment of the Twelver Shi'i Safavid state in Iran (see above) is one of the results of this transformation that affected Mu'ayyadzāda and his circle personally.

The publication of the present *ijāza* will hopefully help future researchers in piecing together Mu'ayyadzāda's role in the circulation of knowledge between Fārs and the Ottoman Empire during this important period, both through his own learning and the commentaries that he wrote, and in the form of the physical objects and books that he brought with him from Fars to Amasya, Constantinople, Edirne, and beyond.

2 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī

In comparison, Abū 'Abdallāh Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. As'ad b. Muḥammad al-Dawānī (d. 908/1502) was one of the less mobile individuals during

32 Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 126, fn. 672; idem, *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi II, 37, fn. 191*. This is a composite work, containing seven Arabic treatises on the Arabic language and "religion;" future research will have to establish in a more precise manner the contents of these epistles.

33 On the *ilmiye*, see Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

this time, moving barely from his village Dawān to the nearby town Kāzarūn and thence to nearby Shiraz and a few other places in greater Iran.[34] Yet, his *ijāza* brings together a whole world of scholars and scholarship which passed through or culminated in Shiraz (and before that in Kāzarūn) as a major center of learning during the second half of the fifteenth century. Apparently, at that point in time if one happened to live in Shiraz and wanted to meet people, one simply had to stay put and wait for them to come by—travel did not necessarily bring additional benefits. The kind of literature that Dawānī studied, and the scholarly networks and indeed web of *ijāza*s that solidified this knowledge around him, was cast wide: it reached from the Maghreb and North Africa (through the Shādhilī teachings of the *Ḥizb al-baḥr* and a possibly North African scholar with the *nisba* al-Būnī in his scholarly pedigree),[35] via several originally Iraqi, Levantine or Egypt-based scholars such as Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429) and al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277) and such local luminaries as Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Shahryār al-Kāzarūnī (d. 426/1033) and Shihāb al-Dīn [Abū Ḥafṣ] ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234)[36] all the way to close-to-contemporary commentators from Anatolia and Central Asia, such as Qāḍīzāda al-Rūmī (d. after ca. 835/1432).

Unlike Muʾayyadzāda, Dawānī hardly needs an introduction. He is one of the major scholars of Islamic philosophy and theology of the early modern period,

34 See Harun Anay, "Celâleddin Devvânî. Hayatı, Eserleri, Ahlâk ve Siyaset Düşüncesi," (PhD dissertation, Istanbul University, 1994); idem, "Devvânî," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 9 (1994): 257–262; Reza Pourjavady, "Kitābshināsī-yi āthār-i Jalāl al-Dīn-i Dawānī," *Maʿārif* 15.1–2 (1377/1998): 81–138; Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī: Introduction," in *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia, vol. 4: From the School of Illumination to Philosophical Mysticism*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Mehdi Aminrazavi (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 89–90; Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris Muṭlaq, *Maktab-i falsafi-yi Shīrāz* (Tehran: Muʾassasa-yi Pazhūhishī-yi Ḥikmat va-Falsafa-yi Īrān, 1391/2012–2013), 63–86; C. Brockelmann, "al-Dawwānī," *EI*[1] (1913), 1: 933; idem, *GAL* II (1902), 217–218; *GAL* S II (1938), 306–309; *GAL* II (1949), 281–284. I had also access to Stephan Pohl's unpublished study "Theosophie und Theologie im nachmongolischen Iran: Leben und Werk des Ǧalāladdīn ad-Dawwānī (gest. 902/1502)" (Bochum, 1997). While the original version of the present article had contained references to Pohl's work, these were removed again—with regret—following the request of an anonymous referee, as it was not possible to obtain the author's permission to quote his work.

35 While the death date of the famous al-Būnī would historically fit the place that he holds in the list of *shaykh*s in Dawānī's Sufi pedigree, the order of the names of his father and grandfather is inverted in the *ijāza* (see below), so we are probably dealing with a different Būnī. The *nisba* al-Būnī refers nonetheless to a North African location.

36 In the *ijāza* he is identified as the author of the *Kitāb al-ʿAwārif*.

and he also wrote respected works in the areas of ethics and poetry—Dawānī was one of the first commentators on Ḥāfiẓ-i Shīrāzī (d. ca. 792/1390). Born in 830/1427 in Dawān (Fārs), he studied in Shiraz, where he taught at the al-Aytam *madrasa*.[37]

In one of his posthumously copied epistles (the *Risāla fī l-taṣawwurāt*), Dawānī is referred to as "*afḍal al-muta'akhkhirīn Jalāl al-Dawla wa-l-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dawānī*," i.e., he is identified as one of the *muta'akhkhirūn*, the theologians who came after al-Ghazālī.[38] Both his father and his teacher Maẓhar al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kāzarūnī had studied with the famous theologian al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413),[39] whose *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* (a commentary of Ījī's *Mawāqif*, a work that Mu'ayyadzāda later also commented upon) is considered the pinnacle of Ash'arī philosophical theology, and is still taught as one of the most advanced Ash'ari *kalām* texts at al-Azhar today.[40]

At the same time, Dawānī held several official positions and had close ties with the ruling Aqquyunlu court, in particular under Uzun Ḥasan (r. 861–882/1457–1478), for whom he wrote the ethical work *Akhlāq-i Jalālī*,[41] and as part of his political engagement he visited the *Takht-i Jamshīd* together with Uzun Ḥasan's court and army.[42] He also wrote the *'Arż-nāma* for al-Khalīl

37 S.H. Nasr, "General Introduction," in *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia, vol. 3: Philosophical Theology in the Middle Ages and Beyond from Mu'tazilī and Ash'arī to Shī'ī Texts*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Mehdi Aminrazavi (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 1–13, at 12.

38 Ms. Leiden, Or. 958, *Risāla* No. 22, ff. 72a–b, here fol. 72b; see Witkam, *Inventory*, vol. 1: 414.

39 M. Aminrazavi, "Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī," in *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia, vol. 3: Philosophical Theology in the Middle Ages and Beyond from Mu'tazilī and Ash'arī to Shī'ī Texts*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Mehdi Aminrazavi (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 285–286, at 285.

40 S.H. Nasr, "General Introduction," 9. Some scholars also consider Dawānī central to the *Ishrāqī* or illuminationist school of Islamic philosophy, as they hold that he combined, in a single vision, Peripatetic philosophy, the doctrine of *ishrāq*, and *kalām*. Nasr, "General Introduction," in *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia, vol. 4: From the School of Illumination to Philosophical Mysticism*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Mehdi Aminrazavi (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 1–9, at 3.

41 On Dawānī's *Akhlāq-i Jalālī*, see Erwin I.J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam: An Introductory Outline* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 210–223, 299–304; A.K.S. Lambton, "al-Dawānī," *EI*² 2 (1965), 174; Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 37, 101, 115–118; G.M. Wickens, "*Aklaq-e Jalali*," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 1.7 (1984), 724.

42 Īraj Afshār, "Arḍ-i sipāh-i Uzūn Ḥasan," *Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt* (Tehran) 3.3 (1335/1956): 1–44; Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, "Le royaume de Salomon," in *Le Monde iranien et l'Islam*, vol. 1: 1–41, at 34–36.

during his brief reign (882–883/1478).[43] Under Sultan Yaʿqūb (883–896/1478–1490), Dawānī was appointed chief judge of Fārs, and dedicated several of his philosophical works to rulers of the time, including the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II.[44]

The date of Dawānī's death coincided with the establishment of the Safavid State in Iran, whose political theology was predicated on Twelver Shiʿism, which stood in sharp contrast both to the confessional allegiances of large parts of the population of Iran at that time, and was clearly distinct from the Hanafi Sunnism of the Ottoman Empire. In other words, Dawānī died precisely at the time when the religio-political dynamics between the (Sunni) Ottoman and (formerly Sunni, then Twelver Shiʿi) Safavid Iran changed radically around the turn of the sixteenth century, and it is perhaps also in this context that Dawānī's wide reception on both sides of the religio-political borders is to be understood.[45] Quite in tune with his time, Dawānī had Shiʿi leanings, and the question of his 'true color' remains debated in the scholarship.[46]

Dawānī was exceedingly productive, and an extremely widely read author in Mughal India and the Ottoman Empire already during his lifetime. Around

43 V. Minorsky, "A Civil and Military Review in Fārs in 881/1476," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 10 (1939): 141–178.

44 For instance, Dawānī dedicated his discussion on ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Qūshchī's (d. 879/1474) commentary on Ṭūsī's (d. 672/1274) *Tajrīd al-kalām* to Uzun Ḥasan's sons, and he dedicated his *Shawākil al-ḥūr fī sharḥ Hayākil al-Nūr*, his *Unmūdhaj al-ʿulūm*, and his *Risāla dar bayān-i māhiyyat-i ʿadālat va-aḥkām-i ān* to Sultan Maḥmūd I of Gujarāt (r. 862–917/1458–1511). He also wrote his *Ithbāt al-wājib al-qadīm* for the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd II (886–918/1481–1512), and dedicated his *Sharḥ al-Rubāʿiyyāt* and his second set of glosses on ʿAlī Qūshchī's commentary on Ṭūsī to the same ruler (see below). Andrew J. Newman, "Davani, Jalal al-Din Mohammad," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 7 (1996), 132–133; Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 11–12.

45 Aubin even identified Dawānī as crucial for a better understanding of these developments: "L'historien interroge en vain les spécialistes de la théologie musulmane et du soufisme: personne n'a encore défini le contenu au XVe siècle de ce que nous appelons '*le* sunnisme' et '*le* chiisme'. L'investigation, toutefois, ne serait pas de médiocre intérêt. Elle pourrait se faire autour de la personnalité de Ǧalāl al-Dīn Davānī, le grand théologien šīrāzī de la seconde moitié du XVe siècle, sunnite au dire des uns, chiite aux yeux des autres. Penseur de second ordre, sans doute, il fut un maître influent; lorsque le fanatisme qizilbaš eut altéré les rapports entre sunnites et chiites ses disciples se retrouvèrent dans les deux camps." Jean Aubin, "Études Safavides. I. Šāh Ismāʿīl et les notables de l'Iraq Persan," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 2.1 (1959): 37–81, at 55.

46 Newman, "Davani, Jalal al-Din Mohammad," 132–133.

seventy of his works have survived, and he wrote both in Arabic and Persian.[47] His proficiency in both languages permitted him to move with ease in both linguistic environments, and in Mughal India his works, together with those of Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (d. 797/1395) and al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413), were included in the curricula of the *madrasa*s as part of the reforms undertaken by Raja Todar Mal (d. 1589), the finance minister of the Mughal emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) and Mīr Fatḥ Allāh Shīrāzī (d. 998/1590) at the court of ʿĀdil Shāh (r. 895–916/1489–1510) in Bījāpūr.[48] Dawānī appears to have been particularly popular in Ottoman lands. The catalogue of the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul alone (which houses more than a hundred formerly independent libraries that had in large parts belonged to mosques and *madrasa*s), lists 891 copies of works by or related to him, and it appears as though Muʾayyadzāda may have contributed to Dawānī's early fame in the Ottoman Empire during his own lifetime. In Iran and Iraq, Dawānī's active reception extended well into the eighteenth century.[49]

There currently exists no monograph on Dawānī in English, though two monograph-length as yet unpublished studies, the dissertation of Harun Anay (in Turkish) and an unpublished study by Stephan Pohl (in German) appeared in 1994 and 1997, respectively. They were followed by the publication of a substantial bibliography of Dawānī's works by Reza Pourjavady (in Persian) in 1998.[50] Ghulām Ḥusayn Ibrāhīmī Dīnānī dedicated a monograph-length collection of articles (in Persian) to the interpretation of a selected, though by no means exhaustive, number of Dawānī's works in the area of philosophy in 2011. The latter work is almost exclusively dedicated to the contents of Dawānī's works, without much attention to the historical context in which

47 For a distinction between Dawānī's genuine and apocryphal works, see Anay, "Celâleddin Devvânî."

48 M. Amin Razavi, "Saʿd al-Dīn Taftazānī," in *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia, vol. 3: Philosophical Theology in the Middle Ages and Beyond from Muʿtazilī and Ashʿarī to Shīʿī Texts*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Mehdi Aminrazavi (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 312–313, at 313.

49 The Shīʿī scholar of philosophy, theology, mathematics, astronomy and literature Muḥammad Mahdī Narāqī (1128–1209/1715–1794) took explicit issue with Dawānī's *Shawākil al-ḥūr*, a commentary of Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī's (d. 578/1191) *Hayākil al-nūr*. M. Aminrazavi, "Muḥammad Mahdī Narāqī," in *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia, vol. 3: Philosophical Theology in the Middle Ages And Beyond from Muʿtazilī and Ashʿarī to Shīʿī Texts*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Mehdi Aminrazavi (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 431–432 and 433–456, at 441.

50 Anay, "Celâleddin Devvânî;" Pourjavady, "Kitābshināsī," 81–138.

these were composed.[51] Apart from the fact that Western scholarship has only very recently started to discover the Islamicate intellectual history of the early modern period as an area worthy of attention, Dawānī's scholarly output was so diverse, the number of extant copies of his work so enormous, and his intellectual impact and relationships with other scholars, either through contact, or via commentaries or super-commentaries about his works, so complex, that whoever takes on this task will have a lifetime's work to undertake.[52] The publication of the present *ijāza* is merely a drop in the ocean of his writings, albeit a rather important one, given that it affords insights both into Dawānī's own educational pedigree, of which he was exceedingly proud, and into the circulation of knowledge between late fifteenth-century Fārs and the Ottoman Empire at the cusp of the consolidation and hardening of the confessional boundaries between the Ottoman and the Safavid Empires at the turn of the sixteenth century.

Based on the meticulous study of a wide range of evidence from illustrated manuscripts in libraries in Istanbul, Lale Uluç has demonstrated that Shiraz was the most important provider of Persian illustrated manuscripts for sixteenth-century Istanbul. Around sixty percent of the Safavid manuscripts from the Imperial Ottoman Treasury have originated in Shiraz. Along similar lines, albeit based exclusively on textual evidence, the present article demonstrates that already in the fifteenth century Shiraz had been an exceedingly important center of learning that attracted many scholars, including from the Mamluk and Ottoman Empires, and was an important source of learning for Ottoman scholars and princes alike.[53]

3 The *ijāza*

3.1 *The Text and Its Witnesses*

Dawānī wrote apparently several *ijāza*s of the type presented here. Of these *ijāza*s three, possibly more, can be inferred from references in the literature,

51 Ghulām Ḥusayn Ibrāhīmī Dīnānī, *Jalāl al-Dīn Davānī faylasūf-i ẓawq al-ta'alluh* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Hirmis, 1390/beg. 21 March 2011).

52 The interpretation of the term 'Islamicate' has recently undergone a shift in some academic circles. I am using it here in the way it was originally defined by Marshall G.S. Hodgson, who coined the term. See, Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, 3 vols. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977), vol. 1: 57–60.

53 Uluç, "Ottoman Book Collectors."

but few actual copies have surfaced to date. In addition to the *ijāza* issued to Muʾayyadzāda (dated 888/1483), Harun Anay in his 1994 dissertation on Dawānī listed three further *ijāza*s, some of whose existence he extrapolated from literary references. These are Dawānī's *ijāza*s to Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ilāhī Ardabīlī (in Arabic, dated 892/1487),[54] to ʿAfīf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣafavī (dated 893/1488), and to ʿAfīf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ījī.[55] Reza Pourjavady listed the *ijāza*s to Muʾayyadzāda and Ardabīlī (the one issued to Ardabīlī is extant only as a secondary copy), but not those issued to Ṣafavī and Ījī.[56] In addition, however, Pourjavady unearthed a further *ijāza* to a certain Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, of which an actual copy is held in Tehran (Ms. Tehran University, 7090/1, ff. 1b–2a, in Arabic).[57] While he had not seen this copy in 1998, Pourjavady suggested that it may be identical with Dawānī's already published *tawṣiya*.[58] Future research will have to investigate the identity and possible whereabouts of these and potentially further *ijāza*s, and address the question whether the two abovementioned *ijāza*s to individuals with the compound honorific ʿAfīf al-Dīn are not possibly identical.

The present study consolidates the information available on one of the above *ijāza*s, and makes available in a critical edition the actual text that has

54 Anay, "Celâleddin Devvânî," 400. For a copy of the text, see Mīrzā ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĪsā Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ* (Qum: Maṭbaʿat al-Khayyām, 1401/1980–1981) vol. 2: 103–104. For a brief vita of Ilāhī, see Ilāhī Ardabīlī, *Sharḥ-i Gulshan-i rāz*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Barzgar Khāliqī and ʿIffat Karbāsī (Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Dānishgāhī, 1376/beg. 21 March 1997), xxvi–xlviii. Among his works several relate to the same readings that we encounter in the present *ijāza*, e.g., a summary [*talkhīṣ*] and a commentary [*ḥāshiya*] on Ṭūsī's commentary on Euclid's geometry, and a commentary [*ḥāshiya*] on Qāḍīzāda al-Rūmī's *Sharḥ* of Jaghmīnī's *Mulakhkhaṣ*. In their introduction, the editors mention several commentaries written by Ilāhī on Dawānī's works. For one such commentary, see Brockelmann, *GAL* S II, 307, "Commentare."

55 Anay, "Celâleddin Devvânî," 185.

56 Pourjavady, "Kitābshināsī," 128.

57 Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī, *Fihristvāra-yi dastnivisht-hā-yi Īrān* (*Danā*) (Tehran: Kitābkhāna-yi Mūza va-Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 1389/2010), vol. 1: 203, where the addressee of the *ijāza* is identified as "al-sayyid Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad," and the manuscript is said to be possibly in the author's hand. See also, Pourjavady, "Kitābshināsī," 128, who had apparently not seen the manuscript at that point, as he questioned that it was written in Arabic.

58 Pourjavady "Kitābshināsī," 128. The *Tawṣiya* was edited by Ismāʿīl Vāʿiẓ Javādī in the periodical *Taḥqīq dar mabdaʾ-i āfarinish* (n.d.) 2.1, 28–29. At the moment of the completion of this article, I have had no access to this journal, a copy of which is held at Princeton University Library.

survived. This is Dawānī's *ijāza* to Mu'ayyadzāda. This *ijāza* is dated 11 Jumādā I 888/17 June 1483 and has survived in at least four complete copies and one abbreviated version.[59] Mu'ayyadzāda's close to contemporary Taşköprüzade confirmed seeing the *ijāza*, though it is impossible today to ascertain whether he saw the original or one of its copies.[60] The extant copies that I have been able to locate and consult are:

Ms. Esad Efendi 3733, ff. 41b–47a.[61] This is the most widely known and most often quoted copy in the scholarship. Anay 1994 and Pourjavady 1998 list it among Dawānī's works, and Pourjavady made use of it in his 2011 book on Dawānī's contemporary Nayrīzī. Brockelmann does not list this copy in the *GAL*. This manuscript appears to be a copy made by a non-native speaker. This is indicated by the Persianate title prefaced to its incipit (*Ijāzat-nāma-yi Jalāliyya lil-Fāḍil al-Mu'ayyadiyya*, fol. 41b), and several mistakes in Arabic grammar (e.g., المشهور بالشريعة بين العلماء الاسلام, fol. 42a, and similar instances).

Ms. Ragıp Paşa 570, ff. 315a–317b.[62] This copy was known to Anay, but it was either not known or not used by Pourjavady, or other authors working on the period. The copy is listed by Ramazan Şeşen among the rare manuscripts in the libraries of Turkey, and this is where I first became aware of it.[63] This copy is not listed in the *GAL*.

Ms. Escorial (*Ms. 687.2, ff. 55a–60b*).[64] This is the only copy of the *ijāza* that is listed in Brockelmann's *GAL*,[65] and it represents by far the most grammatically

59 Brockelmann, *GAL* II (1902), 217–218, listed 39 known works by Dawānī, which did not include the *ijāza* yet, which became no. 54 in *GAL* S II (1938), 306–309, which adds the "Iğāzatnāme" as work no. 54, but only lists one copy, that in the Escorial; *GAL* II (1949), 281–284, does not add any further copies to the above, and neither do the "Nachträge und Berichtigungen zu Bd II" on p. 1267 of vol. 3 of the *Supplementband* (1942).

60 *Al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānıyya*, 259.

61 Ms. A = Esad Efendi 3733, ff. 41b–47a. Anay and Pourjavady both quote it, and it has been referred to by other scholars as well.

62 Ms. R = Ragıp Paşa 570, ff. 315a–317b.

63 Ramazan Şeşen, *Mukhtārāt min al-makhṭūṭāt al-'arabıyya al-nādira fī maktabāt Turkiya* (Istanbul: İslam Tarih, Sanat ve Kültürünü Araştırma Vakfı [ISAR], 1997), 422. Şeşen dated the copy to the tenth century of the Hijra.

64 Ms. D = Madrid, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Ms. 687.2, ff. 55a–60b. See Hartwig Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, 484; *GAL* S II (1938), 308 (no. 54); Anay, "Celâleddin Devvânî," 185. Pourjavady does not mention this copy of the *ijāza*.

65 *GAL* S II (1938), 308 (no. 54), though it is listed here (incorrectly) as the first, rather than the second, work in the Escorial *majmū'a*.

correct version, whereas some of the other copies show that the copyist was either a non-native speaker who understood only partially what he was copying, or lacked concentration. Indeed, the handwriting looks similar to Dawānī's, except that it is slanted more to the right, which makes it unlikely as a candidate for an autograph.[66] The copy is, just like the others, a work in Arabic, as was also clearly stated by Derenbourg, who described the Escorial copy as early as 1884. Derenbourg only identified the title as being in Persian, whereas he described the text of the *ijāza* itself as an "opuscule arabe." Derenbourg also provided the incipit of the *ijāza* as: "*ammā baʿd ḥamd Allāh ʿalā sawābigh niʿamihi wa iḥsānihi*."[67]

Ms. Karaçelebizâde 342, ff. 53–56. This copy does not appear in any of the secondary literature apart from a footnote (though not the bibliography) in Anay who, however, did not provide its call number, and may not have seen it.[68] While I have been able to locate the manuscript and acquire a copy of it, it is the faultiest of all copies, and it has not been included in the critical edition presented here, as its sole contribution would have been the inflation of the critical apparatus with faulty alternative readings.

Ms. Pertevniyal 934/4, f. 100a. This is a partial, abbreviated copy, and has not been used for the present edition. It is listed in the Süleymaniye catalogue as "İcazetname Başlangıcı" ('*ijāza* beginning'), which is inaccurate, as it does not start with the beginning, but gives the gist of some of the paths of the transmission of knowledge of several of the most important scholars mentioned in the *ijāza*. It has not been used for the critical edition presented here.

Although some of Muʾayyadzāda's *Majmūʿa*s (composite volumes) which are mostly dedicated to *fiqh* may contain further copies of the *ijāza* listed above, it was not possible for me at this point to ascertain this.[69]

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66 For a sample of an autograph page, see Dawānī, *Thalāth rasāʾil*, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Tūysirkānī (Mashhad: Majmaʿ al-Buḥūth al-Islāmiyya, 1411/1991), 31.

67 Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, 484.

68 Anay merely mentions "Süleymaniye Karaçelebizâde, 53a–56b," without reference to a call number. The copy in question is most probably Ms. Süleymaniye, Karaçelebizade 342, ff. 53–56. The copy is not dated.

69 These *majmūʿa*s may be identical with Muʾayyadzāda's *fatwā* collections, as they are invariably identified in the catalogue as pertaining to the topic of *fiqh*. For copies found in Istanbul, see Aksoy, "Müeyyedzâde Abdurrahman Efendi," and Kurnaz, "Osmanlı tarihinde iz bırakan Amasyalı bir aile," as well as the abovementioned manuscripts in Leiden.

Thus, for the present publication the first three complete copies of the original Arabic version of the *ijāza* listed above were used (Ms. A = Esad Efendi 3733, ff. 41b–47a; Ms. R = Ragıp Paşa 570, ff. 315a–317b; and Ms. D = Madrid, Escorial 687.2, ff. 55a–60b). None of these is a holograph copy,[70] though given how many manuscripts remain uncatalogued worldwide, it is not at all unlikely that further copies will surface in time. The above three copies have been used here as the basis on which to establish a critical edition of the *ijāza*. There are no major differences in contents, except that once the Esad Efendi manuscript refers to Mu'ayyadzāda as "*Mawlānā zayn al-milla wa-l-dīn*," whereas the Ragıp Paşa and Escorial copies have "*Mawlānā zayn al-milla wa-l-sharīʿa wa-l-ṭarīqa wa-l-ḥaqīqa wa-l-dīn*." It is difficult to assess whether this is a later addition to further elevate Mu'ayyadzāda's status, or an excision in the third manuscript. All other discrepancies between the three copies are minor and appear to be mostly scribal errors/orthographic predilections of the scribes. Nonetheless, these have been recorded, as alternative readings are possible in several cases.

3.2 *Contents*

The *ijāza* published here represents the composite type of *ijāza* that is often found in the Later Middle and Early Modern periods, especially in the Timurid and Ottoman context.[71] Dawānī issued it at the request and on behalf of

70 I am grateful to Adam Gacek for his assessment of the manuscripts on the basis of the digital copies that I sent to him, and for comparing these to two colophons of Ms. Marʿashī 12.388, which are likely to have been copied in Dawānī's hand.

71 Cemil Akpınar, "İcâzet," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 21 (2000), 393–400. It differs from the single-work *ijāza* type or reading certificate which expresses the permission to teach a specific, single, book or parts thereof, often added as a note on a copy of the work itself. For an excellent description with multiple examples, see Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, "Ijāzat al-samāʿ fī l-makhṭūṭāt al-qadīma," *Majallat Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya* (*MMMA*) 1 (1375/1955): 232–251; see also Jan Just Witkam, "The Human Element between Text and Reader: The *Ijāza* in Arabic Manuscripts," in *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts: Proceedings of the Second Conference of Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 4–5 December 1993*, ed. Yasin Dutton (London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1995), 133. See also G. Vajda, who observed that "In some later *id͡jāzas* we find lengthy introductions and the whole document becomes an exercise in rhetoric. Ḳalḳas͡handī regards this as normal, as appears from his brief discussion of the *id͡jāza* in the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs͡hā* (Cairo 1331/1913, xiv, 322–335) and the examples of *id͡jāzas* for various purposes (*futyā*, *tadrīs*, *ʿirāḍa*, *riwāya*) which he sets up as models." G. Vajda, I. Goldziher-[S.A. Bonebakker], "Id͡jāza," *EI*^{2} 3 (1969), 1020–1022, at 1021. For examples of longer,

Mu'ayyadzāda after the latter's extended sojourn and study in Shiraz with Dawānī, when Mu'ayyadzāda was called to return to Ottoman lands to serve the former Ottoman Prince and now Sultan Bayezid, possibly while Dawānī and Mu'ayyadzāda were in the middle of reading the part on the *wujūd* of Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*.

Despite the haste in which the *ijāza* was composed according to Dawānī's own words ("*ḥarrarahu ʿalā sabīl al-irtijāl wa-l-iʿtijāl*," Part IV), it is well structured, consisting of I. an Introduction, II. a Section on Dawānī's education that is prefaced by a very general *ijāza* (without mentioning specific books), and is then subdivided into three Parts on Dawānī's own intellectual pedigree, i.e., II.i.: the traditional sciences (*naqliyyāt*), II.ii.: the rational sciences (*ʿaqliyyāt*, introduced by "*wa ammā l-ʿaqliyyāt*"), and II.iii.: Dawānī's Sufi pedigree (introduced by "*thumma innī qad labistu khirqat al-taṣawwuf wa-talaqqantu l-dhikr al-taʿlīmī*"). This is followed by a comparatively brief Part III, the actual *ijāza*, in which Dawānī enumerates the works (including specific parts and chapters of works) that Mu'ayyadzāda had studied with him and for which he gives him explicit permission to teach, and IV, a Concluding Part in which he bids Mu'ayyadzāda farewell, and gives him good advice.

In terms of its autobiographical contents, the *ijāza* has to be complemented with a similar—though not identical—autobiographical narrative about Dawānī's teachers and educational pedigree that is found in the preface to his *Unmūdhaj al-ʿulūm*, and self-references in his other works.[72] There exists

'multiple' *ijāza*s in several disciplines from one *shaykh* to his disciple, see Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī (d. 1186/beg. 4 April 1772), *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrayn fī l-ijāzāt wa-tarājim rijāl al-ḥadīth*, ed. al-Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Najaf: Maṭbaʿat al-Nuʿmān, 1386/1966); Aḥmad Ramaḍān Aḥmad, *al-Ījāzāt wa-l-tawqīʿāt al-makhṭūṭa fī l-ʿulūm al-naqliyya wa-l-ʿaqliyya min al-qarn 4/10 h. ilā 10/16 m.* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Hayʾat al-Āthār al-Miṣriyya, 1986); and al-Sayyid Mahdī al-Rajāʾī al-Mūsawī, *al-Ijāzāt li-jamʿ min al-aʿlām wa-l-fuqahāʾ wa-l-muḥaddithīn* (Qum: Marʿashī Library, 1386/2008).

72 See, Dawānī, *Thalāth rasāʾil*, 271–279. ʿAlī Dawānī's 1956 biography of Dawānī is not very helpful in this matter, as it has a section on Dawānī's teachers, but does not provide concrete references as to where this information comes from. Apart from Dawānī's father, the names of the teachers that ʿAlī Dawānī collected from secondary sources are also different from the names that Dawānī himself singled out in the *ijāza* studied here. The names listed by ʿAlī Dawānī are Saʿd al-Dīn Asʿad al-Dawānī (Dawānī's father), Muḥyī al-Dīn Gūshkinārī, Khwāja Ḥasanshāh Baqqāl, Humām al-Dīn Gulbārī, Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Ījī Shīrāzī, and Qivām al-Dīn Karbālī. He does not mention Mu'ayyadzāda among Dawānī's students. *Sharḥ-i Zindagānī-yi Jalāl al-Dīn Davānī* (Qum: Chāpkhāna-yi Ḥikmat, 1334/1956), 103–105.

considerable overlap between the information provided in the *ijāzā* and that in the *Unmūdhaj*, but there are also several significant differences between the names of the scholars mentioned. Most noticeably, the Sufi strand of knowledge that is presented in the *ijāza* is entirely missing in the introduction to the *Unmūdhaj*, which makes it more difficult to corroborate Dawānī's Sufi pedigree based on other autobiographical statements, but also renders even more important the information that is provided in the present *ijāza*.[73]

a) Part I of the *ijāza*

Part I of the *ijāza* is a lengthy introduction in literary style in which Dawānī expresses his esteem and indeed affection for the person to whom the *ijāza* is issued (Muʾayyadzāda), and explains the reason for writing it: Muʾayyadzāda had studied with him for an extended period of time, when apparently a message from his father arrived, asking Muʾayyadzāda to return to his (Ottoman) home country, and enter Imperial service (*li-mulāzamat al-sudda al-saniyya wa-l-ḥaḍra al-ʿaliyya al-samiyya al-sulṭāniyya al-khāqāniyya al-imāmiyya*).[74]

b) Part II of the *ijāza*

This is the core of the document in terms of length, detail, and emphasis, and is devoted to Dawānī's own credentials. It is introduced by a short section with a general *ijāza* (beginning with *fa-aqūl*), in which Dawānī states that he licenses "the abovementioned" (i.e., Muʾayyadzāda) to transmit various books on *fiqh*, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, and other areas of knowledge in the *naqlī* as well as the *ʿaqlī* sciences, and also gives him the license to transmit his own books, epistles, and commentaries ("*wa-kadhā ajaztu lahu riwāyat mā ṣadara minnī min al-kutub wa-l-rasāʾil wa-l-ḥawāshī*"). In other words, Muʾayyadzāda not only studied important books of past masters with Dawānī, but also studied Dawānī's own works with him as well and became a recognized transmitter of Dawānī's works in Ottoman lands during Dawānī's lifetime. The present *ijāza* may thus also have served the aim of Dawānī's self-promotion.

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73 The differences in emphasis between the *ijāza* and the introduction to the *Unmūdhaj* (*Thalāth rasāʾil*, 271–279) may be due to the fact that the *Unmūdhaj* is in large parts concerned with the traditional and rational sciences, whereas the *ijāza* also includes a Sufi *silsila* and the transferral of a *khirqa*, which may have mattered particularly to Muʾayyadzāda, given his family's connection to the Kāzarūniyya. Further research is required to assess whether the latter was possibly "invented" based on the *ijāza*.

74 We know from Ottoman sources that this is indeed what happened after Muʾayyadzāda's return. Anay, "Celâleddin Devvânî;" idem, "Devvânî," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 9 (1994), 257–262.

This subsection of the *ijāza* does not mention any specific works by title, however, and thus should be considered as an introduction to the paths of transmission that are listed in the following section. This consists of Dawānī's own credentials (marked by a second *fa-aqūl*) which comprise three parts in which Dawānī exposes his personal intellectual pedigree for his *naqlī*, *ʿaqlī*, and *ṣūfī* learning respectively (see Table 1).

The key teachers in the first generation with whom Dawānī had direct contact were four: Firstly and most importantly his father (*"wālidī wa-shaykhī wa-mutaqaddāʾī"*), Saʿd al-Dīn Asʿad al-Ṣadīq al-Dawānī, who was important for Dawānī's 'primary' education and his introduction to both the traditional and rational sciences; secondly Rukn al-Dīn Rūzbihān al-Wāʿiẓ al-ʿUmarī,[75] who was his main connection for the traditional sciences; thirdly Maẓhar al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kāzarūnī, who was, together with his father, his main entry point to both the traditional sciences and two important *silsila*s in the rational sciences,[76] and lastly, Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbdallāh al-Balyānī, known as al-Aṣamm, who introduced Dawānī to Sufism, independently, it appears, from any of the other *shaykh*s, including his father; Dawānī may have been exposed to Balyānī only after moving to Shiraz.[77]

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75 See the *Unmūdhaj*, p. 278, where his name is given as Rukn al-Dīn Rūzbihān al-Baqlī al-Shīrāzī.

76 On Maẓhar al-Dīn al-Kāzarūnī, see Josef van Ess, *Die Träume der Schulweisheit. Leben und Werk des ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ǧurǧānī* (*gest. 816/1413*) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 119–120. He is also mentioned in the *Unmūdhaj*, 277, where further references are provided in a footnote.

77 Almost nothing is known about Jamāl al-Dīn al-Balyānī. We are better informed about his predecessor in the *silsila*, Amīn al-Dīn al-Balyānī (d. 745/1345). On him, see Muḥammad Javād Shams [Nayrīzī], "Balyānī, Amīn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Masʿūd Balyānī (668–11 Dhū al-Qaʿda 745/1270–16 March 1345)," *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī* 12 (1383/2004), 542–543. Particularly relevant as a primary source on him appears to be the *Miftāḥ al-hidāya*, which was composed by one of Balyānī's students, Maḥmūd b. ʿUthmān, on which Muḥammad Javād Shams's entry is largely based. I had no access to this book in the U.K. For further references, see Reza Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 7, fn. 37. On ʿAbdallāh Awḥad al-Dīn Balyānī (d. 686/1288), see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns min ḥaḍarāt al-quds*, ed. Maḥmūd ʿIbādī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Iṭṭilāʿāt, 1375/beg. 26 March 1996), 264–268 (no. 325). Josef van Ess mentions a Sufi *shaykh* from Kāzarūn with the same honorific and death date, namely Amīn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿImād al-Dīn (or Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn) Masʿūd, who died in 745/1345; "Biobibliographische Notizen zur islamischen Theologie," *Die Welt des Orients* 9.2 (1978): 255–283, at 279, fn. 168, with further references to Qāsim Ghanī, *Baḥth dar āthār va-afkār va-aḥwāl-i Ḥāfiẓ*

Corresponding to the importance of his father for his education, which Dawānī also emphasized elsewhere, e.g., through a poem in his preface to the *Unmūdhaj*,[78] he first introduces his father's intellectual pedigree, which included in the first generation such luminaries as the Shāfiʿī scholar Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1430), who spent time working in Shiraz,[79] and al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413), who likewise spent an important part of his life in Shiraz.[80] The end points of the *isnād*s for Dawānī's learning are such famous scholars as Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277) and al-Shādhilī (d. ca. 656/1258) for the traditional sciences, and Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) and al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413) for the rational sciences. These are connected via no less famous nodes of transmission, such as the already mentioned lexicographer al-Fīrūzābādī for the traditional sciences, and the philosopher and astronomer Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) for the rational sciences.[81] Equally, there are two famous end

(Tehran: 1321/1942), vol. 1: 11, n. 1. The Kāzarūnī connection makes it plausible, though not conclusive, to assume that both *shaykh*s are identical.

78 Dawānī, *Thalāth rasāʾil*, 275.

79 Ibn al-Jazarī was born in Damascus and travelled widely, including to Egypt, the Hijaz, Yemen, Bursa, Samarqand, Bukhara, Yazd, Isfahan, and Shiraz, where he spent more than ten years of his life (from 808/1406 onwards), and was appointed *qāḍī* by Pīr-Muḥammad. In Shiraz Ibn al-Jazarī established a Dār al-Qurʿān, and he was also buried there. On Ibn al-Jazarī, see Altınkulaç, "İbnü'l-Cezerî;" Pākatchī, "Ibn-i Jazarī;" Binbaş, "A Damascene Eyewitness."

80 On Jurjānī, see Josef van Ess, "Jorjāni, Zayn-al-Din Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAli b. Moḥammad b. ʿAli al-Ḥosayni (1340–1413)," *Encyclopædia Iranica* 15 (2011): 21–29, and idem, *Die Träume der Schulweisheit*. Jurjānī was eminently important in the Ottoman curricula. It is probably because of his own one-time presence in Anatolia, and via his writings, and such itinerant scholars as Muʾayyadzāda that his works and those of other scholars in the Avicennan tradition were received and widely read in the Ottoman Empire. On Jurjānī's place in the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal higher education, see in particular Robinson, "Ottomans—Safavids—Mughals;" and Shahab Ahmad and N. Filipovic, "The Sultan's Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial Medreses," *Studia Islamica* 98–99 (2004): 183–218.

81 It also included al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī and Afḍal al-Dīn al-Ghīlānī. On Sarakhsī, see Ḥasan Anṣārī, "Fakhr-i Rāzī va-mukātaba-yi ū bā yakī az ḥukamāʾ-i muʿāṣir-i khvud," *Maʿārif* 18.3 (2002): 10–26. On Afḍal al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Ghaylān al-Balkhī (ca. 505/ca. 590–1111/1194), see Jean R. Michot, "La pandémie avicennienne au VI^{e}/XII^{e} siècle. Présentation, *editio princeps* et traduction de l'introduction du *Livre de l'advenue du monde* (*Kitāb ḥudūth al-ʿālam*) d'Ibn Ghaylān al-Balkhī," *Arabica* 40.3 (1993): 287–344; and most recently Ayman Shihadeh, "A Post-Ghazālian Critic of Avicenna: Ibn Ghaylān al-Balkhī on the Materia Medica of the *Canon of Medicine*," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 24.2 (2013): 135–174.

points to Dawānī's Sufi pedigree, namely Abū Isḥāq al-Kāzarūnī (d. 426/1033)[82] and Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234) respectively.[83]

Except for the Sufi path, it is through his father that Dawānī participated in all these genealogies of learning, which were further reinforced through his teachers Rūzbihān al-ʿUmarī al-Baqlī al-Shīrāzī in the *naqliyyāt*, and Maẓhar al-Dīn al-Kāzarūnī both in the *naqliyyāt* and in the *ʿaqliyyāt*. According to the present *ijāza*, it is only in his Sufi formation that Dawānī received an initiation that was independent of his father and his other two principal *shaykh*s (al-ʿUmarī and al-Kāzarūnī). As already pointed out, this information has to be complemented by other evidence for a fuller picture.

While some of the connections may not hold if subjected to thorough scrutiny, this does not appear to be the point in this context: For instance, the connection between Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) and al-Lawkarī (d. ca. 517/1123) appears to skip one generation,[84] and the names of al-Būnī's grandfather and great-grandfather appear to be inverted—if he is indeed 'the' Būnī who is today mostly known as the author of the *Shams al-maʿārif*.[85] For the Sufi *silsila*, similar

82 Shaykh Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Shahriyār al-Kāzarūnī was born in Kāzarūn, near Shiraz, in 352/963, and died there in 426/1033. He is claimed as the "founder of a Ṣūfī order variously known as the Murshidiyya, Isḥāḳiyya and Kāzarūniyya." Hamid Algar, "Kāzarūnī," *EI²* 4 (1978), 851–852. See also Meḥmed Fu'ād Köprülüzâde, "Abū Isḥāq Kāserūnī und die Isḥāqī-Derwische in Anatolien," *Der Islam* 19 (1931): 18–26; A.J. Arberry, "The Biography of Shaikh Abū Isḥāq al-Kāzarūnī," *Oriens* 3 (1950): 163–172. See also Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 260–261.

83 Angelika Hartmann, "al-Suhrawardī [Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar]," *EI²* 9 (1997), 778–782. He is identified in the *ijāza* as the author of the *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* (fol. 317a). A copy of this work is listed in the partial inventory of the books once held in Mu'ayyadzāda's library; TSA.D. 9291/2, fol. 1b.

84 This was already observed by Ahmed H. al-Rahim, who pointed out that in one of Dawānī's *ijāza*s as quoted in Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī (*Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Shīʿa* [Qum: Muʾassasat-i Ismāʿīliyān, n.d.], vol. 3: 169 also vol. 4: 13–14), and M. al-Amīn (*Aʿyān al-Shīʿa* [Beirut: Dār al-Taʿāruf lil-Maṭbūʿāt, 1406/1986], vol. 9: 415), the name of Ibn Sīnā's student Bahmanyār (d. 458/1066) is absent from the *silsila* provided in this *ijāza*. The generally accepted *isnād* going back from Ṭūsī to Ibn Sīnā usually includes the name of Bahmanyār between al-Lawkarī and Ibn Sīnā, and the historical gap between Ibn Sīnā and Bahmanyār is indeed too large to permit for reasonable transmission. Ahmed H. al-Rahim, "The Twelver-Šīʿī Reception of Avicenna in the Mongol Period," in *Before and After Avicenna: Proceedings of the First Conference of the Avicenna Study Group*, ed. David C. Reisman with the assistance of Ahmed H. al-Rahim (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 219–231, at 221, n. 9, and 231. See also Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 5–6, n. 30.

85 If "al-Shaykh ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Ismaʿīl al-Būnī" were identical with the famous author of the *Shams al-maʿārif*, his first names would have to be Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, so the

gaps and inaccuracies can be observed. Thus, the web of Balyānīs is notoriously difficult to disentangle, but can ultimately be located in Shīrāz. What we know about them hints at the fact that the final Suhrawardī in this *silsila* may not actually be Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), but rather his less well-known uncle Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī (d. 563/1168), who figures prominently in the Balyānī *silsila*.[86] But the present *ijāza* lists explicitly the more famous "Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī" as the end point of Dawānī's Balyānī *silsila* and also identifies him as the author of *Kitāb al-ʿawārif*. While further research is needed, this *ijāza*, and the *silsila*s in it, were clearly not written for meticulous scrutiny and *isnād* criticism. Its main purpose was to establish authority, and Dawānī was obviously most conscientious and proud of his *naqlī*, *ʿaqlī*, and Sufi pedigrees, for which he does not fail to point out that his is a "blessed lineage of learning as is rarely found these days" (*wa-hādhihi silsila mubāraka, qallamā yūjad mithluhā fī hādhā l-zamān*).[87]

After thus establishing his own genealogy and authority in the *naqlī* and *ʿaqlī* sciences and *taṣawwuf*, Dawānī then states that he hereby passes on the *khirqa* to Muʾayyadzāda, and issues an *ijāza* to him for the specific books and book chapters that he and Muʾayyadzāda actually read and studied together, and which are listed in Part III of the *ijāza*.

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above is almost certainly a different Būnī, though he was probably of North African origin nonetheless.

86 Michel Chodkiewicz pointed out that according to Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, the Shīrāzī *shaykh* Awḥad al-Dīn al-Balyānī (d. 686/1288), author of a work that had long been (mis-)attributed to Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), attached his *silsila* to Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī (d. 563/1168), rather than Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234). If this Balyānī is identical with the Balyānī in Dawānī's *silsila*, then the Suhrawardī he refers to may be the former (Abū Najīb) rather than the latter (Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar). See, Awḥad al-Dīn Balyānī, *Épître sur l'Unicité Absolue*, trans. Michel Chodkiewicz (Paris: Les Deux Océans, 1982), 22, n. 20.

87 Other important names in his lineage include Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Lawkarī (d. ca. 517/1123), author of the *Bayān al-ḥaqq* [*bi-ḍamān al-ṣidq*] (fol. 317a), who is known as a second-generation transmitter from Ibn Sīnā in the Peripatetic philosophical tradition. On al-Lawkarī, see Roxanne D. Marcotte, "Preliminary Notes on the Life and Work of Abū al-ʿAbbās al-*Lawkarī* (d. ca. 517/1123)," *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 17 (2006): 133–157. Less famous names are Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Maḥmūd al-Maḥmūdī al-Ṣābūnī and al-Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ʿUbaydallāh Muḥammad. For a reading certificate (dated 6 Jumādā I 670/10 December 1271) by al-Ḥārithī (652–711/1254–1312) on an autograph copy in al-Ḥārithī's hand of Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ḥassan ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd al-Maḥmūdī al-Ṣābūnī's *Ṭuḥfat al-ṭālib*, who is most probably 'our' Ṣābūnī, see Arthur J. Arberry, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co., 1958), vol. 4, Plate 127 (Ms. No. 3905).

c) Part III of the *ijāza*

The specific books that Mu'ayyadzāda studied with Dawānī include firstly the *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* by Jurjānī (d. 816/1413),[88] with whom both Dawānī's father and one of his main teachers, Maẓhar al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kāzarūnī, had personally studied. According to the *ijāza*, Dawānī and Mu'ayyadzāda read the *sharḥ* together "from its beginning until the middle of the discussion on *wujūd*,"[89] which is not very far. Whether this was deliberate, or whether they were interrupted by the arrival of the notice that called Mu'ayyadzāda into Ottoman service, is not known.

Mu'ayyadzāda also studied the astronomer and mathematician Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Mūsā b. Maḥmūd Qāḍīzāda al-Rūmī's (d. after ca. 835/1432) commentary on Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Jaghmīnī's (d. ca. 618/1221) astronomical work *Mulakhkhaṣ fī l-hay'a al-basīṭa* "from its beginning to its end." Qāḍīzāda al-Rūmī, another one of the exceedingly mobile scholars of the period, was born around 760/1359 in Bursa and later worked at Ulugh Beg's famous *madrasa* in Samarqand, together with al-Kāshī and Ulugh Beg, who was himself an accomplished astronomer. Qāḍīzāda wrote the commentary in Samarqand in 1412 and dedicated it to Ulugh Beg.[90] Qāḍīzāda was

88 This is the *sharḥ* of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī's (ca. 1281–1355) *Mawāqif*. On Ījī, see Josef van Ess, *Die Erkenntnislehre des ʿAḍudaddīn al-Īcī. Übersetzung und Kommentar des Ersten Buches seiner Mawāqif* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1966). Several copies of this work are listed in the partial inventory of the books once held in Mu'ayyadzāda's library, though this is not particularly noteworthy, as this book was very widely read in the *madrasas*; TSA.D. 9291/1, throughout.

89 Dawānī, *Ijāza* to Mu'ayyadzāda ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendi, Ms. Madrid, Escorial 687.2, f. 59b; Ms. Esad Efendi 3733, f. 46b; Ms. Ragıp Paşa 570, f. 317a.

90 On Jaghmīnī, see Jamil F. Ragep, "On Dating Jaghmīnī and His *Mulakhkhaṣ*," in *Essays in Honour of Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu*, ed. Mustafa Kaçar and Zeynep Durukal (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2006), 461–466; Sally P. Ragep, "Jaghmīnī: Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Jaghmīnī al-Khwārizmī," in *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, *Springer Reference*, ed. Thomas Hockey et al. (New York: Springer, 2007), 584–585. For a German translation of Jaghmīnī's *Mulakhkhaṣ*, see G. Rudloff and Ad. Hochheim, "Die Astronomie des Maḥmûd ibn Muhammed ibn ʿOmar al-Ğagmînî," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 47 (1893): 213–275. Sally Ragep (McGill) is currently preparing an edition and English translation of Jaghmīnī's *Mulakhkhaṣ*, tracing its exceedingly complex commentary tradition. On Qāḍīzāda al-Rūmī, see the important article by İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlı felsefe-bilim dünyasının arkaplanı olarak Semerkand matematik-astronomi okulu," *Dîvân İlmî Araştırmalar* [*Dergisi*] 14.1 (2003): 1–66; English translation by Ms. Ebru Kılıç Bebek with revisions by Sally P. Ragep and F. Jamil Ragep, "The Samarqand Mathematical-Astronomical School: A Basis for Ottoman Philosophy and Science," *Journal for the History of Arabic Science* 14 (2008): 3–68.

one of the most important scholars in Samarqand in the areas of astronomy and mathematics, and his commentary on Jaghmīnī's *Mulakhkhaṣ* is one of at least fifteen commentaries that were written on this work.[91] Like Dawānī's father and Dawānī's teacher Maẓhar al-Dīn, Qāḍīzāda was also a student of Jurjānī.[92] However, Qāḍīzāda did not hide the fact that he found Jurjānī deficient in mathematics.[93] Thus, by reading Qāḍīzāda's commentary of Jaghmīnī with Mu'ayyadzāda, Dawānī silently complemented the weak sides of a scholar (Jurjānī) whom he otherwise praised in the highest terms (see below). This particular piece of information also shows that at that point in time astronomy was seen as an integral and actively transmitted part of the *ʿaqlī* sciences, and that Dawānī was an important node of transmission in this area. This is noteworthy because not long afterwards the leading philosopher of theosophical Shiʿism Mullā Ṣadra Shīrāzī (d. 1050/1640) did not engage to the same extent with this kind of knowledge, and put much more emphasis on the side of *ʿirfān* instead. A tendency in this direction may be perceptible in Dawānī's *ijāza*, which places *taṣawwuf* on equal footing with the theoretical sciences as part of his education and engagement in the transmission of knowledge, though unlike Mullā Ṣadra, he does not do so at the expense of the mathematical sciences. By including references to all of *fiqh*, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *kalām*, astronomy, geometry, Avicennan philosophy and *taṣawwuf*, this is among the most comprehensive *ijāza*s that may be found for any Muslim scholar's education at any time, before apparently a greater specialization and narrower education became the norm. The emphasis on narrower education is, incidentally, something that we moderns share, which makes it so difficult to do justice to scholars such as Dawānī when we study them today.

Furthermore we learn from the *ijāza* that Mu'ayyadzāda studied Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Taḥrīr Iqlīdis* (*Taḥrīr al-uṣūl al-handasiyya li-Iqlīdis*, an Exposition of Euclid's *Elements*, a work on geometry), with Dawānī "from its beginning until the ninth chapter." Incidentally, a copy of the work in Mu'ayyadzāda's own hand, which he completed on 18 Ramaḍān 885/24 November 1480 in Shiraz, is extant in the Beyazıt Manuscript Library in Istanbul (Ms. Veliyüddin Efendi

91 One of these commentaries on Jaghmīnī, that of Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUbaydī (d. 1350), is found in the partial inventory of the books once held in Mu'ayyadzāda's library; TSA.D. 9291/1, fol. 3b.

92 On Qāḍīzāda al-Rūmī, see F.J. Ragep, "Ḳāḍī-Zāde Rūmī," *EI*^{2} 12 (Supplement) (2004), 502; F. Jamil Ragep, "Qāḍīzāde al-Rūmī: Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Rūmī," in *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, *Springer Reference*, ed. Thomas Hockey et al. (New York: Springer, 2007), 942.

93 Ragep, "Ḳāḍī-Zāde Rūmī," 502; idem, "Qāḍīzāde al-Rūmī," 942.

2304, fol. 184a). Dawānī himself appears to have written a *Sharḥ Taḥrīr Uṣūl Iqlīdis*, a copy of which is extant in Tehran, Ms. Majlis 685/2 (not dated, ff. 2–29).[94] A copy each of the "*Kitāb Uqlidūs*," the "*Taḥrīr Iqlīdis maʿa rasāʾil Naṣīr* [*al-Dīn Ṭūsī*]" and the "*Sharḥ Iqlīdis*" is found in Sultan Selim's partial inventory of the books once held in Muʾayyadzāda's library.[95]

Dawānī and Muʾayyadzāda also read another of Ṭūsī's works, namely his *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* (Ṭūsī's commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ishārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt*),[96] covering a good part ("*ṭarafan ṣāliḥan*") from the beginning of the *Ṭabīʿiyyāt* section of the *Ishārāt*, which they read together with the *Muḥākamāt* (Trials or Adjudications; also *Muḥākama bayna sharḥay al-Ishārāt*)[97] by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī al-Taḥtānī (d. 766/1365), one of the students of ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325), who, in turn, was a student of Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274). In this work, which is important for Iranian Avicennism, Taḥtānī discusses the disagreements between Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 606/1209) and Ṭūsī on Avicenna, taking a more anti-Avicennan stands than Ṭūsī, who had defended Avicenna against Rāzī (hence the *Muḥākamāt* are also known as the *Jarḥ al-Ishārāt*, the hurting or damaging of the *Ishārāt*).[98]

Whether Muʾayyadzāda only studied these four works (or five, if we count Taḥtānī's commentary) with Dawānī, or whether Dawānī only considered these four important, we do not know, but these are the four (or five) works that are explicitly mentioned by title in the *ijāza*. In other words, among the *ʿaqliyyāt*, Muʾayyadzāda studied theology, astronomy, geometry, and Avicennan philosophy. It should be noted that only the first of these works pertains to Dawānī's Ashʿarite pedigree, whereas the other three were informed by his Avicennan learning (see the appended Table). The Ottoman and Safavid predilections

94 See, Dirāyatī, *Fihristvāra* (*Danā*), vol. 6: 527.

95 TSA.D. 9291/2, fol. 1b; also fol. 2a.

96 A copy of this work (titled "*Matn Ishārāt*") is listed in the partial inventory of the books once held in Muʾayyadzāda's library; TSA.D. 9291/2, fol. 1b.

97 For a manuscript, see http://echo.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/ECHOdocuView?mode=imagepath&url=/permanent/library/6T1SEV6U/pageimg. The partial inventory of the books once held in Muʾayyadzāda's library appears to list a copy of this work ("*Muḥākamāt—majmūʿa min al-mutūn*"); TSA.D. 9291/1, fol. 4a.

98 Dawānī composed a *ḥāshiya* on this work, entitled variably "Ḥāshiya Sharḥ al-Ishārāt" and "Ḥāshiya bar Awāʾil-i Kitāb-i Muḥākamāt." See Anay, "Celâleddin Devvânî," 182–183. Anay counts this among Dawānī's genuine works. For an overview and detailed discussion of the relationships of the above scholars and works to each other, see the important work by Heidrun Eichner, "The Post-Avicennian Philosophical Tradition and Islamic Orthodoxy: Philosophical and Theological summae in Context" (Habilitationsschrift, Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg, 2009).

were eventually to go the different ways of Maturidi Hanafism and Twelver Shiʿism, but at this point in history, the kind of reading that the two undertook was perfectly acceptable both in Shiraz and Amasya, Edirne, and indeed Istanbul. Only thirty years later, after the establishment of Twelver Shiʿism as the state religion in Safavid Iran and the expansion of the Ottoman Empire into the Shafiʿi-dominated areas of Syria and Egypt, was this balance going to change.

It is noteworthy that Muʾayyadzāda asked for an *ijāza* both in the *ʿaqlī* and the *naqlī* sciences. However, what he received was an *ijāza* mainly for the *ʿaqlī* sciences and a *khirqa*, but no specific books from the *naqliyyāt* are mentioned. This stands in contrast to Dawānī's own education, where specific books are mentioned only for the *naqliyyāt* (al-Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ al-jāmiʿ*, al-Nawawī's *al-Arbaʿūn fī l-ḥadīth*, and al-Shādhilī's *Ḥizb al-baḥr*), whereas his educational background in the *ʿaqliyyāt* is expressed through an illustrious line of transmission and pedigree of scholars leading up all the way to Ibn Sīnā himself, without the mentioning of any specific book titles whatsoever. Whether this has to do with the speed in which the *ijāza* had to be written is not clear, but Dawānī's priorities are manifest. Muʾayyadzāda had most probably read the 'introductory' sciences and works, such as Bukhārī, and the *Arbaʿūn*, before traveling to Shiraz. As for Dawānī, he apparently felt that it was necessary to establish himself as a full authority with proper pedigree in all of these three areas of knowledge before he could turn to the narrower task of giving the actual *ijāza* for specific books in the area of the *ʿaqliyyāt*, and the *khirqa* in the area of *taṣawwuf*.

3.3 *Brief Assessment*

The contents of the present *ijāza* are valuable for several reasons. Dawānī's *ijāza* to Muʾayyadzāda is one of the main sources of our knowledge on Dawānī's intellectual pedigree. It is noteworthy that within his *ʿaqlī* lineage Dawānī made a further distinction between what one might call the Avicennan demonstrative method, represented by a line of no less than nine scholars leading up to Avicenna and including Ṭūsī as an important station, and the method of Ashʿarī dialectical theology, represented by al-Jurjānī (and by him alone), whom Dawānī described as "similar to the sun, which needs no introduction or depiction" ("*al-mustaghnī kal-shams ʿan al-taʿrīf wa-l-tawṣīf*").[99] While, of course, the very personal and double connection to Jurjānī both through his father and his teacher Maẓhar al-Dīn al-Kāzarūnī will have played a role in Dawānī's singling out of Jurjānī, it is significant that in the *ijāza* Jurjānī is clearly

99 Dawānī, *Ijāza* to Muʾayyadzāda ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendi, Ms. Istanbul, Esad Efendi 3733, f. 45a.

kept separate from the Avicennan strand of the transmission of knowledge, without any further antecedents. Ahab Bdaiwi has described Dawānī as the final station in the Ashʿarī line of dialectical theology starting with Ghazālī and continuing via Shahrastānī, Rāzī, Ījī, Jurjānī, and Taftazānī, culminating in Dawānī, whereas the legacy of Dawānī's Shīrāzī contemporaries, the Dashtakīs, was to ultimately replace Ashʿarī *kalām* with philosophical Shiʿism. The structure of Dawānī's *ijāza* appears to project a similarly bifurcated view on the transmission of the *ʿaqliyyāt*, though future research will have to show to which extent this is representative.[100]

Dawānī himself indeed drew on the Avicennan line when writing in the area of political philosophy—his *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* drew heavily on Ṭūsī's *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*—[101] whereas in his theological writings, such as his commentary on the creed of al-Ījī, he drew on the Ashʿarī tradition. The clear separation between the Avicennan and the Ashʿarī line in his pedigree, where he does not even bother to cite Jurjānī's intellectual lineage, appears to be more a conceptual one that distinguishes between schools of thought rather than one reflecting actual paths of transmission (which would obviously have intersected).

With regard to Muʾayyadzāda, not only does the present *ijāza* grant him permission to teach more than one work, it also includes the transferal of a *khirqa* as a symbol of Sufi learning and is primarily people- rather than work-oriented. It focuses on Dawānī and his education in the first instance and on that of Muʾayyadzāda in the second. The people- and scholarly-lineage-oriented focus of the *ijāza* is expressed mainly through the great emphasis that Dawānī places on the highly literary description of his relationship with Muʾayyadzāda in the Introduction (Part I), and the even greater emphasis that he places in Part II on his own educational background. All of Part II is essentially an autobiography about Dawānī's credentials and pedigree in the areas of *naqlī*, *ʿaqlī* and *Ṣūfī* learning, each supported by one or more intellectual genealogies that lead up to famous scholars or Sufis. The focus on people rather than books is indirectly expressed through the omission in Part 2.i of many works that we must assume were also part of Dawānī's education, and of which he only mentions three by their title (al-Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ al-jāmiʿ*, al-Nawawī's *al-Arbaʿūn fī l-ḥadīth*, and al-Shādhilī's *Ḥizb al-baḥr*). The line of transmission for two of these (*al-Arbaʿūn fī l-ḥadīth* and *Ḥizb al-baḥr*) goes back to the authors. One gains the impression that what mattered for Dawānī was his ability to show an illustrious

100 Ahab Bdaiwi, "'Thou Shalt Not Become an Ashʿarite:' Philosophy in Iran in the late Timurid and early Safavid Period." Paper presented in the IMPAcT Lecture Series on "Late Medieval and Early Modern Islamicate Intellectual History," University of Oxford, 29 November 2013.

101 On the latter, see Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, 210–223, 299–304.

isnād for the transmission, not so much the completeness of the range of books that he studied or indeed, the accuracy of the *isnād* itself. Devin DeWeese has argued that in the Sufi context the role of the *ijāza* was to establish the *shajara* of a *shaykh*, which was an intrinsic part of it: "for the compiler, the *ijāza* is merely part of the *shajara*, and it is clear that what he has in mind is a certificate that not only 'licenses' a disciple, but also affirms his relationship to a specific lineage of shaykhs."[102] This also seems to be the case here: Dawānī focuses on his *shajara*, of which he is exceedingly proud, though as DeWeese also pointed out, in contrast to Dawānī's display of his pedigree (and his boasting about it), some Sufi masters would have preferred to focus on the fruit (*al-thamara*) of that lineage (and that fruit's merits), rather than its stem (*al-shajara*).[103] The present *ijāza* dissolves the dichotomy between *ḥasab* and *nasab* by both listing Dawānī's pedigree (his teachers) and his own achievements (his books and teaching), and by placing him into the very center of the *ijāza*.

As a result, a modern type of *isnād* appears in this *ijāza*, which focuses in large parts not so much on the transmission of a particular book as on the people involved in the transmission of knowledge, and on the establishment of the intellectual authority that they carry (though some *isnād*s for books are provided for the *naqlī* sciences for Dawānī and for the *ʿaqlī* sciences for Mu'ayyadzāda).

Not surprisingly, the ends of the *isnād*s go back to the ultimate authority in each branch of learning, and such authorities are in most cases authors who lived in the past two to three hundred years prior to the issuance of the *ijāza*—not in the time of early Islam. Thus for *ḥadīth* the final authority is al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), for prayers and supplications it is al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258),[104] for philosophy it is Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), exceptionally reaching back almost five hundred years with the important authorities Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) and Jurjānī

102 Devin DeWeese, "Khojagānī Origins and the Critique of Sufism: The Rhetoric of Communal Uniqueness in the *Manāqib* of Khoja ʿAlī ʿAzīzān Rāmītanī," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics*, ed. Frederick de Jong and Bernd Radtke (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 492–519, at 514.

103 DeWeese, "Khojagānī Origins," 514.

104 On the eponym of the North African Shādhiliyya order, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), see P. Lory, "al-Shādhilī," *EI*^{2} 9 (1997), 170–172. Al-Shādhilī himself travelled widely, including to Iraq, where he studied, some time after 615/1218, with the Rifāʿī *shaykh* Abū l-Fatḥ al-Wāsiṭī (d. 632/1234), before returning to the Maghreb and then Egypt, where he died on his way to the Ḥajj. While the contact may have taken place in the East, when al-Shādhilī was there, it is still significant that his teachings fell on fertile ground among the Shīrāzī circles.

(d. 816/1413) built into a bifurcated Avicennan-Ashʿarī lineage, and for Sufism it is a tripartite lineage going back to Abū Isḥāq al-Kāzarūnī (d. 426/1033), Shihāb al-Dīn Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), and a certain Abū ʿUbaydallāh, whom I have so far failed to identify.

There is a strong sense that Dawānī used this opportunity to display his connections to important teachers, not so much to the books that they wrote or taught. This is further reinforced in the area of the rational sciences in Part II.ii., where no titles of books are mentioned whatsoever for Dawānī's education, and only the individuals who ultimately connected Dawānī to either Jurjānī or Ibn Sīnā as end points of his pedigree in the *ʿaqlī* sciences are listed. Books listed in Part II.iii., if they are mentioned at all, are merely used as identifiers of authors, such as the *Tarjumat al-Sīra al-Murshidiyya* to identify al-Qirṭāsī, the *Bayān al-ḥaqq*[105] to identify al-Lawkarī, and the *Kitāb al-ʿAwārif* to identify the correct Suhrawardī. And of course, for Dawānī's Sufi pedigree in Part II.iii., the path and symbol of transmission is entirely based on the conferral of the *khirqa* and *talqīn* (Sufi instruction), not on any particular book(s).

Whether the difference between the sections on the *naqlī* and *ʿaqlī* sciences in their focus on *books* versus *people* (the *isnād*) is an expression of the fact that it was the transmission of *texts* that mattered primarily in the traditional sciences, whereas *debates* mattered in the rational sciences, remains open to speculation.[106] Important to retain here is that in all three branches of knowledge the *ijāza* is heavily, if not exclusively, scholar- and scholarly-lineage focused.

For the rational sciences in particular the *ijāza* confirms once again the thesis elaborated by Gutas and others of the great importance of Avicenna,[107] who has by far the longest *silsila* in this *ijāza* and emerges as the towering figure in the *isnād* in this area of learning, not unlike the way in which the Prophet

105 Al-Lawkarī's *Bayān al-ḥaqq bi-ḍimān al-ṣidq* was one of the books that Nayrīzī used in his commentary on Suhrawardī's *al-Alwāḥ al-ʿImādiyya*, apparently "the only commentary ever written on this work." See Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 134–135.

106 It should be noted in this context that the transmission of knowledge and the student-teacher relationship in the *naqlī* section is indicated by "*wa-qad qaraʾtu ʿalayhi*," "*wa-samiʿtu minhu*" and "*ajāzanī*" or, for connections further up the line of transmission, "*kāna yarwī ʿan*" or just "*ʿan*," whereas in the *ʿaqlī* section it is expressed through "*akhadhtuhā ʿan*" or "*ajāzanī*" and "*akhadhā min*" or "*akhadhā ʿan*" or just "*ʿan*." As for the Sufi context, the connection is established through "*thumma innī qad labistu khirqat al-taṣawwuf wa-talaqqantu l-dhikr al-taʿlīmī ʿan*," and further connections are expressed by "*albasanī wa-laqqananī*."

107 Dimitri Gutas, "The Heritage of Avicenna: The Golden Age of Arabic Philosophy, 1000–ca. 1350," in *Avicenna and His Heritage*, ed. Jules Janssens and Daniel De Smet (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 81–97.

Muḥammad is usually mentioned as the originator of *ḥadīth*s. Not surprisingly, the Ḥanbalī jurist and theologian Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350) took issue with this—not with Dawānī's *ijāza* specifically, which postdates Ibn al-Qayyim, but with the type of curriculum and learning that it represents. Ibn al-Qayyim reprimanded the *falāsifa* and in particular Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, who is part of the *silsila* leading up to Avicenna in the present *ijāza*, for putting Avicenna on a par with the Prophet Muḥammad, aspiring to making Avicenna's *Ishārāt* equal to the Qur'ān itself.[108] When looking at the visualization of the *ijāza* in the appended Table 1 it is easy to see what he meant.

Only towards the very end, and in the relatively short Part III, does Dawānī finally turn to those books that Mu'ayyadzāda studied with him. These, interestingly, have no specific *isnād*—Dawānī, the authority of learning introduced in the previous, long explanations of Part II, is sufficient as the guarantor and the proper and exclusive source for the transmission of knowledge. Thus, there is no connection whatsoever between the *isnād*s that lead up to Dawānī as the scholar-transmitter for the transmission of specific books (which are listed exclusively in the *naqlī* sciences for Dawānī's own educational background in Part II), and the books that he read with his student Mu'ayyadzāda (a different set of books, which are exclusively listed for the *ʿaqlī* sciences in Part III). Everything thus focuses and depends on Dawānī himself as the focal node of transmission, which both breaks and connects various paths in the transmission of knowledge of which he is portrayed as the undisputed center.

By placing himself as an individual at the center of his *ijāza*, Dawānī projects a singularly holistic and complex image of his education, an image that an exclusive focus on individual books or a Sufi or scholarly *silsila* might have obscured. It is rather exceptional in that it combines a full overview of what Dawānī considered his education in the three areas of transmitted, rational, and mystical knowledge, including multiple teachers, *silsila*s, books, and areas of learning, regardless of the places and institutions where they may have been taught. Thus, Table 1 provides a unique insight into the individual education of one important scholar from his own perspective, naturally placing him at the

108 "*Wa-rāma* [*al-Ṭūsī*] *jaʿala Ishārāt Imām al-Mulḥidīn Ibn Sīnā makān al-Qurʾān fa-lam yaqdir bi-dhālika wa-qāl: Hiya Qurʾān al-khawāṣṣ wa-dhālika Qurʾān al-ʿawāmm*." Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ighāthat al-lahfān min maṣāʾid al-Shayṭān*, ed. Khālid ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Sabʿ al-ʿAlamī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1417/1996), vol. 2: 324. On Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, see Birgit Krawietz, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah: His Life and Works," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10 (2006): 19–64; Jon Hoover, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya," in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History, vol. 4 (1200–1350)*, ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 989–1002.

center of the universe of learning that he represents. It expresses visually what Gerhard Endress formulated so aptly in his important article on intellectual genealogies and chains of transmission of philosophy and the sciences: Dawānī "took the fusion of Ibn Sīnā's rational and al-Suhrawardī's mystical philosophy into the Sunni *madrasa*."[109] It also shows, however, that from Dawānī's own perspective the *naqlī* sciences were of equal importance to the other branches of knowledge he listed. While the details may have looked differently for other scholars, the *ijāza* presented here affords a rare insight into the self-perception and presentation of the kind of learning that made an accomplished Avicennan Ashʿarī scholar of Dawānī's stature during the second half of the fifteenth century.

3.4 *Editing Principles*

None of the copies used here is an autograph. While minimal editorial interference has been applied, some editing has been undertaken in order to make the text more readable to a modern audience. Thus, the glider 'y' was replaced by *hamza*s where applicable (الرذايل > الرذائل), and the old writing (الصلوة) for (الصلاة), which was apparently the preference of the copyist of MS. Escorial 687.2, was consistently rendered as (الصلاة). Also, where necessary, diacritics were added. E.g., on fol. 315 b, line 6, *ḥalaf* > *khalaf* (حلف) was silently substituted by *khalaf*, even though there is no diacritic in the original manuscript. *Hamza*s, *shadda*s and occasional *ḥaraka*s, which were assiduously applied by the copyist of the Escorial witness, were retained for the ease of reading.

3.5 *Table 1*

The attached Table is exclusively based on the *ijāza* presented here. In other words, it is a visualization of the educational relationships as described in this particular *ijāza*—it is not a visualization of Dawānī's intellectual pedigree as a whole. There exist several other self-referential works by Dawānī where he speaks about his teachers and educational pedigree, above all the *Unmūdhaj al-ʿulūm*, the preface of which contains the names of additional teachers, but excludes Dawānī's Sufi pedigree; additional persons mentioned in the preface to the *Unmūdhaj al-ʿulūm* and other sources were not included in the present Table.[110]

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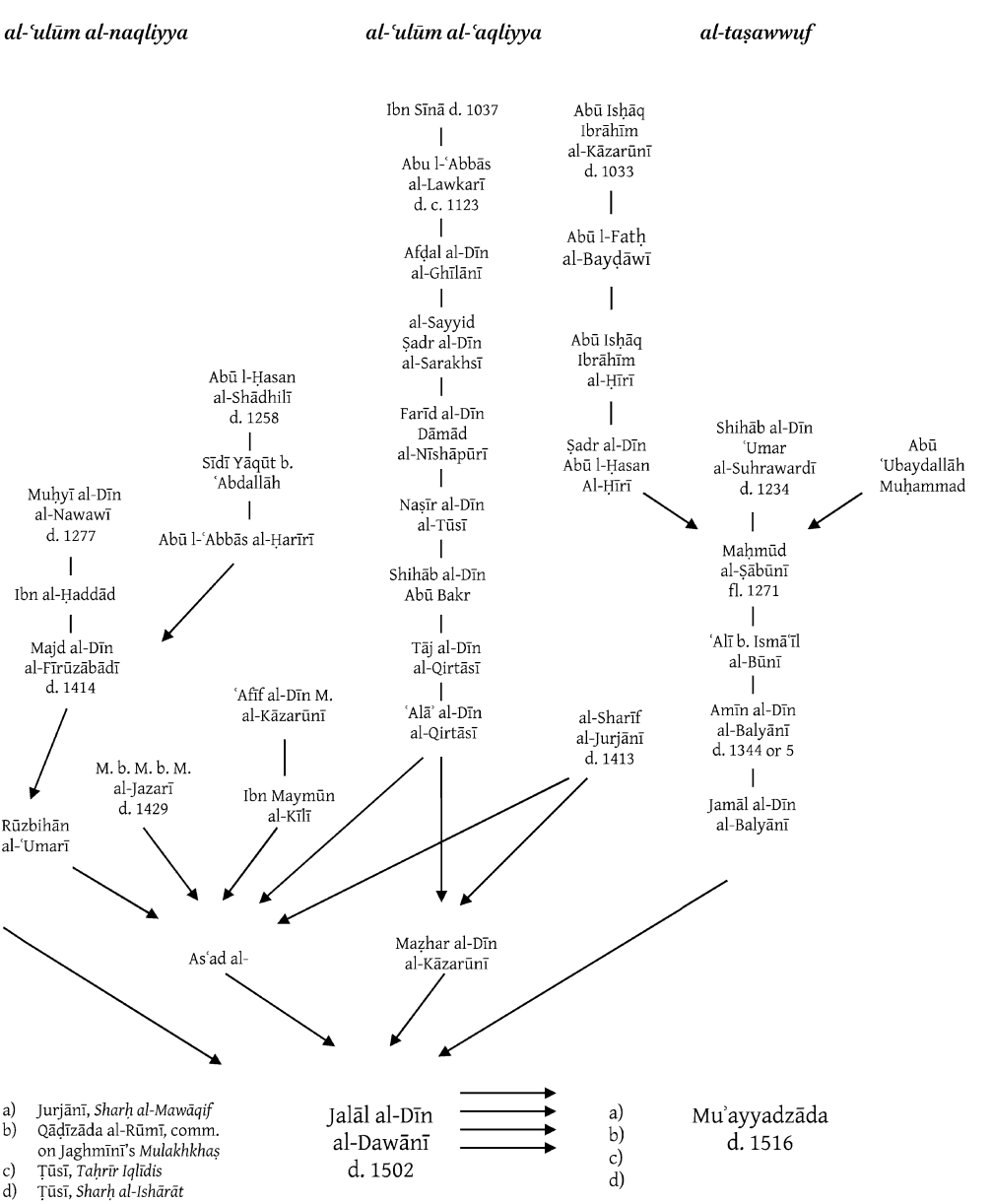
109 Gerhard Endress, "Reading Avicenna in the Madrasa: Intellectual Genealogies and Chains of Transmission of Philosophy and the Sciences in the Islamic East," in *Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy: From the Many to the One: Essays in Celebration of Richard M. Frank*, ed. James E. Montgomery (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 371–422, at 418.

110 Dawānī, *Thalāth rasāʾil*, 271–279. For further references, see Anay, "Celâleddin Devvânî," 13.


al-ʿulūm al-naqliyya
al-ʿulūm al-ʿaqliyya
al-taṣawwuf
Ibn Sīnā d. 1037
Abu l-ʿAbbās al-Lawkarī d. c. 1123
Afḍal al-Dīn al-Ghīlānī
al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī
Farīd al-Dīn Dāmād al-Nīshāpūrī
Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī
Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Bakr
Tāj al-Dīn al-Qirtāsī
ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Qirtāsī
Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Kāzarūnī d. 1033
Abū l-Fatḥ al-Bayḍāwī
Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Ḥīrī
Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan Al-Ḥīrī
Abū l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī d. 1258
Sīdī Yāqūt b. ʿAbdallāh
Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Ḥarīrī
Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī d. 1277
Ibn al-Ḥaddād
Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī d. 1414
ʿAfīf al-Dīn M. al-Kāzarūnī
Ibn Maymūn al-Kīlī
M. b. M. b. M. al-Jazarī d. 1429
Rūzbihān al-ʿUmarī
Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī d. 1234
Abū ʿUbaydallāh Muḥammad
Maḥmūd al-Ṣābūnī fl. 1271
ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl al-Būnī
Amīn al-Dīn al-Balyānī d. 1344 or 5
Jamāl al-Dīn al-Balyānī
al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī d. 1413
Asʿad al-
Maẓhar al-Dīn al-Kāzarūnī
Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī d. 1502
a) Jurjānī, Sharḥ al-Mawāqif
b) Qāḍīzāda al-Rūmī, comm. on Jaghmīnī's Mulakhkhaṣ
c) Ṭūsī, Taḥrīr Iqlīdis
d) Ṭūsī, Sharḥ al-Ishārāt
a)
b)
c)
d)
Muʾayyadzāda d. 1516

د 55أ
ر 315أ
أ 41ب

إجازة الجلال الدواني لمولانا عبد الرحمن المؤيّدي[1]

ر 315ب بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ، وبه نستعين في التتميم[2] أمّا بعد حمد الله تعالى على سوابغ نعمه وإحسانه ، و نشكره[3] تقدّس[4] على شرائع مِنَحِهِ وامتنانه ، والصلاة[5] على نبيه المؤيّد بآياته وبرهانه ، المسدّد في إشاعة الحقّ وإعلانه[6] ، وعلى البررة[7] الكرام من آله وصحبه وخلصائه ، فإن من جلائل نعم الله عَلَيَّ ، وجزائل[8] مِنحه المترادفة إليّ ، أن تشرفت بصحبة الأخ الفاضل الذكي ، العالم الكامل الزكي ، خلف[9] أعيان المحققين ، نتيجة أعاظم الدنيا والدين الواصل[10] إلى الحقائق العليّة ، النازل من غرف[11] المعارف[12] أعلى الشواهق السنية أنموذج أسلافه العظام ، من الأئمة الأعلام ، نُكتة الزمان ، ونادرة الأوان[13] ، المشار إليه بالبنان ، بين أهل البيان والعيان[14] ، المهتدي إلى غوامض العلوم

أ 42أ بنيرات[15] البرهان ، عين الأعيان ، وزين الأقران ، مولانا نور الملّة والفضيلة | والحكمة والمعارف والدولة والدين عبد الرحمن بن المولى[16] الأعظم الأكرم ، قدوة أعاظم الأئمّة في الأمم ، بقية الأكابر

د 55ب في العالم[17] ، صاحب العَلم[18] ، في العِلم[19] والكرم ، | خليفة الجود ووليّ النعم ، مولانا زين الملّة والشريعة والطريقة والحقيقة[20] والدين علي بن المولى ، الشيخ الإمام[21] ، نقاوة[22] أعاظم الأنام المشهود له بالبراعة بين علماء الإسلام[23] ، مرجع الأساطين الفخام ، معتضد[24] السلاطين العظام ، مؤيّد[25] أرباب الفضائل والفواضل في عصره وأوانه ، الدارج إلى رحمة الله تعالى ورضوانه ، مولانا جلال الملّة والشريعة والمعرفة والدولة والدنيا والدين مؤيّد أعلى الله شأن معاليه وكمالاته بين المخلصين[26] ، وأوصله إلى والده القرم الكريم[27] سالماً إلى سالمين ، وروَّح روح أسلافه العظام وأنار برهانهم في أعلى

أ 42ب عِلّيّين ، وكان صحبته الشريفة ، لأهل بلادنا غنيمة | رابحة ونعمة مغبوطة فإنّه بحمد الله تعالى في حداثة سنّه وغضاضة غُصْنِهِ ، قد أحاط أطراف[28] العلوم والحقائق ، واعتلى على أعالي شواهق[29]

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[1] إجازة الجلال الدواني لمولانا عبد الرحمن المؤيدي: أ، إجازت نامهٔ جلاليه للفاضل المؤيديه؛ د، اجازتنامه. [2] وبه نستعين في التتميم: أ، -. [3] و نشكره: أ، ر، نشكره. [4] تقدس، أ، تتذكر. [5] الصلاة: د، الصلوة. [6] المسدد في إشاعة الحق وإعلانه: أ، الممدوح إشاعة الحق وإعلانه. [7] البررة: أ، البرية، وفي الحاشية: البررة ظ. [8] جزائل: أ، جزيل. [9] خلف، أ: خلق. [10] الواصل: أ، الراحل؟ [11] غرف، أ، غرفة. [12] المعارف: أ، المعارق. [13] الأوان: أ، الأدوان، وفي الحاشية: الأوان ظ. [14] والعيان: أ، -. [15] بنيرات: أ، بريّات/بسرّيات. [16] بن المولى: أ، ابن مولانا. [17] قدوة أعاظم الأئمّة في الأمم ، بقية الأكابر في العالم: أ، قدوة الأعاظم الأعيان الأمم بينة الأكابر في العالم. [18] صاحب العَلم ، في العِلم والكرم: أ، صاحب العلم والكرم، وفي الحاشية: في العِلم. [19] في العِلم: أ، أضيف « في العِلم » في الحاشية؛ ر، في القلم. [20] والشريعة والطريقة والحقيقة: أ، -. [21] الشيخ الإمام: ر، د، والشيخ الإمام. [22] نقاوة: أ، ثناوة. [23] المشهود له بالبراعة من علماء الإسلام: أ، المشهور بالشريعة بين العلماء (كذا) الاسلام. [24] معتضد: أ، معتقد. [25] مؤيد: أ، متوكل؛ د، مؤبل. [26] المخلصين: أ، المحصلين. [27] إلى والده القرم الكريم: أ، د، إلى والده الماجد القرم الكريم. [28] أطراف: د، بأطراف. [29] وفي حاشية أ: شواهق جمع شاهق هو زروة الجبل.

المعارف والدقائق ، وفاق بكمال جودة طبعه الرائق على كل رباع فائق[1] ، فهو العالم النِحْرِيْر ، والبحر
الغزير ، والسحاب المطير ، والمحقق العديم[2] النظير ، والمدقق | الرشيق[3] التقرير والتحرير[4] ، وهو د 56أ
مع ذلك مُتَحَلٍّ بحمائل[5] الشمائل ، متخلٍّ عن رذائل[6] السيمات وسيمات الرذائل[7] ، بحيث بالغت
في استقصاء[8] خصائله ، واستيفاء شمائله ، فما وجدت فيها ما يشار إليه بأنه يليق بالتغيير ، أو
يُرمى إليه بسهام التعيير ، ومثل ذلك أعزّ في زماننا هذا من الكبريت الأحمر ، بل لا[9] يكاد يوجد
إلّا في الأقلّ[10] الأندر ، إذ غلب[11] على الطباع اللدد والعناد ، وشاع الحسد والحقد بين العباد في
البلاد[12] ، ولقد كنت مستأنساً بمحاورته[13] الشريفة مُسْتَرْوِحاً إلى مجاورته المنيفة ، برهة من الزمان ، ر 316أ
وآونة من الأوان ، بحيث | ما كنت أريد أن أفارقه | لمحة[14] ، أو أهاجره لحظة ، إلى أن صمّم أ 43أ
العزيمة على العود إلى الموطن المألوف ، المسكن المعروف ، إيثاراً[15] لخدمة والده القرم القمقام[16] ،
وللملازمة السدّة السنيّة ، والحضرة العليّة ، السمية السلطانية الخاقانية[17] الإماميّة ، أعني مَن فاق
قياصرة الأيّام ، وأكاسرة الأنام وحَمَى بيضة الإسلام ، عن إفساد الكفرة الطغام[18] ، وغمر بذوارف
العوارف[19] الخواص | والعوام ، وأفاض على عصابة العلم والفضل محبّ[20] الإفضال والإنعام خلّد الله د 56ب
تعالى ظلال خلافته ، وأُيِّد بين العالَمين[21] لا سيما العالِمين أنوار رأفته وكان ذلك الفراق علينا مرّ
المذاق ، بحيث[22] لا يكاد يطاق ، لكن لما لم يكن بُد من ضرورات الدهر الخوان ، و[23] محذورات[24]
الزمان العديم[25] الأمان وطّنّا نفوسنا على ذلك جبراً ، والتمسنا من الله تعالى في ذلك صبراً ، لعل
الله يحدث[26] بعد ذلك أمراً[27] ، ثم أنّه أعلى الله تعالى مراقي كماله[28] ، وأسمى فوق الفرقدين معارج
إقباله ، أشار إليّ أن أكتب له | صورة إجازتي عن بعض مشايخي في العلوم النقلية ، أساتذتي[29] في أ 43ب
المعارف العقلية ، ليكون تذكرة له مني فاجتهدت في امتثال ما رسمه ، وبذل ما التمسه ، مع تفرّق
البال وتشتّت الحال ، وما اعتراني من موادعة هذا الصديق[30] من الملال فأقول مستعينا من الله
المتعالي إني قد أجزت المولى الأعظم الأعلم ، المحقق المدقق البارع الفائق ، المشار إليه [و][31] إلى

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[1]وفاق بكمال جودة طبعه الرائق على كل رباع فائق: أ، -. [2]العديم: أ، القديم. [3]الرشيق: أ، والرشيق. [4]والتحرير: أ، التحرير. [5]بحمائل: أ، بحمايد؛ د، بخمائل. [6]رذائل: أ، زوائل. [7]السيمات وسيمات الرذائل: أ، السيمات وسيمات السيما الزوائل. [8]استقصاء: د، استقصاء. [9]لا: أ، -. [10]الأقل: أ، الأحلى. [11]إذ غلب: أ، أذا غلبا. [12]في البلاد: أ، والبلاد. [13]بمحاورته: ر، د، بمجاورته. [14]لمحة: أ، لمحه. [15]إيثاراً: أ، اثار. [16]والده القرم القمقام: أ، والده العزة الفهام. [17]الخاقانية: و، الخانقية. [18]الطغام: ر، د، العظام. [19]بذوارف العوارف: أ، بذوارق. [20]محب: أ، سحت. [21]العالَمين: أ، القائلين. [22]بحيث: أ، -. [23]و: أ، -. [24]محذورات: أ، مغدورات. [25]العديم: أ، القديم. [26]يحدث: أ، أضيف « يحدث » في الحاشية. [27]لعل الله يحدث بعد ذلك أمراً: أ، لعل الله بعد ذلك صبراً ، لعل الله يحدث بعد ذلك أمراً. [28]مراقي كماله: أ، في كماله. [29]أساتذتي: أ، أساتيذي؛ ر، أستاذيني. [30]هذا الصديق: أ، هذا العبد من الصديق. [31]و: أ، ر، -.

بعض شمائله الكريمة آنفاً رواية ما يجوز لي روايته من كتب الفقه والتفسير والحديث على شريطة
د 57أ أهل الصناعة ، وكذا سائر ما | للرواية فيه مدخل من العلوم العقلية والنقلية ، وكذا أجزت له رواية
ما صدر مني من الكتب والرسائل والحواشي ، وها أنا أخبره ببعض مشايخي تيمُّناً بذكرهم ، فأقول
أوّلهم[1] في الإفاضة عليَّ ، وأولاهم في الإحسان[2] إليَّ ، والدي وشيخي ومقتدائي[3] ، ومن تشبّث
أ 44أ بذيل تربية ابتدائي[4] ، المولى الإمام ، أوحد أئمّة الإسلام ، قدوة | العلماء العظام ، مفتي الفريقين ،
وهادي الطريقين ، أستاذ[5] المفسّرين في زمانه ، ملاذ المحدّثين في أوانه ، مولانا سعد الملّة والدين ،
أسعد الصديق الدواني المحدّث بالجامع المرشدي في الكازرُون روَّح الله روحه ، ووالي فتوحه ، فهو
الذي بصغار العلوم ربّاني حتى استعددت ، لكبارها كما قيل في تعريف الربّاني[6] ، وقد قرأت عليه
العلوم الشرعية ، بعد ما استكملت تربية[7] العلوم الأدبية[8] ، وسمعت منه كثيراً من كتب الحديث
والفقه والتفسير لا سيما كتاب الصحيح الجامع الذي جاد بتصنيفه إمام أئمّة الدين ، أحد سلاطين
د 57ب عساكر اليقين ، الحافظ المتقن الناقد الإمام محمّد بن اسمعيل البخاري قدَّس الله تعالى | سرَّه العزيز
ر 316ب وروَّح الله تعالى روحه[9] | كان يروي هذا الكتاب وسائر العلوم الشرعية عن شيوخ كثيرة ، منهم
الشيخ الإمام ، قاضي قضاة الإسلام ، المرجوع إليه في غوامض الأحكام ، المكّن على أريكة العلم
أ 44ب والتقوى ، والحكم والفتوى ، | أستاذ المحدثين في عصره ، أستاذ القرّاء في دهره ، شمس الملّة
والتقوى والفتوى والدين محمّد بن محمّد بن محمّد بن الجزري[10] الشافعي ، أعلى الله تعالى درجته في
عِلّيين ، ومنهم المولى الأعظم الأقدر[11] صاحب الأسانيد العالية ، الشيخ شهاب الإسلام ، أبو المجد[12]
عبد الله بن ميمون الكيلي الكرماني ، وهو كان يروي عن مشايخ كثيرة ، منهم الشيخ الإمام المولى
عفيف الدين محمد الكازروني[13] شارح البخاري ، ومن مشايخي الشيخ الإمام الخواجا[14] ركن الملّة
والدين روزبهان الواعظ العمري ، وقد قرأت عليه الأربعين في الحديث مؤلف الإمام المتقن المحقّق[15]
الشيخ محيي الدين النَوَوي رحمه الله[16] في مجلس واحد وأجازني إجازة ملفوظة مكتوبة ، وقد كان
د 58أ يروي هذا | الكتاب وسائر تصانيف الإمام النووي عن الشيخ المحقّق الجمع[17] على جلالة[18] الشيخ
مجد الدين أبي طاهر الفيروزآبادي[19] عن الشيخ ابن الحداد عن الإمام النووي كذالك ، وكان يروي

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[1]أوّلهم: ر، د، أوليهم. [2]الإحسان: أ، إحسان. [3]مقتداي: أ، ر، مقتدائي؛ د، مقتدايي. [4]ابتدائي: أ، بدالي ؛ ر، بدايي؛ د، يدايي. [5]استاذ: أ، -. [6]حتى استعددت لكبارها كما قيل في تعريف الربايي: أ، -. [7]تربية: أ، مرتبة. [8]الأدبية: أ، الآدمية. [9]وروَّح الله تعالى روحه: وفي نسختي أ و ر: وهو روَّح الله تعالى روحه. [10]بن الجزري: أ، ر، الجزري. [11]الأقدر: أ، الأقدم. [12]المجد: أ، الجد. [13]الكازروني: أ، الكاروني. [14]الخواجا: أ، الخراجا. [15]المحقق: أ، -. [16]رحمه الله: أ، د، رحمة الله عليه. [17]الجمع: د، المحى. [18]جلالة: ر، سلالة. [19]الفيروزآبادي: ر، الفيروزمادي.

حِزْب البحر وسائر الأحزاب | للإمام الشاذلي عن الشيخ مجد الدين الفيروزابادي عن الشيخ أبي أ 45أ
العباس الحريري عن[1] الشيخ سيدي ياقوت بن عبد الله عن الإمام أبي الحسن الشاذلي قدّس
سرّه وكذلك كان يروي والدي قدّس سرّه والمولى الإمام العلّامة المولى مظهر الدين محمّد الكازروني
الذي هو أحد مشايخي بهذا الإسناد[2] عن الشاذلي رحمهم الله تعالى[3] هذا وأمّا العقليّات فإن لم
يكن للرواية فيها كثير مدخل فإني أخذتها عن والدي المشار إليه والمولى مظهر الدين محمّد المذكور
آنفاً ، وهما كانا أخذاها من السيد الإمام أستاذ البشر ، والعقل الحادي عشر ، المستغني كالشمس
عن التعريف والتوصيف ، المشتهر في الأصقاع بلقبه الشريف السيّد زين الملّة والحقيقة والإفادة
والدين عليّ الشريف الجرجاني | تغمده الله تعالى باللطف الصمداني ، هذا وكان المولى مظهر الدين د 58ب
المذكور وكذا والدي المومأ[4] إليه قد أخذاها أيضاً من المولى علاء الدين القرطاسي صاحب كتاب
ترجمة السيرة المرشدية وهو قد أخذها عن والده المولى | تاج الدين القرطاسي وهو عن المولى[5] أ 45ب
الإمام ، قدوة علماء[6] الإسلام ، الملقب بالهادي إلى الحقّ في المكاشفة الصحيحة من حضرة سيد
الأنام المولى شهاب الحقّ والدين أبي بكر ، وهو عن الفيلسوف المحقّق الخواجا نصير الملّة والدين
محمد بن محمد بن حسن الطوسي ، وهو عن أستاذه[7] فريد الدين داماد النيسابوري[8] ، وهو عن
السيّد صدر الدين السرخسي ، وهو عن أفضل الدين الغيلاني وهو عن | أبي العباس اللوكري ر 317أ
صاحب بيان الحق ، وهو عن الشيخ الرئيس أبي علي الحسين ابن عبد الله بن سينا البخاري
الكرميني[9] ، ثم إني قد لبست خرقة التصوف وتلقنت الذكر التعليمي عن المولى الإمام الشيخ جمال
الدين عبد الله[10] البلياني المشهور بالأصمّ ، قال ألبسني | ولقّنني الشيخ العالم الجليل الشيخ أمين د 59أ
الدين [ال]معروف [ب]البلياني ، قال ألبسني ولقّنني الشيخ علي بن أحمد بن إسمعيل البوني | أ 46أ
تجاه الروضة الأقدسية النبوية على ساكنها أفضل الصلاة[11] والتحية ، وهو لبس[12] من يد الشيخ
المحقق جمال الدين أبي حامد محمود المحمودي الصابوني ، وهو لبسها من المشايخ الثلاثة ، الشيخ
فخر الدين أبي عبيد الله محمّد ، والشيخ شهاب الدين عمر السهروردي صاحب كتاب العوارف
وغيره من الكتب المعتبرة ، والشيخ صدر الدين أبي الحسن الخيري أما الشيخ فقد لبس من يد
والده[13] أبي إسحق إبرهيم[14] الخيري وهو لبس من يد أبي الفتح البيضاوي وهو لبس من يد الشيخ

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[1]الشيخ مجد الدين الفيروزابادي عن الشيخ أبي العباس الحريري عن: أ، -. [2]الإسناد: أ، الاستاذ. [3]تعالى: أ، -. [4]المومأ إليه: أ، ر، مؤمى عليه؛ د، المومى إليه. [5]المولى: أ، مولى. [6]علماء: أ، د، حكماء. [7]وهو عن أستاذه: ر، د، وهو أستاذه. [8]النيسابوري: د، النيشابوري. [9]الكرميني: ولعلّها الخَرَمَيْثَنِي. [10]عبد الله مكرر في أ. [11]الصلاة: د، الصلوة. [12]وهو لبس: أ، وهو قد لبس. [13]من يد والده: أ، من والده. [14]ابرهيم: أ، د، ابراهيم.

العارف بالله الخلاق ، قدوة أولياء الله تعالى بالاستحقاق[1] ، والشيخ المرشد[2] أبو إسحق إبرهيم بن شهريار الكازروني[3] قدّس الله تعالى سرّه ، وأدرّ علينا يُمنَه وبرَّه[4] ، وهذه سلسلة مباركة قلّما[5] يوجد
د 59ب مثلها في هذا الزمان ، وقد ألبست المولى المحقق المشا(ر) إلى بعض ألقابه الخرقة المباركة وأجزت |
أ 46ب له أن يلبسها من يراه | أهلا لها وكذا رواية جميع ما للرواية فيه مدخل بوجه من الوجوه ، قد قرأ أمدَّهُ[6] الله بفضله عليَّ شرح المواقف الشريفي من أوّله إلى أثناء بحث الوجود وشرح الجغميني[7] للقاضي صلاح الدين موسى[8] الرومي المشهور بقاضي زادة من أوّله إلى آخره وكتاب تحرير إقليدس لخواجا[9] نصير الملّة والدين محمّد الطوسي من أوّله إلى المقالة التاسعة وطرفاً صالحاً من أوّل[10] طبيعيات شرح الإشارات للعلاّمة الطوسي مع المحاكمات للمولى البارع[11] المحقق الفائق المدقق مولانا قطب الملّة والحقيقة والدين محمد الرازي رحمه الله تعالى ، وفي أثناء ذلك وقع[12] مباحثات شتّى في علوم فوضى[13] والله تعالى يبارك لنا وله في الدين[14] والدنيا والآخرة والأولى والتمس منه أن لا ينساني حياً كنت أو ميّتاً وأن يذكرني في صوالح دعواته ، عقيب صلواته ، وأوصيه[15] تقوى الله تعالى ومراعاة[16] الحقّ
د 60أ في السرّاء والضرّاء[17] وهو بحمد الله تعالى ممّن لا يحتاج إلى أن يُحَثّ | على الجميل ، والله يحق الحق وهو يهدي السبيل ، حرّره على سبيل الارتجال والاعتجال[18] وقت ما كان المولى المومأ[19] إلى بعض ألقابه على جناح السفر والانتقال ، حفظه الله تعالى من وعثاء السفر ، وكآبة المنظر
ر 317ب وسوء المنقلب في الأهل والمال والولد[20] ، الفقير إلى | لطف الله الصمداني محمد بن أسعد بن محمد[21] الملقب بجلال الدين الصديقي الدواني ملّكهم الله تعالى نواصي الأماني ، في الحادي عشر من شهر

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[1]بالاستحقاق: أ، على الاستحقاق. [2]المرشد: ر، الرشد. [3]الكازروني: ر، الكاذروني. [4]وأدرّ علينا يُمنَه وبرَّه: أ، وأدرّ علينا بمنيه بره؛ ر، وأدرّ علينا ممنهُ بره. [5]قلما: أ، فلا. [6]أمده: ر، أبده. [7]الجغميني: أ، في المتن: الجغموني، وفي الحاشية: الجغميني؛ د، الچغميني. [8]موسى: أ، أضيف «موسى» في الحاشية. [9]تحرير إقليدس لخواجا: ر، تحرير إقليد من الخواجا. [10]من أول: أ، من أولي. [11]البارع: أ، الباع. [12]في أثنا ذلك وقع: أ، في ذلك أثنا وقع. [13]علوم فوضى: أ، علوم فرضى؛ ر، علوم خوضى. [14]وله في الدين: مكرر في ر. [15]وأوصيه: ر، وأصيه. [16]ومراعاة: أ، ر، د، ومراعات. [17]في السرّاء والضرّاء: أ، في السرّاء والضرّاء وأشواء الجميل [أ 47أ] إلى الملهوفين والفقراء؛ د، في السرّاء والضرّاء وأسواء الجميل إلى الملهوفين والفقراء. [18]الاعتجال: أ، الاستعجال. [19]المومأ: أ، المومي؛ ر، د، المومى. [20]في الأهل والمال والولد: أ، د، في الأهل والولد والمال. [21]الصمداني محمد بن أسعد بن محمّد: د، الصمداني محمد بن اسمعيل بن أسعد بن محمّد.

جمادى الأولى سنة ثمان وثمانين وثمانمائة
من الهجرة[1] ، ولله الحمد أولاً وآخراً ،
وعلى نبيّه الصلاة[2] والتحيّة
باطناً وظاهراً[3] ،
تمّ[4]
،

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم[5]

تصل[6] إن شاء الله تعالى الرحمن ، هذه الأجزاء الأربعة إلى حبّي وخليلي
الأخ في الله المولى نور الدين عبد الرحمن المشتهر بجلبي[7] عبد الرحمن ، وقاه الله
عن نوب الزمان | ليمعن النظر فيها ويُلقي مباحثها إلى ذوي الفطانة من الفضلاء د 60ب
وفقهم الله لنيل الكمال ، ووقاهم عن أرذال الشيم وشيم الأرذال
وعصمهم عن الشغَب والسفسطة والجدال ،
، كتبه الفقير إلى الله تعالى ولطفه
الصمداني محمد بن أسعد بن محمد
، الملقب بجلال الدين الدواني ،
، ملّكهم الله نواصي ،
، الأماني ،
،

[1]من الهجرة: د، الهجرية. [2]الصلاة: د، الصلوة. [3]تنتهي نسخة ر بكلمة يصعب قراءتها. [4]تمّ: د، -. [5]من "بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم" إلى "الأماني": ليس في أ. [6]تصل: د، يصل. [7]بجلبي: د، بچلبي.

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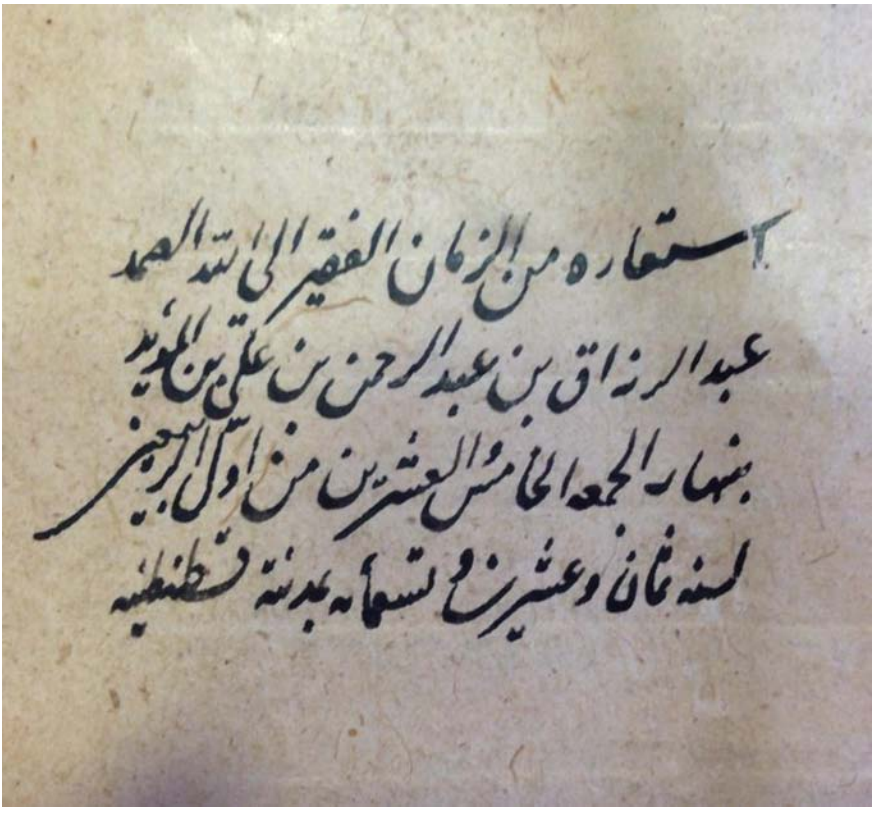

FIGURE 13.1 *Ms. Leiden, Or. 513, fol. 1a, reproduced with the kind permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden*

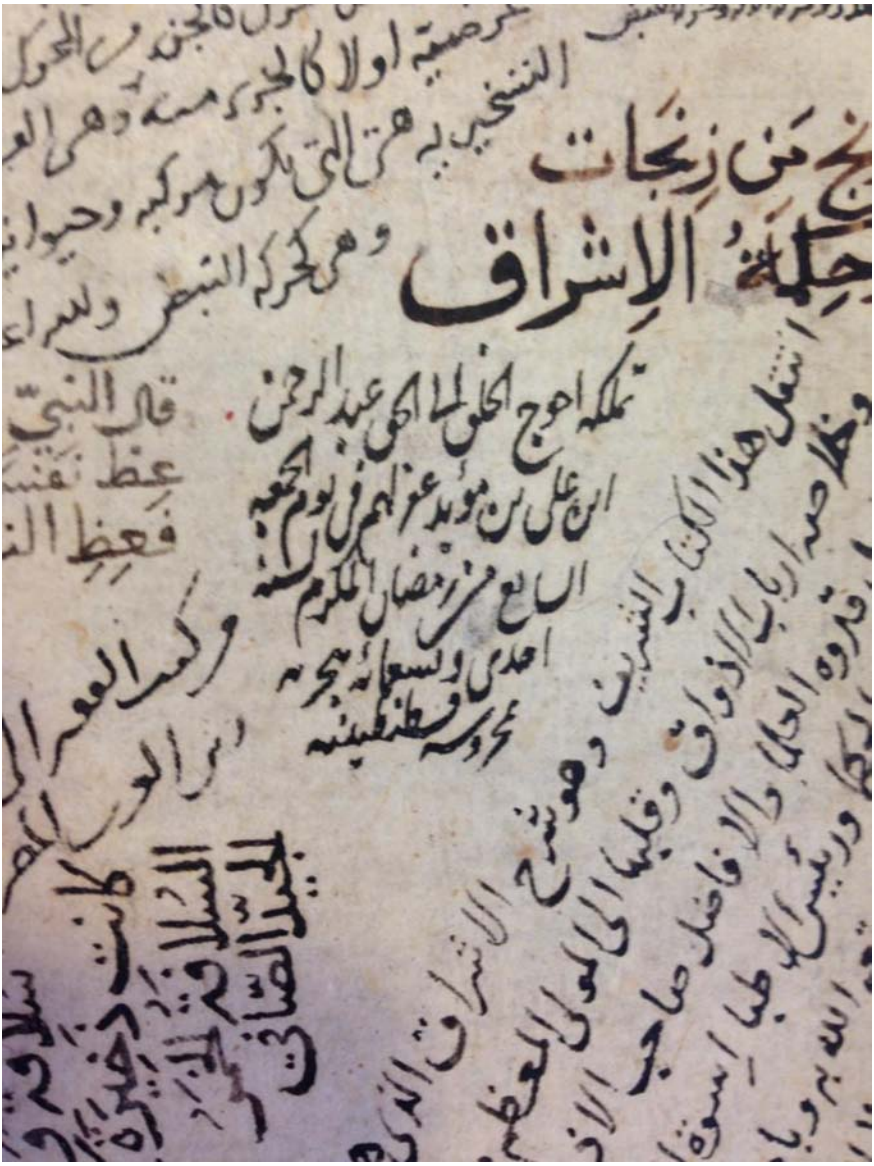

FIGURE 13.2 *Ms. Leiden, Or. 606, fol. 1a, reproduced with the kind permission of the Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden*

CHAPTER 14

Scholars in Networks: ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī and His Travels

John O. Voll

ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī visited Baalbek in Lebanon during a short trip in 1112/1700. He toured the famous Roman ruins and met with friends and officials. His description of this visit in one of his travel accounts provides a helpful view of how networks of scholars in the Islamic world of the eighteenth century actually operated. Scholarly networks throughout the history of the Muslim world are recognized as having significance.[1] Sometimes scholars like al-Nābulusī provide narratives of their travels within the networks and these travel accounts are important historical sources. However, in studies utilizing this literature of travelers, most attention is given to analysis of literary formats, descriptive information provided, or conceptual content, while less consideration is given to what the scholars in these networks actually did while they were "networking." An examination of this more personal dimension gives a sense of the nature and importance of the networks themselves.

Al-Nābulusī was one of the leading teachers and intellectuals in the Ottoman-Arab world of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[2] He has been

1 See, for example, the important volumes of studies of networks: Miriam Cooke and Bruce B. Lawrence, eds., *Muslim Networks: From Hajj to Hip Hop* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), and Roman Loimeier, ed., *Die islamische Welt als Netzwerk: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des Netzwerkansatzes im islamischen Kontext* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2000).

2 Three important studies of his life and work are Elizabeth Sirriyeh, *Sufi Visionary of Ottoman Damascus: ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, 1641–1731* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005); Samer Akkach, *ʿAbd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi: Islam and the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2007); Barbara Rosenow von Schlegel, "Sufism in the Ottoman Arab World: Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731)," PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1997. For an important list of his writings, see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (reprint) (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 2: 345–348/454–458 [the first page numbers are for the original edition, the second are the pages in the reprint edition] and S-2: 473–476 [the pagination is only for the reprint edition]. This source will be referred to as GAL. A useful summary of his life and work, with an extended bibliography is presented in Samer Akkach, "ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam Three* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1: 20–28. The presentations and discussions at the major international conference, "Early Modern Trends in Islamic

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described as "[t]he outstanding figure in the Arabic literature of the Ottoman period."[3] The author of the great biographical dictionary of his age, Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī, states that al-Nābulusī "is the greatest among those for whom I have written biographies in terms of knowledge (*ʿilm*) and in being close to God (*walāya*)," and this is confirmed by the fact that his name dominates the lists of teachers of the major scholars whose biographies appear in Murādī's dictionary.[4]

He undertook four trips for which he wrote travel narratives. These travel narratives are in a long tradition of Muslim travel accounts or *riḥla*s, a genre extending back to the writings of great medieval travelers like Ibn Jubayr in the twelfth/thirteenth centuries and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the fourteenth century. Al-Nābulusī's travel accounts are part of the development of "a new kind of mystical travel literature" with al-Nābulusī being "the best-known exponent of Arabic travel writing in which Sufi interests feature prominently."[5] He recounts his meetings with living Sufis and his visits to the graves of past Sufi masters. At the same time, his narratives provide interesting insights into his activities as a scholar as he is "networking" among his peers in the world of Muslim intellectuals and teachers.

1 Al-Nābulusī's Travels: Some Networking

A few specific descriptions of al-Nābulusī's activities help to provide a concrete awareness of what scholars like al-Nābulusī did as they traveled. The broad purposes of travel are often framed in discussions of the instruction in a Prophetic *ḥadīth* to seek knowledge, even unto China, and travel to fulfill the obligation of undertaking the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*). Many of the *riḥla* accounts are basically narratives of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Within this broad framework, it is useful to know some of the specifics of what the traveling scholars actually did as they moved within the networks of their peers. A few specific examples drawn from al-Nābulusī's travel accounts can be helpful.

Theology: 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī and His Network of Scholarship," at the University of Tübingen, 4–6 September 2014, reflect the recognition of the importance of his work. A conference volume is planned.

3 H.A.R. Gibb, "'Arabiyya," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1957), 1: 596.

4 Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī (1173–1206/1760–1791), *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-thānī ʿashar*, 4 vols. (Baghdad: Maktabat al-Muthannā, 1301/[1883–1884]). The quote is from the biographical entry for al-Nābulusī, 3: 37.

5 Sirriyeh, *Sufi Visionary*, 108.

His account of his visit to Baalbek provides a picture of the less "mystical" aspects of his travels, as well as reflecting the importance to him of visiting places and people of religious significance[6] He had informed al-Sayyid Aḥmad Afandī al-Ayyūbī, who was the *qāḍī* of Baalbek and a relative, of his intention to visit Baalbek. The *qāḍī* made a special trip out of town to come to meet him at an agreed-upon time and place and escorted him into the city. In the *qāḍī*'s home, where he was staying, they first spent time in what al-Nābulusī describes as a beautiful garden, sitting under a grape arbor talking and eating. (Virtually every conversation with a scholar or notable involved a specially prepared meal.)

Following this rest, the *khaṭīb* (official preacher) of the city, *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tājī al-Baʿlī, came for "scholarly discussions and literary pleasantries."[7] Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī, in his biography of al-Tājī, observes that he and al-Nābulusī were close friends, and describes al-Tājī as a prominent scholar with important ties to the Ottoman authorities.[8] Al-Tājī was a respected scholarly authority in the field of rhetoric (*ʿilm al-balāgha*) and the discussion included recitations of poems related to the geographical region and analyses of the rhetorical devices used. Al-Nābulusī specifically mentions that they discussed a complex ode (*qaṣīda*) by the tenth-century poet, Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī. This poet is among the most famous Arab writers and is especially noted for the beautiful complexity of his poetic constructions. The particular ode that the group in Baalbek discussed is one that begins with a verse ("Your guardians are secure …") about which a famous medieval literary scholar, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī, in his commentary on the ode, wrote: "This verse was unprecedented up to this time"[9] in terms of structure and word usage. This observation gives an indication of the type of subjects that were covered in the "literary" conversations. Al-Nābulusī was himself an accomplished and recognized poet and appears to have enjoyed discussions of grammatical complexities in literary works. This discussion also reflects the importance of language studies in the intellectual life of scholars of that time.

The next few days of this relatively short visit were filled with sightseeing and visiting local friends and notables. On his first full day in Baalbek, al-Nābulusī

6 The following description is based upon the account in ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Nābulusiyya fī l-riḥla al-Ṭarābulusiyya*, ed. Heribert Busse (Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1971), especially 97–105.

7 Al-Nābulusī, *al-Tuḥfa*, 98.

8 Al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, 2: 286.

9 *Dīwān Abī l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī bi-sharḥ al-ʿAllāma al-Imām al-Wāḥidī*, ed. ʿUmar Fārūq al-Ṭabbāʿ (Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, 1994), 1: 294.

went with his host and others to "the astonishing citadel and those strange buildings," and states that he views them as being "among the wonders of the age and the marvels of existence."[10] He writes an extended description of the ruins, although he does not seem to have much interest in the actual historical record that they represent. They also visited the ruins of several mosques, went to the major city bath, and strolled around the main gates of the city as well as reciting *sūrat al-Fātiḥa* at the tombs of a couple of deceased religious notables. He also continued to have scholarly and literary conversations with al-Tājī and others.

Interestingly, he had done many things before he paid a visit to the governor of the city, Ḥusayn Āghā, Al-Nābulusī's description of this visit is rather terse: "Then, after we left the bath, we had been invited by the honorable pride of nobility, Ḥusayn Āghā, the governor of the city and a follower of the *shaykh al-islām*. So we went to his meeting place in the palace. We were met with decorum and we were treated with respectfulness."[11] The coolness of this description, when compared with the presentation of other meetings, suggests that while al-Nābulusī had good relations with the Ottoman rulers, political connections were not his major concern. The *shaykh al-islām* at that time, Fayḍ Allāh Afandī, was a powerful but unpopular figure who, as the former tutor of the Sultan Muṣṭafā II, dominated both the religious and political spheres of Ottoman imperial policy.[12] Fayḍ Allāh had written to al-Nābulusī in 1109/1698, just two years before this visit to Baalbek, requesting al-Nābulusī's prayers for the Ottoman armies engaged in a major Balkan war and al-Nābulusī had responded with letters of prayers and support.[13] However, the Ottomans basically lost the war, signing the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, and both the Sultan and Fayḍ Allāh were overthrown in 1703. Under these circumstances, both the Ottoman governor and al-Nābulusī might have been justifiably cautious.

Al-Nābulusī's visit in Baalbek shows an established scholar visiting friends, fellow scholars, and officials. The trip is an interesting combination of sightseeing, spiritual pilgrimaging, intellectual discussions, and maintaining personal relationships with fellow scholars. One aspect of this is the blending of scholarship and piety that was a part of intellectual life in the eighteenth-century

10 Al-Nābulusī, *al-Tuḥfa*, 98–99.

11 Al-Nābulusī, *al-Tuḥfa*, 102.

12 Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600–1800)* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988), 215–217.

13 Samer Akkach, *Letters of a Sufi Scholar: The Correspondence of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (1641–1731)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 72–73.

Muslim world. With his discussions of complex poetry and the scholarly disciplines of legal and *ḥadīth* studies, along with his visits to tombs of Sufi saints, it is possible to note that like one of his famous students, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, he cannot be "described with a single catchword" as he is both a Sufi and one of the literati (an *adīb*) as well as one of the '*ulamā*'.[14] His network of friends and associates was not tied to a single intellectual activity or ideological position. It was, rather, a network of people who enjoyed conversing with each other and engaging in mutual assistance in a wide range of activities. This characteristic seemed to be common among such networks.

While al-Nābulusī visited Medina during the course of his longest journey (in the 1690s), he made many contacts and undertook activities that illustrate ways that networking took place. On the day that he identifies in his account as the 272nd day of his trip, he visited "Ibrāhīm Afandī, the *imām* and *khaṭīb* of the Holy Sanctuary and son of the *imām* and *khaṭīb* of the Holy Sanctuary, Aḥmad Afandī Ibn Barrī, Ḥanafī *muftī* in Medina."[15] Al-Nābulusī reports: "I sat with him for a time and he showed me the book of the *riḥla* by al-Sharīshī providing explanation for the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, in which he passed through Baghdad and attended a sermon of Abū l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī. Then he went to Damascus in Syria and the Two Sanctuaries. We found the manuscript in the script of my father, the late Ismāʿīl Afandī Ibn al-Nābulusī. I took it and read it for some days, and then I returned it to him. So he recited to me these two verses [quoted in the text] and he recounted to me that his father, the late *khaṭīb*, Aḥmad Afandī Ibn al-Barrī, had recited these two verses to him."[16]

This particular work provides an interesting example of the type of literary material being discussed in these conversations. The author is Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Mu'min al-Qaysī al-Sharīshī (557–619/1181–1222), who was primarily a scholar of the Arabic language, and his commentary on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, the famous and influential treatise, "is undoubtedly the most complete and the most famous" of the many major commentaries on al-Ḥarīrī's work.[17] Al-Sharīshī was a student of the great travel writer, Ibn Jubayr,

14 For Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, see Ralf Elger, "Die Netzwerke des Literaten und Sufis Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī (1099/1688–1162/1749) im Vorderen Orient," in *Die islamische Welt*, ed. Loimeier, 178.

15 ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Ismāʿīl al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqa wa-l-majāz fī l-riḥla ilā Bilād al-Shām wa-Miṣr wa-l-Ḥijāz*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Majīd Harīdī (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma lil-Kitāb, 1986), 392.

16 Al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqa*, 392.

17 A. Ben Abdesselem, "al-Sharīshī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 9: 350.

and in his commentary he frequently made use of his teacher's *riḥla*.[18] This anecdote indicates that al-Nābulusī was involved in discussions about a book that combined analysis of literary and philological issues within a travel narrative.

Al-Nābulusī was clearly a bibliophile. He had his own important private library and his conversations with friends, students, and hosts regularly turned to books.[19] In the era when most major scholarly books in the Muslim world were manuscripts, an important part of traveling was to read books in your hosts' libraries. In this way, books became well known. The experience in Medina with the book in the script of his father is also a reminder that one way scholars helped to finance their travels was by serving as copyists, as al-Nābulusī's father appears to have done. The experience related in this anecdote is a reminder that in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Muslim world, it was often simpler for scholars to travel to libraries rather than for the scholars to try to obtain books for their own libraries. As in the conversations in Baalbek, discussions ranged across many subjects, including literary, mystic, and linguistic topics.

A third illustrative account also tells about an encounter in Medina.[20] During the 247th day of this trip, al-Nābulusī was visited by one of the teachers in the Noble Sanctuary, *shaykh* Aḥmad al-Mālikī al-Tunbuktī, of West African origin. Al-Tunbuktī brought with him a poetic composition by his teacher, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Baghayogho [Baghyaʿū] al-Wangarī (d. 1066/1655)[21] which was a commentary-presentation of the *Ṣughrā* of Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī.[22] Al-Sanūsī's works were widely read and influential in West Africa, being spread "by means of the trading links well-established with that region, especially through the milieux of scholars."[23] About two scholarly generations after al-Nābulusī, another major West African teacher who was prominent among the scholars of the Ḥaramayn, Ṣāliḥ al-Fulānī, listed the *Ṣughrā* and other major works by al-Sanūsī as being among

18 GAL, S-1: 544.

19 Heribert Busse, "'Abd al-Ġanī an-Nābulusīs Reisen im Libanon (1100/1689–1112/1700)," *Der Islam* 44 (1968): 92. Busse provides an interesting survey of personal libraries related to al-Nābulusī's travels in Lebanon in this article, see 92–99.

20 Al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqa*, 366.

21 His writings are listed in John O. Hunwick, *Arabic Literature of Africa. Vol. 4: The Writings of Western Sudanic Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 4: 32–33. This work is hereafter cited as ALA.

22 Al-Sanūsī's works are listed in GAL 2: 250–252/323–326 and GAL S-2: 352–356.

23 H. Bencheneb, "al-Sanūsī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 9: 20.

those that he was authorized to teach.[24] Al-Nābulusī wrote a special commentary on al-Wangarī's versified version of al-Sanūsī for al-Tunbuktī,[25] and this commentary became a well-known part of the literature of faith and instruction in West Africa. Similarly, al-Nābulusī's interpretations of the teachings of Ibn ʿArabī were an important vehicle whereby Ibn ʿArabī's "teachings gained wide currency among many African Sufis."[26]

Like the conversations about the many-layered volume by al-Sharīshī, the conversations that led to al-Nābulusī's writing his special commentary started with a subject that combined diverse elements rather than being concentrated on one particular topic or within one discipline. Al-Sanūsī was a fifteenth-century scholar whose thinking and writings brought together Sufi perspectives in a presentation of more formal creedal matters as well as scholarship in *ḥadīth* studies. This paralleled al-Nābulusī's own interests and intellectual contributions, and again indicates the relative openness in terms of subjects of the conversations of networking scholars.

The encounter and interaction with al-Tunbuktī is an important example of the inter-regional nature of scholarly connections. Although al-Nābulusī never traveled to West Africa, he had an important impact on intellectual developments in that region. The cosmopolitan nature of this intellectual exchange is highlighted by the interesting nature of the final document: a commentary by a scholar from Damascus on a poetic composition written by a major scholar in Timbuktu summarizing an important work by a North African teacher, written because of an encounter between the scholar from Damascus and a West African teacher in Medina.[27]

These anecdotes from the travel accounts of al-Nābulusī remind us that when one speaks of "scholarly networks," one is talking about individual human beings interacting with other human beings. The development of interpretive traditions involving medieval texts like those of al-Sanūsī and al-Sharīshī does not take place in a vacuum. Real manuscripts are discovered and read, people sit in lovely gardens discussing grammatical issues involved in understanding complex poetic couplets, and scholarship takes place in the contexts of human

24 Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-ʿUmarī al-Fulānī, *Kitāb qaṭf al-thamar fī rafʿ asānīd al-muṣannafāt fī l-funūn wa-l-athar*. MS Cairo Muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth. Ṭalʿat 195, f. 15.

25 *Al-Laṭāʾif al-unsiyya ʿalā naẓm al-ʿaqīda al-Sanūsiyya*. See GAL 2: 251/324 and S-2: 355; ALA 4: 33.

26 Alexander Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 252.

27 See the observation in Stefan Reichmuth, "'Netzwerk' und 'Weltsystem': Konzepte zur neuzeitlichen 'Islamischen Welt' und ihrer Transformation," in *Die islamische Welt als Netzwerk*, ed. Loimeier, 75.

interactive networks. These concrete experiences help to provide a more complete picture of the scholarly networks of the time and provide a basis for a broader analytical definition of what those networks involved.

2 Networks and Invisible Colleges in the Eighteenth Century

The personal dimensions of al-Nābulusī's conversations in his travels draw attention to aspects of "scholarly networks" that are sometimes misunderstood. Many scholars have noted the existence of important networks of scholars and the significance of these interactive networks in shaping Muslim intellectual life.[28] Examinations of intellectual and scholarly life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provide important examples. It is possible, for instance, to note "the extended network of teachers, students, visitors, and acquaintances" that was important in increasing the influence of the major scholar, Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī.[29] Others have noted a cosmopolitan network of scholars in that period that had an important node of interaction in Medina and Mecca.[30] However, some scholars have criticized this conceptualization, assuming that identifying scholars as being a part of a cosmopolitan network is the same thing as a identifying those scholars as belonging to "a single, more or less homogeneous body of thought."[31] This critique is based on a misunderstanding of the nature of "networks." An intellectual network is a group of people who interact with each other and exchange ideas. Such a network will usually contain, and did contain in the case of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century networks in the Muslim world, a wide spectrum of views and does not identify the individuals in the networks as sharing a single, homogeneous body of thought. Noting that the scholars are part of a network simply affirms that they interacted and communicated with each other in a variety of ways. Showing that the scholars

28 The volumes edited by Cooke & Lawrence and Loimeier cited at the beginning of this essay provide important examples of analyses of the significance of networks of scholars.

29 Stefan Reichmuth, "Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī (d. 1791) in Biographical and Autobiographical Accounts: Glimpses of Islamic Scholarship in the 18th Century," *Die Welt des Islams* 39.1 (1999): 67. Details of his networks are examined in Stefan Reichmuth, *The World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (1732–91): Life, Networks and Writings* (Oxford: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2009).

30 John O. Voll, "Hadith Scholars and Tariqahs: An Ulama Group in the 18th Century Haramayn and their Impact in the Islamic World," *Journal of Asian and African* Studies 15.3–4 (1980): 264.

31 Ahmad Dallal, "The Origins and Objectives of Islamic Revivalist Thought, 1750–1850," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113.3 (1993): 341.

in a network held different intellectual positions simply indicates that they disagreed with each other but does not "prove" that the network did not exist or that scholarly interaction was unimportant.

Because this misunderstanding of what a network is may be relatively common, it becomes useful to look more generally at networks in Muslim society and history before concluding with specific observations about al-Nābulusī's modes of networking. Muslim scholarly networks in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries illustrate a major style of human interaction. They are part of what J.R. McNeill and William H. McNeill call "webs of interaction."[32] In their analysis, a web "is a set of connections that link people to one another. These connections may take many forms: chance encounters, kinship, friendship, common worship, rivalry, enmity, economic exchange, ecological exchange, political cooperation, even military competition. In all such relationships, people communicate information and use that information to guide their future behavior."[33] It is useful to note that these "webs" can involve enmity and rivalry as well as commonalities. These broad human webs involve networks of individuals, and it is important to have a sense of what these "social networks" are and have been historically.

The emergence of the Internet as a framework for human interactions and increasingly dense human communications relationships on both local and global levels has given impetus to the study of social networks. In the social sciences, Charles Kurzman argues that the concept of network "is a metaphor representing human relations as a structure of nodes connected by spokes," with nodes being "the social units that make up the network" and spokes being "the relations that connect the nodes."[34] Some sociologists, like Barry Wellman, speak of "networked societies," seeing them primarily in the contexts of the contemporary transformations of society and viewing these transformations as giving importance to the analytical perspectives of social network analysis: "Much social organization no longer fits the standard group model. Work, community and domesticity have moved from hierarchically arranged, densely knit, bounded groups to social networks. In networked societies, boundaries are more permeable, interactions are with diverse others, linkages switch between multiple networks, and hierarchies are flatter and

32 J.R. McNeill and William H. McNeill, *The Human Web: A Bird's-eye View of World History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), 3.

33 McNeill and McNeill, *The Human Web*, 3.

34 Charles Kurzman, "The Network Metaphor and the Mosque Network in Iran, 1978–1979," in *Muslim Networks*, ed. Cooke and Lawrence, 69.

more recursive."[35] Again, it is useful to be aware that these networks generally involve interactions with "diverse others" and the existence of the interaction does not involve homogeneity.

Kurzman, however, reminds us: "Networks are not new: ancient institutions can be studied through the network lens as easily as contemporary ones."[36] The distinction between hierarchically arranged societies and networked societies has been applied to the historic, premodern Islamic global community (*umma*) by Ira Lapidus as he compared the *umma* as a networked society with the contrasting hierarchical mode of Chinese civilization.[37] In this Muslim world, scholars and intellectuals created networks of discourse and, sometimes, of influence. Vincent Cornell argues that by the fourteenth century, "the *ʿulama* saw themselves as a network of corporately organized professionals."[38] This sense of networked relationships was not structured as a social institution like a "church," but was a more flexible set of personal interactions like those utilized by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the fourteenth century to travel and work throughout most of the Muslim world of his time. Again, the shared networks of communications among *ʿulamāʾ* do not mean that they all held the same ideological or theological positions.

Without the electronic communication and other media that make connections virtually instantaneously between one location and another, individual travel in premodern times was a key element in the development, maintenance, and "operation" of the networks that helped to bind the *umma* together in the absence of the trans-regional "church-like" institutions or imperial administrations characteristic of more hierarchically structured societies. Travel was recognized within this broadly networked *umma* as an important part of societal and individual life. "Muslim doctrine explicitly enjoins or encourages certain forms of travel. One is the express obligation to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca (*ḥajj*)."[39] "Travel in all its myriad forms—pilgrimage, trade, schol-

35 Quoted from the introductory paragraph of the syllabus for Barry Wellman's course at the University of Toronto, SOC 6108: Social Network Analysis (Fall 2001). Accessed at http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/~wellman/courses/gradnet01.htm. Date accessed: 28 May 2008.

36 Kurzman, "The Network Metaphor," 70.

37 David Gilmartin, "A Networked Civilization?" in *Muslim Networks*, ed. Cooke and Lawrence, 52–54, in which he cites Ira Lapidus, "Hierarchies and Networks: A Comparison of Chinese and Islamic Societies," in *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China*, ed. Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Carol Grant (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 26–42.

38 Vincent J. Cornell, "Ibn Battuta's Opportunism: The Networks and Loyalties of a Medieval Muslim Scholar," in *Muslim Networks*, ed. Cooke and Lawrence, 42.

39 Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, "Social Theory in the Study of Muslim Societies," in

arship, adventure—expanded the mental and physical limits of the Muslim world, and preserved and nourished the various contacts that Muslims perennially maintained with one another .... Travel in its broadest definition ensured the unity of the Muslim community."[40]

For Muslim intellectuals and scholars, one distinctive type of travel had great importance: "travel in search of knowledge" (*al-riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*). In a major study of this type of travel, Sam Gellens notes that the "*hadith* literature reminds the believer that the search for knowledge is intimately tied to the physical act of travel" and, in interpretations of some *ḥadīth*, it was thought that "seeking knowledge" was even elevated "to the status of a ritual obligation."[41] This travel for the sake of knowledge was a key factor in the way that scholars moved within the geographical-spatial networks of their peers.

Over time the nature of this knowledge-seeking travel tended to evolve. One of the areas of knowledge that was most important for scholars in the travel networks was the study of *ḥadīth*. In the early centuries, travel for the sake of scholarship in *ḥadīth* studies was of major importance, and scholars traveled from city to city to expand the information base for the emerging corpus of traditions from the Prophet, adding accounts to the record and verifying the channels of transmission. However, as the corpus of *ḥadīth* accounts became standardized and major collections like those of Bukhārī and Muslim became canonized,[42] the nature of travel seeking *ḥadīth*-knowledge changed. By the seventeenth century, one important part of what traveling scholars sought was chains of scholarly transmissions of the major collections of *ḥadīth* that were "higher," that is, shorter. This tended to involve travel to meet and receive transmission authority from older scholars, enabling the recipient to "skip" a link or two in the chain of transmission.[43] However, traveling in the network of scholars remained an important part of intellectual life, even if some of the goals had changed.

Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination, ed. Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 5.

40 Sam I. Gellens, "The Search for Knowledge in Medieval Muslim Societies: A Comparative Approach," in *Muslim Travellers*, ed. Eickelman and Piscatori, 51.

41 Gellens, "The Search for Knowledge," 53–54.

42 An important analysis of this process is presented in Jonathan A.C. Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim: The Formation and Function of the Sunnī Ḥadīth Canon* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

43 On the importance of "elevated" or short chains of transmission, see Reichmuth, "Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī," 71–75, and John O. Voll, "'Abdallah ibn Salim al-Basri and 18th Century Hadith Scholarship," *Die Welt des Islams* 42.3 (2002): 356–372.

The networks of intellectuals and scholars were not vehicles for standardizing beliefs or ideological positions. Networks were not and are not "churches." Instead, they were (and are) a key vehicle for creating discourses within which people could debate and formulate positions on issues of faith and practice. For a network to exist, the individuals within the network have to be able to communicate with each other. The media of intellectual communication are the arena in which there has to be some commonality within an intellectual network. In shaping this commonality, as Cooke and Lawrence note, "One key word frames the medium for constructing Muslim networks … That word is *umma*, commonly translated as 'global Muslim community.'"[44] In the development of networks in this global community, Cooke and Lawrence note several distinguishing factors aiding in the development of networks, including "trade, language, Sufism, and scholarship, but above all they include common moral ideals and social codes."[45] Within these networks, "communication was facilitated by the fact that Arabic and Persian were linguae francae used by most elites."[46]

The *umma* was (and is) a vast web of human relations that contained much diversity but still had, as Albert Hourani notes, "a unity that transcended divisions of time and space; the Arabic language could open the door to office and influence throughout that world; a body of knowledge transmitted over the centuries by a known chain of teachers, preserved a moral community even when rulers changed."[47] In the networks of scholars the two key elements were shared language and a sense of a shared body of knowledge. Within this world, a traveler like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa "may not have known the local languages of the places he visited, but he did know the cultural language of Muslims and hence felt at home."[48] Knowing the "cultural language" of Muslims does not mean, however, theological or ideological uniformity. It means that there can be disagreements or debates that take place utilizing mutually intelligible media of communication. Within these parameters, there were disagreements, factions, and opposing theological and ideological positions but communication was possible, and it was within the networks of intellectuals and scholars that these interactions took place.

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44 Miriam Cooke and Bruce Lawrence, "Introduction," in *Muslim Networks*, ed. Cooke and Lawrence, 2.

45 Cooke and Lawrence, "Introduction," 5.

46 Ibid.

47 Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (London: Faber & Faber, 1991), 4.

48 Gellens, "The Search for Knowledge," 51.

The *umma* as a networked society can be seen as a vast "hemispheric community of discourse"[49] within which smaller networks of scholars helped to frame the discourse itself. The cultural language of Islam develops over time as what Talal Asad calls the "discursive tradition" of Islam. In general, Asad argues that a "tradition consists essentially of discourses that seek to instruct practitioners regarding the correct form and purpose of a given practice that, precisely because it is established, has a history."[50] Within these discursive traditions, the discourse itself is an important subject for discussion, and setting the parameters of the discourse is an important element in the activities within networks of scholars. In this context the networks of scholars are constantly active in dynamic processes that maintain and extend the discourses of the community as it faces changing historical conditions.

Scholarly networks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries took many forms and were largely ad hoc groupings of scholars whose communication depended upon informal arrangements and travel opportunities. These networks were not unique to the Muslim world and have some similarities to groupings involved in exchange of information and knowledge in other major societies. One such grouping was the cluster of intellectuals in Western Europe during the seventeenth century who were interested in new styles of speculation and analysis in the physical sciences. They have come to be identified with the useful label, "Invisible College." The name "derives historically from a group of people in the mid-seventeenth century who later formally organized themselves into the Royal Society of London. Before that they met informally."[51] This group engaged in conversations, exchanged papers on topics of interest, hosted travelers with similar interests, and had correspondence with a network of intellectuals in a number of different countries. This mode of networking has become a model for many scholars looking at scientific information transfer[52] and these "invisible colleges" provide an interesting example of how knowledge is communicated among informal networks of intellectuals and scholars.

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49 John Obert Voll, "Islam and a Special World-System," *Journal of World History* 5.3 (1994): 225.

50 Talal Asad, *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam* (Washington: Georgetown University, Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, 1986), 14.

51 Derek J. de Solla Price and Donald DeB. Beaver, "Collaboration in an Invisible College," *American Psychologist* 21.11 (1966): 1011.

52 See, for example, William Paisley, "The Role of Invisible Colleges in Scientific Information Transfer," *Educational Researcher* 1.4 (1972): 5–8, 19; Palonen Tuire and Lehtinen Erno, "Exploring Invisible Scientific Communities: Studying Networking Relations within an Educational Research Community, A Finnish Case," *Higher Education* 42.4 (2001): 493–513.

Invisible colleges are discourse networks involved in the transmission and dispersal of knowledge, which is a good description of the networks of scholars in the Muslim world of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They are usually "internally heterogeneous," may involve very narrow or broadly general subjects, are usually short-lived or fluid in nature, and the members may participate in a number of different "invisible colleges" or networks at the same time.[53]

3 Al-Nābulusī and His Networks

ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī was an important node in a number of overlapping groupings of scholars but he did not establish a formal organization through which contacts could be maintained. Although he was an important scholar and teacher of Sufism, he did not found a new devotional association or brotherhood (*ṭarīqa*). Similarly, even though he had a large number of students and a popular following, he was not the formulator of an identifiable and namable movement. Despite his high visibility, for example, he was not the center of a movement like the Qadizadeli movement set in motion by the fiery purificationist preacher, Mehmet Qadizadeli (d. 1635).[54] His scholarly arena of operation was the more fluid world of the "invisible colleges" operating through the informal networks of scholars and teachers brought together by their travels and the manuscripts that they shared. It is in these networks that the discourse traditions of Islam were articulated and maintained over the centuries. Al-Nābulusī's travel accounts help us understand what types of interactions these networks involved.

In his travel accounts, al-Nābulusī makes it clear that his conversations involved discussions of important "classics" in the discursive traditions. In the two exchanges in Medina mentioned earlier in this essay, the starting points were two books of great importance in the medieval articulations of the Islamic tradition, *Ṣughrā* by al-Sanūsī and the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. However, the conversations on these books did not simply involve recitation and transmission. They involved active interaction with the texts. As in the case of al-Nābulusī's response to the scholar from Timbuktu, al-Nābulusī frequently responded to a text with a commentary. The lists of his writings contain many commentaries and summaries on major earlier texts.[55]

53 Paisley, "The Role of Invisible Colleges," 7–8.

54 For a discussion of this preacher and his movement, see Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 131–143.

55 See, for example, al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, 3: 37–38, and GAL as cited in note 3.

It is common for Islamic modernist intellectuals and other modern scholars to see such efforts of producing commentaries as a sterile intellectual activity. Fazlur Rahman, for example, states, "With the habit of writing commentaries for their own sake and the steady dwindling of original thought, the Muslim world witnessed the rise of a type of scholar who was truly encyclopedic in the scope of his learning but had little new to say on anything."[56] However, "commentary" played an important role in the articulation, transmission, and evolution of Muslim discursive traditions. "One of the most distinctive facets of premodern 'ulamā' culture was the articulation of discourses through the medium of the commentary … The discursive form of the commentary was, in fact, one of the principal means (the other was the *fatwā*) through which the law was not only elaborated but also expanded and modified to meet the exigencies of changing times."[57]

As al-Nābulusī's networking with scholars from West Africa and other scholars in Medina illustrates, the commentary format provided an important means for maintaining discursive continuity while adding interpretations of contemporary relevance. This approach is visible in the area of one of his most important contributions, the rearticulation of the Sufism of Ibn ʿArabī. In a poem of praise for Ibn ʿArabī, he emphasizes the centrality of the commentary format in the evolution of this discursive tradition in Islam:

> All is encompassed in the Book of God [the Qurʾān]
> And Aḥmad's [Ibn Ḥanbal] *Sunna* is a commentary
> And commentary on both the *Futūḥāt* [of Ibn ʿArabī],
> Brought by illumination from beside
> The sanctuary of our Arab *shaykh*,
> Who poured on us right guidance and favour.[58]

In his discussions of the works of al-Sanūsī and al-Sharīshī, al-Nābulusī was addressing the major intellectual and religious issues of blending Sufism with the perspectives of other intellectual disciplines. The commentary format provided a useful vehicle for presentation of his own analyses and represents a framework for interactive discourse rather than didactic presentation. In his travel accounts, it is clear that, at the time, al-Nābulusī delivered scholarly

56 Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 38.

57 Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 38.

58 Translation by Elizabeth Sirriyeh, at the beginning of Chapter 2 of *Sufi Visionary*, 18.

lectures but the medium for networking was dialogue with its concomitant product of commentaries on messages and texts being discussed. In this way, "commentary-based" intellectual productivity was more a sign of a networking method of communication and presentation of analysis than it was a sign of intellectual "stagnation" and absence of innovation.

A second important aspect of al-Nābulusī's networking is the degree to which attention was given to the study of language itself. Modern discussions of the thought of major seventeenth- and eighteenth-century intellectuals tend to concentrate on the disciplines of intellectual, theological, and legal studies, with less attention given to the disciplines involved in the study of language. However, in that era, scholars tended to regard language studies as an important part of the intellectual discourse, and teachers of grammar and rhetoric are listed with the same level of recognition as the teachers of jurisprudence. For example, Murādī's biography of al-Nābulusī notes that he studied first with his father, who died while al-Nābulusī was still young. Then, in the naming of his other teachers and their fields of study, Murādī begins by noting the study of jurisprudence and its sources (*fiqh* and *uṣūl*) with *shaykh* Aḥmad al-Qalʿī, and the second listing notes that al-Nābulusī studied grammar (*al-naḥw*), rhetoric (*al-maʿānī*), exposition (*al-tibyān*), and morphology (*al-ṣarf*) with *shaykh* Maḥmūd al-Kurdī.[59] This listing of four different fields of study with al-Kurdī was not simply an exaggerated flourish. Each of these was, in the Islamic world of scholarly disciplines, a distinctive field of study.

While issues relating to the nature of *ḥadīth* studies and Sufi organizations and teaching have been recognized as important parts of the intellectual life of scholars in the eighteenth century, less attention has been given to the importance of the disciplines of language studies in shaping scholarship in the Muslim world. It is important to note, for example, that the major work of one of the most prominent and influential scholars of the late eighteenth century, Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, was a huge dictionary. Most scholars of the time, like al-Nābulusī, received instruction in the language disciplines from teachers who were intellectual notables of the day. In the early eighteenth century, for example, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Maghribī (1037–1094/1627–1683) is listed among the teacher lists of more than twenty-five scholarly notables by al-Murādī. In his work, al-Maghribī combined scholarship and instruction in *ḥadīth* studies with books in a variety of language disciplines.[60]

59 Al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, 3: 31.

60 His biography is given in the major biographical dictionary of notables in the century preceding the century covered by al-Murādī: Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat*

Reading al-Nābulusī's travel accounts provides an important reminder of the attention that he and other scholars in his networks gave to issues of grammar, syntax, and meaning. His discussions of the poetry of al-Mutanabbī dealt with grammar as well as esthetics. Even in his Sufi commentaries, he paid meticulous attention to issues of meaning and syntax. A modern scholar, William Chittick, states that al-Nābulusī's commentary on Ibn ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ* is "perhaps the most widely read" of the commentaries on that important work, and notes al-Nābulusī's "care to define and explain practically every single word."[61] In Chittick's view, this approach along with what Chittick views as "questionable interpretations suggest[s] that the ability to read and understand the *Fuṣūṣ* in the Arab world had severely declined."[62] Whether or not this represents an interpretive decline, it does reflect the interest in language studies that was an important part of al-Nābulusī's works.

The activities of al-Nābulusī while he was traveling among the networks of scholars of his day help to emphasize the importance of commentaries as a format for intellectual discourse and also point to the significance of the language disciplines in the intellectual life of his day. The scholarly networks were frameworks for discourse development. They were not abstract constructions of the intellect; they were interacting groups of people in "invisible colleges" that helped to shape the intellectual life of that era.

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61 William Chittick, "Ibn Arabi and his school," in *Islamic Spirituality: Manifestations*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr (New York: Crossroad, 1997), 53–54, as quoted in Sirriyeh, *Sufi Visionary*, 19–20.

62 Chittick, "Ibn Arabi and his school," 53–54.

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CHAPTER 15

Rhetorics of Revival: al-Ghazālī and His Modern Heirs

*Kenneth Garden**

Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) stands out in the history of Islamic renewal (*tajdīd*) as a renewer who, in a sense, renewed renewal. Religious renewal has a scriptural basis in Islam. The *ḥadīth* of the renewer, or *mujaddid*, reads that "God sends to this *umma* at the head of every century whosoever will renew for it the affairs of its religion."[1] While conferring this distinction had been a posthumous honor prior to his own time, al-Ghazālī took the initiative of bestowing it upon himself.[2] In his famous *Deliverer from Error*, he presents himself as the *mujaddid* of the fifth century, having assumed his position at the Niẓāmiyya Madrasa in Nishapur at its "head," in the year 499/1106. In so doing, he took an office that had been used to confirm the authority of men who lived in the past and repurposed it to claim authority for himself in the present, thus endowing the position with a new significance. Al-Ghazālī's bold claim was accepted by posterity, and others followed his precedent in later centuries.[3]

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* It is a privilege to be able to contribute to a volume in honor of Wadad Kadi, who took time from her own scholarship to teach me to be a scholar.

1 *Inna Allāh yabʿath li-hādhihi l-umma ʿalā raʾs kull miʾat sana man yujaddid lahā amr dīnihā*. Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā, 1951), 4: 156.

2 Ella Landau-Tasseron argues that the *mujaddid ḥadīth* began as an innovation that was created by the students of al-Shāfiʿī to vindicate him against his detractors. Critics of al-Shāfiʿī focused on the paradox that his championing of the *sunna* as a source of law against the opinion-based innovations of the *ahl al-raʾy* was itself an innovation. Landau-Tasseron suggests that the use of the term *tajdīd* instead of *iḥyāʾ* was intentional. *Iḥyāʾ* plainly signifies "restoration," while *tajdīd* is more ambiguous and could imply both "innovation" and "restoration." This allowed al-Shāfiʿī's partisans to justify his innovations in the name of tradition. While *tajdīd* was initially opposed to *raʾy*, it later came to be opposed to *bidʿa*. This would suggest that the title *mujaddid* began as an innovation and had already undergone one modification before being further modified by al-Ghazālī. See Landau-Tasseron, "The 'Cyclical Reform': A Study of the *mujaddid* Tradition," *Studia Islamica* 70 (1989): 79–117.

3 For example, al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), elaborated on his qualifications and responded to his critics at much greater length. See Landau-Tasseron, "Cyclical Reform," 80, 87.

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It was not merely a coincidence of dates that led al-Ghazālī to claim to be the *mujaddid*, but rather the transformational agenda he brought at the turn of the century. His wording in this passage in the *Deliverer* points to this. The author of *The Revival of the Religious Sciences* takes an important liberty with the *ḥadīth*, writing not that God will send whosoever will renew (*yujaddid*) the affairs of the religion, but rather whosoever will *revive* (*yuḥyī*) the affairs of the religion.[4] This is clearly a reference to the work al-Ghazālī wrote during his eleven-year hiatus from holding an official teaching position that preceded his resumption in Nishapur. He was a "renewer" insofar as he was the author of *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, and he made this claim to lend authority to his agenda of revival.[5]

Al-Ghazālī adopted this strategy because of the tension that exists in any religious tradition between authority, tradition and change. Tradition is understood here as perceived continuity with foundational figures, scriptures, and the authorities of intervening generations who have shaped the tradition. To effect change, a would-be reformer must have authority that is based on adherence to tradition. And yet change by definition threatens the continuity that provides tradition its substance and authority. An agenda of change must therefore be couched in such a way as to maintain an appearance of continuity with tradition lest it undermine its own authority. Here we see al-Ghazālī achieving this by invoking an office that carries the weight and authority of tradition and precedent while imbuing it with an untraditional and unprecedented significance.

In what follows, I will examine four rhetorical strategies al-Ghazālī uses in *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* to claim the authority of the Islamic tradition for the sake of forging a new path for it. In order to suggest that these four strategies constitute the kernel of a rhetorical typology for Muslim (and likely non-Muslim) reformist thought as a whole, I will also give examples of them from a "liberal" Muslim intellectual and two "Islamists" of the twentieth century. This comparison will further allow me to comment on a recent trend in reading al-Ghazālī that contrasts his "pluralist" approach to the tradition to that of some modern thinkers, who are accused of dishonestly presenting a narrow and mono-

4 Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *Al-Munqidh Min Al-Ḍalāl / Erreur et Délivrance*, ed. Farid Jabre (Beirut: Commission internationale pour la traduction des chefs-d'œuvre, 1959), 49. Al-Ghazālī presents this not as his own claim, but as the attestation of numerous, independent (*mutawātira*) dreams of righteous men (*ṣāliḥūn*). *Mutawātir* is a term applied *to ḥadīth* attested to by numerous independent *isnāds*.

5 A point first made by H. Bauer, "Zum Titel und zur Abfassung von Ghazalis Ihja," *Der Islam* 4 (1913): 159–160.

lithic Islamic authenticity. Al-Ghazālī has more in common with "authoritarian" Muslim intellectuals than these contemporary readers like to admit.

1 Tradition, Authority, and Change

There was a time when "Tradition" and "The Traditional" served as a cultural typology and a foil for "Modernity." While Modern Societies engaged in seemingly ceaseless innovation guided by rationality, Traditional Societies handed down beliefs and practices from generation to generation with little change. Eventually, social scientists concluded that this contrast was not as stark as it seemed. Modern societies have their own traditions, while the practices of traditional societies change over time. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger made this argument with their 1983 publication of *The Invention of Tradition*, a title that captures the spirit of exposé inherent in the book's essays. In one of these essays, Hugh Trevor-Roper reveals that central artifacts of the Scottish Highland Tradition, such as the kilt and clan tartan, were not handed down from the mists of time, but were recent inventions—of Englishmen no less.[6]

As the novelty of this discovery wore off, historians and social scientists came to accept matter-of-factly that change occurs within tradition, and that tradition may, paradoxically, be used to justify change. The reason for this is clear: new social and cultural practices lacking widespread acceptance need a source of authority, which tradition provides. This is particularly true of a revealed religious tradition like Islam. Wilfred Cantwell Smith underscores the importance to Muslims of an authorizing link to the founding moment of their religion by identifying what he calls an "Isnad Paradigm." Whether in the chain of transmitters that link the recipient of *a ḥadīth* to Muḥammad, or in *rijāl* works, the *ijāza* system, Sufi *silsila*s, Shīʿī attachment to a line of descent from the Prophet, or *sharīf* ism, Muslim religious scholarship and popular belief relies on authorizing practices that link the present to Islam's origin through trusted intermediaries.[7]

Marilyn Robinson Waldman has argued that this authorizing link tends to be more apparent than actual. While the founding of major world religions frequently produced radical social and cultural change, further change within

6 Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Scottish Highland Tradition," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 15–42.

7 William Graham, "Traditionalism in Islam: An Essay in Interpretation," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23 (1993): 495–522.

those traditions "must usually be legitimated as nonchange."[8] This consists, she writes, in "… breaking into the tradition at some point in the past and bringing that point forward or making it present. Very often, that point in the past is the origin."[9] So when change occurs, the departure from past belief and practice that it entails must be presented as continuity or even restoration. In serving this authorizing function, tradition acts as a "modality of change."[10]

Owing to this insight, studies of change within apparent cultural, social, doctrinal, or institutional continuity have become popular in recent years. Studies of change over time are usually the domain of history. Here I will take a different approach, which is to look at a trans-historical rhetoric of renewal or revival in Islamic religious discourse. Given that we are dealing with an enduring dynamic in the tradition of a revealed religion—the need to justify innovation by linking it to the founding moment—it would not be surprising to see Muslim innovators, renewers, and revivalists using similar rhetorical strategies over time to present their different agendas. This is not to deny that their agendas and the details of their rhetorical strategies are governed by the particularities of their historical moment. Rather, I am arguing that there is a typology of rhetoric that subsumes many of their individual acts of innovation.

2 Al-Ghazālī's Agenda in *The Revival of the Religious Sciences*

Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn grew out of a rupture in al-Ghazālī's career about which we know from *al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl* and from his letters. In 488/1095 al-Ghazālī abruptly abandoned one of the most prominent and prestigious academic positions in the Muslim world—a chair at the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in Baghdad. While claiming pilgrimage to Mecca as his objective, he left, in fact, for the Damascus, where he stayed for less than six months before going to Jerusalem and then to Hebron, where he visited the tomb of Abraham. There he renounced his former life as a celebrity scholar, member of the entourage of Niẓām al-Mulk, and propagandist for the Caliph and Sultan. He took a vow never again to appear before a ruler, take money from a ruler, or engage in public theological disputation.[11] He then did go on pilgrimage to Mecca, returned

8 Marilyn Robinson Waldman, "Tradition as a Modality of Change: Islamic Examples," *History of Religions* 25 (1986): 328. Robinson Waldman's article offers a comprehensive survey of literature on the question of tradition and change.

9 Robinson Waldman, "Tradition as a Modality of Change," 332.

10 As per the title of Robinson Waldman's article.

11 Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *Makātib-i fārsī-yi Ghazzālī bi-nām-i Fażā'il al-anām min rasā'il*

briefly to Damascus, from there went to Baghdad, and finally to Khorasan, where he spent most of the next nine years in his home city of Ṭūs before famously returning to public teaching in Nishapur in 499/1106.

The expression of his personal crisis and repentance was not a timid confession, but a bold bid to transform the religious landscape of his age. The title he chose for the work reflects this ambition: *The Revival of the Religious Sciences*. The message of the title is clear: the religious sciences are deceased, and this book is the guide to their revival. What did the religious sciences look like before their death? On this al-Ghazālī is less forthright, but it emerges from the *Revival* that they were devoted to attaining felicity (*saʿāda*) in the hereafter, a state above the salvation (*najāt*) of common Muslims. This is achieved by an ethical practice that aims at controlling the passions and emptying the heart of all but a concern for God so that it may be filled with knowledge of God, knowledge of God being the means to and very substance of felicity. This emphasis has been occluded by the reigning religious sciences of the day: jurisprudence and theology. These are legitimate but peripheral religious sciences, unfortunate necessities whose aim is to maintain order in society and to combat heresy. But because these sciences serve an official function and can gain official patronage, al-Ghazālī says, they are zealously pursued while the true aim of religion has been all but forgotten.

In writing the *Revival*, al-Ghazālī was influenced by Sufism, as is well known, but he also drew upon philosophy, as he admits in the *Munqidh*.[12] His moral psychology is Platonic, with its tripartite soul. His ethics are Aristotelian, defining virtue as a mean between a vice of excess and a vice of deficit, and ordering the virtues into four cardinal virtues and a constellation of subsidiary virtues.[13] Above all, the very *telos* of the *Revival*, attaining felicity in the hereafter through knowledge of God, is drawn from the philosophical tradition.[14] There is much that is novel in al-Ghazālī's synthesis;[15] however our task here is not to focus on

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Ḥujjat al-Islām, ed. ʿAbbās Iqbāl (Tehran: Ibn Sīnā, 1954), 4–5, 45. On his itinerary from 488–490/1092–1095, see Frank Griffel, *Al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 40–49.

12 Al-Ghazālī, *Munqidh*, 26.

13 Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, ed. Ṣidqī Jamīl al-ʿAṭṭār (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), 3: 47–54. For a discussion of al-Ghazālī's appropriation of philosophical ethics, see Mohamed Sherif, *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1975), 25–76.

14 Alexander Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought: Al-Ghazālī's Theory of Mystical Cognition and Its Avicennian Foundation* (London: Routledge, 2012), 44–47.

15 On his Avicenna-influenced cosmology, see Griffel, *Al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology*. On the complex synthesis of ideas that informs his "science of unveiling" (*ʿilm al-mukāsha-*

the brilliance of his thinking but the excellence of his rhetoric, through which he gained acceptance for his innovative recasting of the Islamic religious tradition. How did al-Ghazālī revive the religious sciences? Clearly by writing a work whose substance resonated with many Muslims and answered their spiritual needs. But al-Ghazālī also knew to promote his agenda through the use of the rhetorical strategies designed to make his proposed change look like nonchange, to make innovation look like restoration, to make his exploration of new spiritual horizons look like revival.

Al-Ghazālī framed the contrast between the correct focus of the religious sciences and the usurping sciences of *fiqh* and *kalām* by drawing on a frequent Qur'ānic juxtaposition between this world and the world to come, *al-dunyā* and *al-ākhira*, as in Q 30:7, "They know the outward part of this world, but of the hereafter they are heedless." Following the lead of the great Sufi writer Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996), al-Ghazālī applied this Qur'ānic opposition to religious sciences, labeling the science he advocated "the Science of the Hereafter" (*ʿilm al-ākhira*) and labeling *fiqh* and *kalām*, the sciences he sought to demote, "the Sciences of the World" (*ʿulūm al-dunyā*). The appropriation of the terms gains both Qur'ānic sanction for his project as well as the sanction of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī. The latter is important because al-Makkī was a Sufi, and, compared to his borrowings from philosophy, Sufism was the less controversial element of al-Ghazālī's revival.

Already in this brief exposition of his broader agenda we see a host of authorizing rhetorical strategies. We will now turn to a more systematic examination of four major types of rhetorical devices al-Ghazālī employs in the *Revival* to claim authority for his elevation of the Science of the Hereafter over the Sciences of the World.

3 Four Authorizing Rhetorical Strategies

The Narrative of Revival

One of the primary rhetorical strategies al-Ghazālī employs is to invoke the Golden Age of Islam's origins, describe it as embodying the proposed agenda for renewal, give an account of its decline or demise, and call for its restoration. It is precisely this strategy that makes al-Ghazālī's *Revival* a revival, and I will

fa), see Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought*. On his *Revival of the Religious Sciences* and efforts to promote its agenda, see Kenneth Garden, *The First Islamic Reviver: Al-Ghazālī and His Revival of the Religious Sciences* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

refer to it here as a "Narrative of Revival." The Narrative of Revival is a commonly employed strategy among renewers and revivers, and the diversity of portrayals of Islam's origins it has given rise to illustrate the liberties taken with history in its service.

Al-Ghazālī gives two related Narratives of Revival, one faulting the jurists and another, the theologians for the mortification of the religious sciences. In the first of these, he claims that the primary concern of the Companions of the Prophet and the generation of the Successors was the Science of the Hereafter. Though these revered first Muslims were also fully versed in jurisprudence, they discussed it only reluctantly. More than once al-Ghazālī relates the anecdote that when one Companion in a group was asked for a *fatwā*, he would defer to one of his colleagues, who would defer in turn to another until the question came back around to the first.[16] But if one of them were asked a question on the Science of the Hereafter, he would eagerly discuss it in great detail. The community was not in need of the legal knowledge of the Companions so long as the Rightly Guided Caliphs ruled, for they were themselves fully versed in law and could pass judgment on their own authority. But the rulers who followed the Rightly Guided Caliphs were not so qualified, and the pious men of the generation of the Successors reluctantly performed the duty of giving legal rulings though it was a distraction from their cultivation of the Science of the Hereafter. When others saw the status they gained through the Worldly Science of *fiqh*, they flocked to its study for the sake of profit and the Science of the Hereafter was eclipsed. It was thus that jurisprudence usurped the rightful place of the Science of the Hereafter.[17]

As for the rise of *kalām*, al-Ghazālī faults writing itself. Books on religious topics were not written until 120/738, after the death of the Companions and Successors. The Caliph ʿUmar had been reluctant to commit even the Qurʾān to writing. The first books to appear were on praiseworthy topics, but in the fourth/tenth century, books of *kalām* were written and this led to the practice of publicly debating points of theology. Like *fiqh* this Science of the World, too, attracted the ambitious and furthered the eclipse of the Science of the Hereafter.

With these two accounts of the demise of the religious sciences as they should be practiced, al-Ghazālī has provided the main justification for the "restoration" he details over the course of *Revival*'s forty books. I have argued that, although earlier Muslim scholars had certainly claimed the mantle of

16 Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, 1: 23, 68.

17 Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, 1: 44.

the Companions and Islamic authenticity, none before al-Ghazālī had so consciously marshaled the language of revival and renewal, making him the first Islamic reviver.[18] But in a less explicitly labeled form, it is a commonly deployed authorizing strategy in other revivalist works.

A striking example can be found in Muḥammad ʿAbduh's (d. 1905) *al-Risāla fī l-tawḥīd*. His Narrative of Revival naturally differs from al-Ghazālī's in its portrayal both of the tradition's essence and its historical trajectory. ʿAbduh presents Islam as the final and most mature of a series of revelations given to humankind. This is, of course, fully in keeping with Muslims' standard self-understanding, but ʿAbduh's teleology of revelation is innovative. As he presents it, each successive revelation had further edified human beings, leading them gradually towards increasing rationalism, and it is the perfection of this rationalism that distinguishes Islam—indeed, Islam's very essence is reason.[19]

Rationalism, in ʿAbduh's conception, was found most perfectly in the Europe of his day, but this was because Europeans had imbibed the spirit of rationalism from Muslims during the Crusades and realized this spirit for themselves through the Protestant Reformation. Protestantism, as ʿAbduh presented it, had made Europeans Muslims in all but name.[20] If Muslim societies no longer exemplified the rationality that was Islam's essence, it is because they had lost sight of it and had thus become Muslim in name only. Renewal for ʿAbduh meant Muslims reclaiming their rationalist heritage.[21]

This Narrative of Revival has a twist not found in al-Ghazālī. ʿAbduh needed to justify not only his own agenda, but also that his agenda amounted in large part to an emulation of Europe. His Narrative of Revival presents following Europe not as imitation but as reclamation of the authentic Islamic heritage; it was the *Europeans* who were the true imitators. Emulation of Europe, therefore, does not amount to cultural apostasy because late nineteenth-century Europe, as ʿAbduh presents it, is the embodiment of Islam's true heritage.

Claiming the Authority of Seminal Figures of the Tradition

Many revivalists and renewers found legitimacy not only in Islam's time of origin, but also in authority figures from later in the tradition. When Muslims look back at the figures who embody their ideals, they look not only to Muḥammad but to thinkers and actors who have done the most to elucidate and uphold

18 See Garden, *The First Islamic Reviver*.

19 Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *al-Risāla fī l-tawḥīd* (Cairo: Dār al-Manār, 1956), 166–181.

20 ʿAbduh, *al-Risāla fī l-tawḥīd*, 192–195.

21 ʿAbduh, *al-Risāla fī l-tawḥīd*, 199–200.

Islamic principles. Claiming to be the heir of such revered figures is a powerful authorizing practice. As we shall see, for later generations an effective authority to claim for one's cause is al-Ghazālī himself.

Al-Ghazālī was aware of the potential abuse of such a strategy. In his famous *Deliverer from Error* he writes:

> Whenever you cite a doctrine and ascribe it to someone people hold in regard, they will accept it even if it is false; and if you attribute it to someone of whom they think badly, they will reject it, even if it is true. They never judge a man by the truth of his words, but judge the truth of the words by the man who proclaims them, and this is the utmost error (*ḍalāl*).[22]

While al-Ghazālī condemns the error of approaching the truth in this way, he himself ascribed his revivalist agenda to authority figures of the tradition, suggesting that he recognized this unfortunate human trait as a potent rhetorical opportunity.

As we saw previously, in his Narrative of Revival, al-Ghazālī presents the Companions of the Prophet and their Successors as devotees of his Science of the Hereafter. He also claims the founders of Islam's legal schools, which serves a specific purpose beyond claiming their generic authority. Al-Ghazālī is seeking to undermine the primacy of *fiqh* among the religious sciences. What better way to do so than to claim that even the greatest jurists of all time, the founders of the *madhāhib*, were only secondarily practitioners of the Worldly Science of *fiqh* and primarily devotees of the Science of the Hereafter?

Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 148/767), al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) were each a worshiper of God (*ʿābid*), an ascetic, a scholar of the Otherworldly Sciences (*ʿālim bi-ʿulūm al-ākhira*), a jurist in the affairs of men, and desirous of achieving the vision of the face of God through his *fiqh*. Four of these traits, he points out, have to do solely with the other world, while one, worldly *fiqh*, has to do both with this world and the other. If jurists revere these men, they must, al-Ghazālī claims, recognize the primacy of the Science of the Hereafter as they did.[23]

One of the most distinctive modern uses of this strategy is found in Abū Aʿlā al-Mawdūdī's (d. 1979) *A Short History of the Revivalist Movement in Islam*.[24] His

22 Al-Ghazālī, *Munqidh*, 46–47.

23 Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, 1: 29–32.

24 Abū Aʿlā al-Mawdūdī, *A Short History of the Revivalist Movement in Islam*, trans. Al-Ashʿari (Lahore: Islamic Publications Limited, 1963).

unique version of the Narrative of Revival lent itself particularly well to the appropriation of the tradition's seminal figures for its agenda. For Mawdūdī, Islamic history is not the story of a decline from a Golden Age, but rather an ongoing Manichean struggle between Islam and "un-Islam," in which the renewer (*mujaddid*) plays the crucial role of periodically restoring Islam's vitality. The first figure he claims as a comrade in arms is the man usually cited as the first *mujaddid*: ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, or ʿUmar II (d. 101/720). His brief reign as caliph reversed the decline that set in under Umayyad rule, restored Islam's vigor, and paved the way for the next generation of renewers: the founders of Sunni Islam's legal schools. The list of *mujaddid*s in whose footsteps Mawdūdī claims to walk includes al-Ghazālī himself, and also the "*mujaddid* of the second millennium," Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1033/1624).[25]

Although Mawdūdī never openly claimed the title of *mujaddid* for himself, he "lowered the bar" for the office to encourage as many as possible to strive for it. He analyzed the wording of the *ḥadīth* of the *mujaddid* and argued, as others had before him,[26] that the pronoun *man*, or "whosoever," was not necessarily singular, and that the *mujaddid* could be an individual or a group. There could even be multiple *mujaddid*s in different parts of the Muslim world, working to beat back the forces of un-Islam in their various manifestations. He further argued that the phrase "at the head of every century" did not refer to the turn of the century, but to those points in time most in need of renewal. Unlike a prophet, a *mujaddid* did not receive divine confirmation of being a *mujaddid*. It was up to groups or individuals to exert their best effort and allow posterity to judge their success.[27]

A *mujaddid* then, could appear at any time in a century, could be an individual or a group, could be an office shared among multiple individuals or groups in different parts of the world, and would be recognized only in retrospect. The message is that no matter who you are, where you are, how many of you there are, or what point in the century you find yourself, *you* can be a *mujaddid*, so do your utmost to claim the office through your efforts. This was another re-signification of the office of *mujaddid* that turned it into a call to arms. Mawdūdī also used his discussion to claim the authority of all previous *mujaddid*s.

Re-signification of Authoritative Terms

The strategies we have examined thus far are plain assertions of authority based on a profession of adherence to the tradition. They openly announce their

25 Mawdūdī, *The Revivalist Movement*, 45–81.

26 Landau-Tasseron, "Cyclical Reform," 85.

27 Mawdūdī, *The Revivalist Movement*, 33–34.

novel agenda but present it as a restoration of the tradition to its true and original form. A more subtle strategy is to re-signify authoritative terms from the tradition, using well established terminology, but with an unprecedented connotation. Adherence to the tradition, in this case, is not asserted but implied. The reformer employs a term to whose authority a Muslim audience will readily assent, while at the same time imbuing the term with a new significance, such that their assent is to something formally identical with what went before but substantially quite different. We have already seen one example of this in al-Ghazālī's claim to be the *mujaddid*, with which this article began.

A more nuanced example still is the use that Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966) makes of the term *Jāhiliyya*. The term was traditionally understood as referring to the "age of ignorance" that preceded the coming of Islam—which put an end to this age once and for all. Quṭb re-signified the term, giving it much the same meaning as Mawdūdī's "un-Islam." *Jāhiliyya*, once routed by the coming of Islam, had reasserted itself, insidiously creeping back and steeping most nominal Muslims in ignorance of the true significance of their religion. Revival for Quṭb meant the utter cleansing of the mind from all traces of *Jāhiliyya* and the re-establishment of a purely Islamic worldview. So utterly different would restored Islam be from the *Jāhiliyya* that passed for Islam that it could only be imagined from the debased perspective of the corrupt present. Here we can hear echoes of the Marxist theory prevalent in Quṭb's day, in that the culture and mindset of the future Communist utopia can only be dimly imagined from the perspective of the capitalist present. One of the major fonts of legitimacy for this novel presentation of Islamic history is the very term, *Jāhiliyya*. What Muslim would not join in opposition to *Jāhiliyya*? Laying claim to such a term is an assertion of the right to speak for the tradition.

Al-Ghazālī offers an interesting twist on this strategy when he re-signifies the term *fiqh*, the technical term for jurisprudence, by claiming it has been falsely re-signified by the worldly scholars, and that his reading of the term is, in fact, a restoration of its original sense:

> The term *fiqh* in the first age was used to refer to the science of the path to the Hereafter, knowledge of the details of the defects of the ego, the things that corrupt human action, keen understanding of the vileness of this world, dedication to rising to the grace of the other world, and fear's taking possession of the heart.[28]

28 Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, 1: 35.

In this case, al-Ghazālī overtly contests the right to the use of the term *fiqh* and the authority it implies by accusing jurists of having corrupted its authentic significance—a tactic he himself uses elsewhere and one common to Renewers, as we have seen. *Fiqh* refers to the Science of the Hereafter and is used only illegitimately to refer to jurisprudence.

Anti-hermeneutical Re-signification of Scripture

Often it is not terminology but the very meaning of scripture that revivers re-signify for their ends. I am drawing a distinction here between re-signification and re-interpretation. Scripture is, of course, always subject to re-interpretation, often through inventive hermeneutics that could never be intuited from the text alone. Indeed, scripture remains meaningful for its community only through ongoing, ever-changing, innovative interpretation. By anti-hermeneutical re-signification, I am pointing to a recasting of scripture that denies having undertaken any interpretation whatsoever. It presents itself as allowing scripture to speak for itself without mediation and in this respect is not simply the application of another hermeneutic to scripture but rather an anti-hermeneutical approach to the text.

In this case ʿAbduh provides a clearer initial example than al-Ghazālī. One of the virtues ʿAbduh seeks to promote is industriousness and private enterprise. He writes, "Islam requires that the able-bodied should work. Each has the right to his own gains and liabilities."[29] He then cites the Qurʾān to justify his claim: "whoever does a mote's worth of good will see it" (Q 99:7). The *sūra* ʿAbduh quotes from is *The Quaking*, and, like many of the shorter Meccan *sūra*s, it describes the apocalypse. The verse ends:

> At that time people will straggle forth to be shown what they have done
> Whoever does a mote's worth of good will see it
> Whoever does a mote's worth of wrong will see it.[30]

ʿAbduh, then, takes a description of the final assessment of the good in a human life and its attendant otherworldly reward and presents it as a promise of this-worldly reward for industriousness. ʿAbduh does not argue for his interpretation of the verse; he simply claims Qurʾānic authority for his position without acknowledging any act of interpretation on his part.

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29 ʿAbduh, *al-Risāla fī l-tawḥīd*, 157.

30 Qurʾān 99. The translation is a modified version of Michael Sells, *Approaching the Qurʾán: The Early Revelations* (Ashland, Oregon: White Cloud Press, 1999), 108.

One of the major critiques of the *Iḥyā'* on the part of Muslim scholars over the centuries has been al-Ghazālī's citation of scripture in it, specifically his use of *ḥadīth*. Al-Subkī devotes half of his very long entry on al-Ghazālī to an examination of the *ḥadīth* found in the *Iḥyā'*,[31] and most editions of the *Iḥyā'* include in footnotes an assessment of the *ḥadīth* cited, written by al-Ḥāfiẓ al-ʿIrāqī. In this case it was not his inventive interpretation of *ḥadīth* so much as his indiscriminate citation of weak *ḥadīth*. For example, in book 23 of the *Iḥyā'*, *Breaking the Two Desires*, al-Ghazālī writes on the merits of hunger, citing 21 *ḥadīth*s in support of his position, of which only seven, according to al-Ḥāfiẓ al-ʿIrāqī, were acceptable.[32]

Our concern here is not with the authenticity of the *ḥadīth* al-Ghazālī cites in the *Iḥyā'*, but rather the way he cites *ḥadīth* and Qur'ān and the role they play in the exposition of his arguments. All of the *Iḥyā'*'s forty books begin with lists of all Qur'ānic verses relevant to the topic at hand, such as hunger, then all of the *ḥadīth*, then, in many cases, all of the *āthār*. Such a presentation suggests that al-Ghazālī's discussion of the topic at hand will be guided by these scriptural sources. Often, however, al-Ghazālī will cite a general injunction from scripture—sometimes only the broad importance of the topic—and then proceed with his discussion drawing no specific guidance from scripture in doing so. He draws authority but not substance from scripture.

An example of this is found in his introduction to book 21 of the *Iḥyā'*, *Kitāb sharḥ ʿajā'ib al-qalb*. This book serves as the first of two books of introduction to the second half of the *Iḥyā'*, in which al-Ghazālī elucidates his psychology and ethics. It is through the heart, he writes, that one comes to know God, but most men are unaware of this. They know neither their souls nor their Lord. They know none of the marvels of their souls and suffer from their ignorance and so are like those cited in the Qur'ān as an admonition: "Be not as those who forgot God, and so he caused them to forget their souls" (Q 59:19).[33]

What does it mean to forget one's soul, or conversely to know it? Certainly the discussion that follows does not derive from the Qur'ān. The equation of the heart (*qalb*), soul (*nafs*), spirit (*rūḥ*), and rational faculty (*ʿaql*); the means of knowing God through them; the polishing of the heart from vices such that it may reflect the divine reality—these discussions have their sources in Sufism

31 Al-Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī, 10 vols. (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1968), 6: 287–389.

32 Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, 3: 71–73. This is an observation made by Mohamed Sherif, *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue*, 58, n. 2.

33 Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, 3: 3.

and philosophical ethics and noetics. The initial invocation of the Qurʾān serves to give knowledge of the soul some sort of scriptural impetus, but the details of what this means and how it is done can claim no such Qurʾānic basis. In this case al-Ghazālī is interested in the Qurʾān as a source of legitimacy for his project, but not as a source of inspiration for it, though he implies that the following exposition is a seamless extension of scripture.

These, then, are four common revivalist strategies: the Narrative of Revival, appropriation of authoritative figures from the tradition, re-signification of key terms from the tradition, and anti-hermeneutical re-signification of scripture. I have illustrated these techniques with examples from the eleventh/twelfth-century thinker al-Ghazālī, and from nineteenth/twentieth-century revivers to show how these devices function in practice and how widely they are shared.

Again I should stress that the great impact of the writings of al-Ghazālī, ʿAbduh, Mawdūdī, and Quṭb derives above all from the enduring relevance of their visions to generations of Muslims and its resonance with their understanding of their tradition and their lived reality. I do not mean to imply that, given the right rhetoric, Muslims or any other people can be convinced to accept any agenda. But all of these thinkers plainly gave a great deal of thought to the "packaging" of their ideas, that is, to linking their agendas to effective sources of legitimacy in Islam.

4 Conclusion

The *Revival* became such a revered text that until recently in the Shāfiʿī areas of Yemen, transcribing the book was believed to be an act that merited salvation.[34] Muslims continue to draw endless inspiration from it today, from common people reading excerpts in pamphlets sold on street corners[35] to major intellectuals.[36] Muḥammad ʿAbduh's *al-Risāla fī l-tawḥīd* went through 18 editions

34 Alexander Knysh in his review of Ibrahim Moosa's *Ghazālī and the Poetics of Imagination* in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39 (2007): 294.

35 Saba Mahmoud writes that excerpts of the *Iḥyāʾ* are widely sold in pamphlets in contemporary Cairo. See *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 137–138.

36 Abdolkarim Soroush has said that since coming into possession of the *Iḥyāʾ* he has "… never parted company with this book." "Intellectual Autobiography: An Interview," in *Reason, Freedom, and Democracy in Islam: Essential Writings of Abdolkarim Soroush*, ed. and trans. Mahmoud Sadri and Ahmad Sadri (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 8.

by the mid-twentieth century.[37] In 1963, Albert Hourani called him "the unacknowledged basis of the religious ideas of the ordinary educated Muslim."[38] The popularity of Quṭb and Mawdūdī in recent decades speaks for itself. Clearly the appeal of these thinkers stems largely from the resonance their ideas and agendas had with their contemporaries and subsequent generations. I certainly do not wish to claim that *any* message will win a following given the right packaging. But as the foregoing discussion has shown, each of these thinkers employed strategies to claim authority for their visions of Islam, specifically the four rhetorical strategies described above. If the rhetorical strategies they used were not solely responsible for their success, they were an important enough component that each saw the necessity of employing them.

That Quṭb and Mawdūdī made use of these authorizing strategies is well known. They, and other Muslim thinkers often described as "Islamists," are often denounced, especially by progressive Muslims, for their anti-hermeneutical presentation of their agenda. Rather than forthrightly spelling out the interpretive principles that guide their engagement with the tradition and honestly presenting their interpretation as an interpretation, thinkers like Quṭb and Mawdūdī present themselves as a transparent medium for the tradition to speak for itself. As Ebrahim Moosa has put it, they "say that they do not talk *about* Islam; they *talk* Islam or they just purely *do* Islam or they *just Islam*."[39]

Moosa identifies the kinds of rhetorical strategies discussed above as the sort of religious discourses he rejects:

> In order to persuade people in public discourse today, the most effective psychological trick to play on unsuspecting Muslim audiences is to say that some past authority—Tabari, Abu Hanifa, or al-Shafiʿi—held such an enlightening position on matter x, so why do you lesser mortals not adopt it?[40]

Moosa here describes the strategy I have described above as claiming the authority of seminal figures of the tradition and also points to what I have called the Narrative of Revival. Moosa compares this approach to forging *ḥadīth*:

37 ʿAbduh, *Theology of Unity*, 11.

38 Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age: 1798–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 130.

39 Ebrahim Moosa, "The Debts and Burdens of Critical Islam," in *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism*, ed. Omid Safi (Oxford: Oneworld, 2003), 115.

40 Ibid., 122.

"in order to give new ideas and changing practices some credibility, legitimacy, and authority."[41] He denounces such approaches as authoritarian constructs.

By contrast, the classical Muslim intellectual most frequently championed as providing a pluralist and hermeneutically honest alternative is al-Ghazālī—and as we saw above, al-Ghazālī did write a critique of "knowing the truth through men" very similar to the one Moosa presents above. Omid Safi celebrates al-Ghazālī as an antidote to the Islamists:

> Ghazzali offer[s] an opinion in such a fashion: The following group holds this opinion, while group 2 states something to the contrary. Group 3 is still different, holding to such-and-such a belief, while group 4 follows this practice. As for myself (i.e., Ghazzali himself), I find myself in accordance with the views of the third group. How refreshing! How intellectually honest, to summarize the perspectives of various schools of thought, to legitimize a range of opinions and to acknowledge a spectrum of interpretations! It is then, and only then, that a learned scholar like Ghazzali would situate himself in that wider spectrum.[42]

Moosa lists him among classical scholars willing to consider all knowledge regardless of provenance.[43] His monograph-length meditation on al-Ghazālī and his implications for contemporary Islam has described him as a "bricoleur"[44] and a "*dihlīz*-ian"[45] figure who stood at the threshold of multiple disciplines, ideas, and discourses. "Here, far from coercing one into adopting one of the polar positions as the correct position, the polarities serve as a spectrum of variabilities."[46]

Without a doubt, Moosa highlights an important aspect of al-Ghazālī's thought. He certainly did bring together different schools of thought, Sufism and Avicennian philosophy for example. Sherman Jackson writes of his *Fayṣal al-tafriqa bayn al-Islām wa-l-zandaqa*, that "… al-Ghazālī's mission is to define

41 Ibid., 122–123.

42 Omid Safi, "Introduction," in *Progressive Muslims*, 19.

43 Moosa, "Debts and Burdens," 112.

44 Ebrahim Moosa, *Ghazālī and the Poetics of Imagination* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 35–37.

45 *Dihlīz* is a term meaning "threshold," that is found in the *Deliverer*, and which Moosa takes as a fitting metaphor for Al-Ghazālī's liminal positioning among various Islamic religious disciplines and schools of thought. Moosa, *Ghazālī*, 47.

46 Moosa, *Ghazālī*, 272.

the boundaries within which competing theologies can coexist in mutual recognition of each other, i.e., as 'orthodox,' in the sense of passing theological muster."[47]

But it is also true that al-Ghazālī took the question of authority more seriously than many Progressive Muslims do today. All too often, Progressive Muslim thinkers seem to suggest that by deconstructing the authority claimed by their authoritarian opponents they have eliminated the very issue of authority and have no need to establish it for themselves. Ebrahim Moosa, for example, dismisses Islamist claims of authority:

> Once one becomes aware of the historical processes by which human communities take shape, then the emphasis on the authority of a text or the authority of some infallible person or coercive capacity of consensus evaporates like mist in the rays of the sun .... The false utopias of ideal and perfect Muslim societies in the past, widely touted by ideologues of authoritarianism will not survive the scrutiny of history.[48]

But on what basis does he expect to claim legitimacy for his own progressive vision of Islam? He doesn't explicitly discuss the issue.

Al-Ghazālī, by contrast, resorted to exactly the same anti-hermeneutical authorizing strategies as authoritarians like Quṭb and Mawdūdī. He presented change as non-change, innovation as restoration, the unprecedented as precedent itself. He projected his present agenda into the past, describing its function there in utopian terms, detailing its corruption and calling for its restoration. He bolstered the authority of this Narrative of Revival by claiming revered figures of the tradition as forerunners and comrades, and re-signified key terms and scripture to support his program.

The similarity in authorizing strategies among such diverse thinkers as al-Ghazālī, ʿAbduh, Quṭb, and Mawdūdī demonstrates the inescapable need for authority. Those who wish to change the understanding of a tradition among its adherents have no other source of legitimacy for their project than the tradition itself—which is, of course, an artifact of previous reinventions and renegotiations. Employing such authorizing strategies to claim to speak for an authentic Islam may be artifice. But in the Islamic tradition as in all human traditions,[49] artifice is the price of authenticity, and authenticity, the price of authority.

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47 Jackson, *On the Boundaries of Theological Tolerance in Islam: Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's* Fayṣal al-Tafriqa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 5.

48 Moosa, "Debts and Burdens," 117.

49 For a much-cited description of the European Renaissance as a similar instance of the

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"invention of tradition," see Marshall Sahlins, "Goodbye to *Tristes Tropes*: Ethnography in the Context of Modern World History," *The Journal of Modern History* 65 (1993): 7–8.

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PART 3

Language, Literature, and Heritage

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CHAPTER 16

Grammarians on the *Afʿāl al-Muqāraba*: Steps in the Sources towards a Subdivision of Operants

Ramzi Baalbaki

1 Introduction

In the later grammatical sources, such as the *Alfiyya* commentaries, Ibn Yaʿīsh's (d. 643/1245) *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, Astarābādhī's (d. ca. 686/1287) *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, and Suyūṭī's (d. 911/1505) *Hamʿ al-hawāmiʿ*, the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*, or the so-called "verbs of approximation [of action]," occupy an independent chapter or *bāb* (also referred to as *faṣl* in some sources). They are normally discussed there in the context of operants (*ʿawāmil*) called *al-afʿāl al-nāqiṣa* (lit. incomplete verbs)—such as *kāna* and its *akhawāt* (lit. sisters)—which require a topic or subject (*ism*) and a predicate (*khabar*), rather than an agent (*fāʿil*). In this respect, just as *laysa* and its *akhawāt* (i.e., *mā*, *lā*, *lāta* and *in*), by virtue of their being negative "particles," are considered a subdivision of *kāna* and its *akhawāt*,[1] the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* (i.e., *ʿasā*, *kāda*, *awshaka*, *akhadha*, *jaʿala*, etc.) are considered another subdivision of *kāna* and its *akhawāt* since their predicates are almost exclusively imperfect verbs, unlike the *kāna* group such as *laysa*, *ṣāra*, *aṣbaḥa*, *mā dāma*, *mā zāla* to which this restriction does not apply. Among the later sources, there is remarkable consistency, not only in the position which the *bāb* of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* occupies within the general order of grammatical *bāb*s, but also in the issues which form the bulk of that *bāb* and, more importantly, in the grammarians' analytical approach to these issues. Earlier sources, however, differ drastically from later ones in the position they assign to the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*. Even more significant is the fact that the vast majority of the sources up to the end of the fourth/tenth century do not allocate a separate *bāb* to these verbs. Furthermore, the later grammarians seem to have introduced a high degree of standardization into their discussion of these

1 The term "particle" will be placed between double quotation marks whenever it is used in a general sense which includes words such as *ʿasā* that are traditionally classified as verbs (*afʿāl*), as well as words such as *inna* that are traditionally classified as particles (*ḥurūf*). Note, however, that since the term *ḥarf* is at times used to refer to verbs or nouns, the term *ḥurūf al-muqāraba* does occur in some sources as a synonym of *afʿāl al-muqāraba* (cf. n. 25 below).

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verbs, and although much of their material derives from earlier sources, their methods of classification and interpretation significantly differ from those of their predecessors. By tracing the development of the grammarians' approach to the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*, this paper attempts to explain the schism between earlier and later sources in dealing with this type of operant, and to interpret their differences within the general context of the grammatical tradition.

2 Earliest Material on the *Afʿāl Al-Muqāraba*

As is the case in most grammatical issues, Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* is the first authentic work to deal with the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* and remains the source for a considerable part of the material that subsequent grammarians discuss in their study of these verbs. It is interesting that the term *afʿāl al-muqāraba* does not occur in the *Kitāb*, but Sībawayhi's view that *ʿasā* in a construction like *ʿasayta an tafʿala* has the status (*manzila*) of *qāraba* (to be on the verge of; to be about to),[2] as well as his reference to *ʿasā* and other verbs including *kāda* and *awshaka* as "particles" which indicate approximation of action (*wa-hādhihi l-ḥurūf allatī hiya li-taqrīb al-umūr*),[3] most probably gave rise to the term *afʿāl al-muqāraba*, which became the standard term by Mubarrad's (d. 285/898) time, about a century after Sībawayhi.

The material on the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* in the *Kitāb* is not discussed in a separate *bāb*. In fact, whenever Sībawayhi mentions any of the *muqāraba* verbs, he does so in the context of supporting certain grammatical views that he expresses. This is most notable in the following contexts:

1. He argues that certain linguistic elements are, in specific constructions, treated in a manner incommensurate with the norm applicable to them elsewhere. This argument is cited in connection with the expression *mā jāʾat ḥājataka*, in which some Arabs use the accusative in *ḥājataka* instead of the more regular *ḥājatuka*, in the nominative, which is also attested. Sībawayhi interprets the occurrence of the accusative as being the result of proverbial

2 Abū Bishr ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 5 vols. (Cairo: al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma, 1977), 3:157. For a list of the issues related to *ʿasā* and its *akhawāt* in the *Kitāb*, see Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Khāliq ʿUḍayma, *Fahāris Kitāb Sībawayhi wa-dirāsa lahu* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1975), 150–152.

3 Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, 3:161. The term *taqrīb* is also used twice in the *Kitāb* (4:118, 478) in an unrelated phonological sense; cf. Gérard Troupeau, *Lexique-index du* Kitāb *de Sībawayhi* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1976), s.v. *QRB*.

usage (*li-annahu bi-manzilat al-mathal*); that is, *mā jāʾat ḥājataka* is a stereotyped expression which is not subject to the norm. In support of his argument, Sībawayhi cites the proverb *ʿasā l-ghuwayru abʾusā* (on which more shall follow), where the predicate of *ʿasā*, contrary to the norm, is not an imperfect verb.[4] The construction *ladun ghudwatan*, with nunation, which Sībawayhi frequently cites in the *Kitāb* as a unique instance of *ghudwatan*, instead of *ghudwata*,[5] is also cited here to demonstrate that certain stereotyped expressions are likely to contain anomalous usage.

2. He ascribes the indicative in the imperfect verb to its ability to occupy the grammatical position (*mawḍiʿ*) of a noun. Thus, in *yaqūlu Zaydun dhāka* and *Zaydun yaqūlu dhāka*, *yaqūlu* has respectively the *mawḍiʿ* of *mubtadaʾ* (i.e., topic; subject of a nominal sentence) and *khabar* (i.e., predicate, or what is constructed upon the *mubtadaʾ*; cf. the expression *al-mabnī ʿalā l-mubtadaʾ*). In support of this argument—which became the standard *ʿilla* (cause) for explaining the indicative in the tradition as a whole[6]—Sībawayhi dismisses the claim that the indicative is due to *ibtidāʾ* (topicality) since if this were the case, verbs would be expected to be in the subjunctive if they occupied the *mawḍiʿ* of nouns in the accusative (note that both subjunctive and accusative share the term *naṣb*) and theoretically in the genitive if they occupied the *mawḍiʿ* of nouns in the genitive.[7] At this point, Sībawayhi introduces *kāda* (and then *ʿasā*) into the discussion and points out that its predicate is an imperfect verb which has the *mawḍiʿ* of a noun in the accusative, yet that verb is neither in the subjunctive (*naṣb*) nor in the jussive (*jazm*, the counterpart of genitive or *jarr* in nouns). In other words, the imperfect after *kāda* cannot be interpreted as *manṣūb* (i.e., subjunctive) if its corresponding noun is assumed to be *manṣūb* (i.e., accusative; cf. *kidtu afʿalu* and **kidtu fāʿilan*).
3. In a chapter devoted to *an*, which together with the verb it governs is given the status of a verbal noun (*hādhā bāb min abwāb an allatī takūn wa-l-fiʿl bi-manzilat maṣdar*),[8] Sībawayhi cites several constructions in which

4 Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, 1:50–51.

5 Ibid., 1:51, 58–59, 159, 210; 2:281, 375; 3:119.

6 Cf. Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-Warrāq, *ʿIlal al-naḥw*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Maḥmūd Naṣṣār (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2002), 265; Abū l-Barakāt ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Anbārī, *Asrār al-ʿArabiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Bahjat al-Bīṭār (Damascus: Maṭbaʿat al-Taraqqī, 1957), 28, 322; Muwaffaq al-Dīn Yaʿīsh b. ʿAlī Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, 10 vols. (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Munīriyya, n.d.), 7:6, 12.

7 Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, 3:11.

8 Ibid., 3:153–162.

the preposition preceding *an* may be elided, as in *innamā inqaṭaʿa ilayka an tukrimahu*, where the preposition *li-* is thought to be elided from *li-an tukrimahu*. One example in particular seems to elicit the introduction of *ʿasā*, and eventually other *muqāraba* verbs, to the discussion. This is the construction *innahu khalīqun li-an yafʿala*, whose *li-* may be elided, hence *innahu khalīqun an yafʿala*. The reason for the association of this construction with *muqāraba* verbs resides in a much earlier chapter in which Sībawayhi establishes a link between the meaning of *ʿasā*, *kāda*, *jaʿala*, etc. and the meaning of words (either nouns or verbs) which are followed by *an*. The first of two examples which he cites there for such words is none other than *khalīq* (as in *khalīqun an yaqūla dhālika*), and the second is *qāraba* (as in *qāraba an lā yafʿala*), which is also cited in the later *bāb*.[9] The rest of that later *bāb* is almost totally devoted to *ʿasā* and other *muqāraba* verbs, not only as far as their relationship with *an* is concerned, but also with regard to other considerations, such as the indeclinability of *ʿasā* and the grammatical position (*mawḍiʿ*) of its predicate.

In none of the above instances, which form the bulk of Sībawayhi's material on the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*, are these discussed as an "independent" phenomenon, and hence the *Kitāb* contains no *bāb* which exclusively deals with them. From this perspective, these verbs are unlike other operants (or groups of operants) and notions that are discussed in separate *bāb*s (cf. *kāna*, *inna* and *anna*, the generic *lā*, the vocative, doubly transitive verbs, among others). The closest that Sībawayhi comes to referring to these verbs as a single entity is in the observation that they are similar to each other and that some of their syntactical peculiarities are not shared by other verbs (*wa-hādhihi l-ḥurūf allatī hiya li-taqrīb al-umūr shabīha baʿḍuhā bi-baʿḍ wa-lahā naḥw laysa li-ghayrihā min al-afʿāl*).[10] It is important to note, however, that the concept Sībawayhi upholds of these verbs differs from that of the later grammarians in that it does not rest on purely formal grounds. This concept of Sībawayhi's transcends the nature of their regimen (*ʿamal*), namely, governing the nominative in the noun and the accusative in the predicate, since he includes *laʿalla* among them (as do some third/ninth- and fourth/tenth-century grammarians, but not the authors of what later became the standardized *bāb* on the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*, as we shall see shortly). The introduction of *laʿalla* to the discussion of the verbs *ʿasā*, *kāda*, *jaʿala*, etc. shatters the formal basis of their classification in a subsidiary

9 Ibid., 3:12; cf. 3:157.

10 Ibid., 3:161.

bāb to that of *kāna* and its *akhawāt* (as is the case, for example, in the *Alfiyya* commentaries, which do include such a subsidiary *bāb*). From a formal point of view, Sībawayhi classifies *laʿalla* with the *inna* group, which includes what he calls the five particles (i.e., *inna*, *lākinna*, *layta*, *laʿalla*, and *kaʾanna*) whose regimen is similar to that of verbs (*hādhā bāb al-ḥurūf al-khamsa allatī taʿmal fīmā baʿdahā ka-ʿamal al-fiʿl fīmā baʿdahu*).[11] The fact that *laʿalla* features in Sībawayhi's discussion of the verbs such as *ʿasā* and *kāda* strongly indicates that their classification is not based on the type of their regimen. Sībawayhi's brief reference to *laʿalla* as having the status (*manzila*) of *ʿasā* in poetic license (since one can say *laʿallī an afʿala* regarding the analogy of *ʿasaytu an afʿala*)[12] most probably has to do with meaning since the context clearly shows that his interest in the relationship between *ʿasā* and *an* stems from the meaning of constructions such as *ʿasayta an tafʿala*, which he interprets as *qārabta an tafʿala* and *danawta an tafʿala*. This relationship between *ʿasā* and *an* is the reason why he considers the expression *ʿasā l-ghuwayru abʾusā*, whose predicate is a noun (i.e., not an imperfect verb preceded by *an*), to be anomalous. Moreover, in a much later chapter, he strikingly mentions *laʿalla* and *ʿasā* together and notes that both signify aspiration and apprehension (*wa-laʿalla wa-ʿasā ṭamaʿ wa-ishfāq*).[13] He thus once more refers to the semantic bond between the two "particles" although they differ in their regimen. It shall also be pointed out later that the corresponding text in Mubarrad's *Muqtaḍab* clearly reflects the semantic basis for the inclusion of *laʿalla* with the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*.

The key to understanding Sībawayhi's analysis of *ʿasā*, *kāda*, et al. probably lies in his focus on their perceived irregularities in comparison with other operants. Reference was made above to the frequent occurrence of *ʿasā l-ghuwayru abʾusā*, which he compares with *ladun ghudwatan*, as well as to the statement that these verbs have syntactical peculiarities which are not shared by other verbs. Various other grammatical phenomena in the *Kitāb* are also described, or even justified, based on the peculiarities of the linguistic elements which they embrace. For example, the elision of nunation from the noun of generic *lā* when it is a single word (as in *lā rajula*) is linked to the difference between *lā* and other particles which govern nouns since, unlike them, it can only precede indefinite nouns. The statement *khūlifa bihā ʿan ḥāl akhawātihā*,[14] which applies to *lā*, also occurs in the case of compound numerals and vocative con-

11 Ibid., 2:131; cf. 2:141, 147.

12 Ibid., 3:160.

13 Ibid., 4:233.

14 Ibid., 2:274.

structions.[15] It is thus legitimate to assume that Sībawayhi's focus on the predicate of *ʿasā* and *kāda*, for instance, precluded the possibility of considering them as "regular" verbs requiring an agent (*fāʿil*) rather than a topic or noun (*ism*). In the case of *ʿasā* in particular, it is remarkable that Sībawayhi does not interpret it, when it is not immediately followed by *an*—cf. the construction *ʿasā Zaydun an yafʿala*—as a verb whose agent is *Zaydun*, particularly since he does not hesitate to consider it a verb whose agent is the assumed verbal noun (for which *an* and the verb after it stand) in the construction *ʿasā an yafʿala Zaydun*.[16] It may be suggested that, since the anomalous expression *ʿasā l-ghuwayru abʾusā* which Sībawayhi focuses on is highly suggestive of constructions which begin with *kāna* and thus require a topic and a predicate (cf. *kāna Zaydun ḥalīman*), Sībawayhi interprets the verbal noun in the more regular constructions of the type *ʿasā Zaydun an yafʿala* as the predicate of *ʿasā*, rather than a circumstantial accusative (*ḥāl*). In other words, were he to consider *ʿasā* as a verb whose agent is *Zaydun*, it would be highly probable that *an yafʿala* would be considered a *ḥāl*; but since his interpretation of *ʿasā* is influenced by *kāna* constructions, it follows that *an yafʿala* should be interpreted as the predicate of *ʿasā*. Regardless of whether this suggestion is correct or not, Sībawayhi's analysis of the verbs which indicate *muqāraba* (particularly *ʿasā*) certainly influenced later grammarians, who classify them as a subgroup of *kāna*, although Sībawayhi himself does not do so because of his adoption of a semantic criterion (which allows the inclusion of *laʿalla* with them), rather than a purely formal one.

3 Third/Ninth- and Fourth/Tenth-century Grammarians

Although they added to earlier data a few Qurʾānic and poetry quotations or *shawāhid* in which the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* occur, subsequent grammarians changed little in Sībawayhi's approach to these verbs. Strikingly, most of the third/ninth- and fourth/tenth-century sources, like the *Kitāb*, do not include a separate *bāb* on these verbs. As for the few authors who devote a *bāb* for them, it will be demonstrated that they substantially differ from later authors in their approach to these verbs and subsequently in the position which these few earlier sources allocate to them in the arrangement of their works.

15 For compound numerals, cf. ibid., 3:298 (*khūlifa bihi ʿan ḥāl akhawātihi*) and 2:400 (*jāʾa majīʾan lam tajiʾ akhawātuhu ʿalayhi illā qalīlan*); and for the vocative, cf. 2:275 (*wa-kamā qālū yā Allāhu ḥīna khālafat mā fīhi l-alif wa-l-lām*).

16 Ibid., 3:158.

Unfortunately, the most important extant and authentic sources closest to the *Kitāb* are two exegetical, yet grammatically oriented, works, namely, Farrā"s (d. 207/822) *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān* and Akhfash's (d. 215/830) book of the same title.[17] These works are arranged according to the verses of the Qurʾān and hence do not systematically deal with grammatical notions, categories, etc. or arrange them into distinct chapters. This feature notwithstanding, the various issues related to the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* which do arise in these works are in line with those previously discussed by Sībawayhi. For example, both Farrāʾ and Akhfash, mention—as does Sībawayhi—the possibility of the repression (cf. Sībawayhi's term *iḍmār*) of the noun of *kāda* in their discussion of the verse *min baʿdi mā kāda tazīghu/yazīghu qulūbu farīqin minhum* ("after the hearts of part of them nearly swerved [from duty]"; Q 9:117).[18] In this case the sentence *tazīghu/yazīghu* would serve as the predicate of *kāda*. Among the other points raised by Sībawayhi and which feature in Akhfash's *Maʿānī* are the analogy between *ʿasā* and *kāna* and the interpretation of the occurrence of verbs instead of nouns in the predicate of *ʿasā* and *kāda* (cf. the analogy made by both authors with conditional *law* after which nouns do not occur).[19]

Two other works are ascribed to the late second/eighth and middle third/ninth centuries, the first of which, *Muqaddima fī l-naḥw*, is attributed to Sībawayhi's contemporary, Khalaf al-Aḥmar. Reference in this work to the concept of *uṣūl al-naḥw* (grammatical principles or fundamentals), however, is alien

17 Although some scholars defend the attribution to Khalīl (d. 175/791) of the book entitled *al-Jumal fī l-naḥw* (cf. Karin C. Ryding, "Morphosyntactic Analysis in *al-Jumal fii l-naḥw*: Discourse Structure and Metalanguage," in *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics* IV, ed. Ellen Broselow et al. [Amsterdam and Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1992], 263ff., who describes the arguments against its ascription to Khalīl as not convincing), it can be demonstrated that it is the work of a much later author, Ibn Shuqayr (d. 317/929). In fact, Ibn Misʿar al-Tanūkhī (d. 442/1050) asserts that this work is no other than Ibn Shuqayr's *al-Muḥallā*, also known as *Wujūh al-naṣb*, but is often mistakenly attributed to Khalīl. Cf. Abū l-Maḥāsin al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad b. Misʿar al-Tanūkhī, *Tārīkh al-ʿulamāʾ al-naḥwiyyīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw (Riyadh: Maṭābiʿ Dār al-Hilāl, 1981), 48, also quoted in Shihāb al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Yāqūt b. ʿAbdallāh al-Rūmī al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 7 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1993), 1:232 and Jalāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt fī ṭabaqāt al-lughawiyyīn wa-l-nuḥāt*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1979) 1: 302.

18 Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Najjār, 3 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1955–1972), 1:454; Abū l-Ḥasan Saʿīd b. Masʿada al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ, *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān*, ed. Fāʾiz Fāris al-Ḥamad, 2 vols. (Kuwait: n.p., 1981), 2:338; cf. Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, 1:71.

19 Akhfash, *Maʿānī*, 2:338, 480; cf. Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, 3:11, 158.

to grammatical study as we know it from the period, and particularly in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*, and one is driven to doubt whether this work indeed belongs to the second/eighth century.[20] The other work, a catechism entitled *Talqīn al-mutaʿallim min al-naḥw*, is attributed to Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) but most probably belongs to a much later date.[21] Some scholars, however, are convinced of the authenticity of the two works,[22] and we can accordingly include them in our discussion for the sake of completeness. What the two works have in common is that a considerable part of their material is arranged according to the notion of regimen (*ʿamal*). Both include *bāb*s which enumerate the operants (*ʿawāmil*) that cause the nominative, accusative, genitive, subjunctive and jussive (note that the indicative does not feature in either). In particular, both of them include a *bāb* on operants that cause their topic (i.e., *ism*) to be in the nominative and their predicate (i.e., *khabar*) to be in the accusative. Listed among these are *kāna*, *amsā*, *aṣbaḥa*, *ẓalla*, *bāta*, *zāla*, *mā zāla*, *mā dāma*, *ṣāra* and *laysa* (in both sources), in addition to *aḍḥā* and *mā fatiʾa* (in *Talqīn* only).[23] None of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* is mentioned in this *bāb* nor in any other by the authors of these works. At least in this respect, both works are in line with early sources that do not discuss the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* under a separate heading.

The two main figures of grammatical study in the second half of the third/ninth century are undoubtedly Mubarrad (d. 285/898) and Thaʿlab (d. 291/904). As far as Thaʿlab is concerned, none of his extant works is a systematic study of grammatical issues as in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* and Mubarrad's *Muqtaḍab*. His *Majālis*, however, does contain some of his thoughts on syntactical issues, among which are comments related to *ʿasā* and *kāda*, namely, that they indicate *muqāraba*, that the occurrence of a noun in the predicate of *ʿasā* (as in

20 Cf. R. Baalbaki, *The Legacy of the* Kitāb*: Sībawayhi's Analytical Methods within the Context of the Arabic Grammatical Theory* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 29. Rafael Talmon ("Kitāb Muqaddima fī l-naḥw al-mansūb ilā Khalaf al-Aḥmar: Dirāsa wa-fihris muṣṭalaḥāt," *al-Karmil* 11 [1990]: 155–156) does not support the attribution of the *Muqaddima* to Khalaf, but argues that it *is* the work of a contemporary of Sībawayhi, Farrāʾ and Abū ʿUbayda's (d. 209/824). One of its fragments, according to Talmon, was written after the year 204/820.

21 Cf. Michael G. Carter, "A 16th Century Grammatical Experiment that Failed," *Arabica* 26 (1979): 267–273.

22 The editor of *Muqaddima*, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī, and the editor of *Talqīn*, Jamāl ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī Mukhaymar, for example, try to adduce arguments in favor of attributing the two books to Khalaf and Ibn Qutayba, respectively.

23 Abū Muḥriz Khalaf b. Ḥayyān al-Aḥmar al-Baṣrī, *Muqaddima fī l-naḥw*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī (Damascus: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa wa-l-Irshād al-Qawmī, 1961), 64; Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba al-Dīnawarī, *Talqīn al-mutaʿallim min al-naḥw*, ed. Jamāl ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī Mukhaymar (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Abnāʾ Wahba Ḥassān, 1989), 111–116.

ʿasā l-ghuwayru abʾusā) is anomalous (*shādhdh*) and that *ʿasā* signifies solely the future tense.[24] In contrast, the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* occupy a separate *bāb* in Mubarrad's main work on grammar, the *Muqtaḍab* (cf. *hādhā bāb al-afʿāl allatī tusammā afʿāl al-muqāraba*).[25] From the perspective of classification of grammatical material, the designation of a separate *bāb* to the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* seems to place *Muqtaḍab* with the later sources of the fifth/eleventh century. Further scrutiny, however, reveals that this *bāb* is substantially different from its counterparts in later works and much closer to the *Kitāb* in spite of the fact that the latter does not include a separate *bāb* on these verbs. What Mubarrad seems to have done is to bring together the issues Sībawayhi raised concerning *ʿasā*, *kāda*, etc. and place them in an independent *bāb*. In fact, his first observation following the *bāb*'s title is that its members, which are not uniform in their syntactic characteristics, are alike in denoting approximation (*wa-hiya mukhtalifat al-madhāhib wa-l-taqdīr mujtamiʿa fī l-muqāraba*). This is reminiscent of Sībawayhi's view (quoted above) that these verbs (in his words, *hādhihi l-ḥurūf*) resemble each other in denoting approximation; that is, in spite of the individual differences which exist among them. Unlike later sources which discuss the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* immediately after *kāna* and its *akhawāt*, these two *bāb*s in the *Muqtaḍab* occur in two disparate parts of the work,[26] strongly suggesting that the author does not examine the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* from the perspective of the type of their regimen. Along the same lines, Mubarrad's discussion of these verbs begins with *ʿasā*, followed by *laʿalla* (which is a particle), and ends with a cursory glance at *kāda*, *jaʿala*, *akhadha* and *karaba*. Most probably based on Sībawayhi's mention of *laʿalla* with *ʿasā*,[27] Mubarrad expands the comparison between *laʿalla* and the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*, although the regimen of the former is contrary to that of the latter (cf. *laʿalla Zaydan yaqūmu* and *ʿasā Zaydun yaqūmu*). Mubarrad firmly places the classification of *laʿalla* with the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* in the domain of semantics by referring to it as a particle which resembles verbs in meaning since it signifies expectation of something that is either desired or undesired (*wa-laʿalla ḥarf jāʾa li-maʿnā mushabbah bil-fiʿl*

24 Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Thaʿlab, *Majālis Thaʿlab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 2 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1960), 1:307, 2:395.

25 Abū l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Khāliq ʿUḍayma, 4 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Taḥrīr, 1965–1968), 3:68–75. Note that Mubarrad uses the term *ḥurūf al-muqāraba*, in his *Kāmil* (ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and al-Sayyid Shiḥāta [Cairo: Maktabat Nahḍat Miṣr, 1956], 1:197), to refer to the *bāb* entitled *afʿāl al-muqāraba* in his *Muqtaḍab* (3:68); cf. n. 1 above.

26 Cf. Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab*, 3:68 ff. and 4:86 ff.

27 Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, 3:160.

ka'anna maʿnāhu l-tawaqquʿ li-maḥbūb aw makrūh).[28] This semantic resemblance is the reason for Mubarrad's inclusion of *laʿalla* with *ʿasā*, *kāda*, etc. whereas its inclusion, in another *bāb* of the *Muqtaḍab*, with the sisters of *inna*[29] is based solely on the formal aspect of regimen. Later sources as we shall see shortly adopt only this formal consideration and thus include *laʿalla* with the sisters of *inna*, but not with those of *ʿasā*. It should also be noted that Mubarrad's discussion of *laʿalla* in the *bāb* of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* is almost totally restricted to the main issue of that *bāb*, namely, the permissibility or otherwise of the occurrence, as a predicate, of nouns or of verbs that are either preceded or not preceded by *an*. Although *laʿalla* is clearly different from *ʿasā*, *kāda*, etc. in that its predicate may well be a noun (based on its resemblance to *inna*), Mubarrad, contrary to later authors who seem to ignore the semantic resemblance between it and the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*, includes it with them primarily because of its meaning.

Fourth/tenth-century authors adopt the approach of their predecessors to the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* and, thus, normally do not devote a *bāb* to them. Two early sources of this period, Lughda's (d. 310/922) *K. al-Naḥw* and Ibn Shuqayr's (d. 317/929) *Muḥallā*, are particularly interesting because they are partially arranged according to the type of regimen caused by the various operants. Both sources mention operants, such as *kāna* and *laysa*, which cause their topics to be in the nominative and their predicates to be in the accusative, but fail to mention with them *ʿasā* or any of its *akhawāt*.[30] That the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* do not feature in this genre of grammatical writing clearly indicates that these verbs, from the perspective of being operants, have not yet gained an independent status to warrant their treatment in a separate *bāb*. Moreover, one may be tempted to argue, based on Ibn Shuqayr's *Muḥallā*, that the absence of any mention of these verbs even within the *bāb*s of *kāna* or the *akhawāt* of *laysa* suggests that the author is not interested in exhaustively enumerating the operants that are associated with any particular regimen. For example, he mentions *inna*, *ʿan* and *lam*, but not any of their *akhawāt* which cause the accusative, genitive, and jussive respectively.[31] This argument, however, fails to explain why Lughda, who exhaustively lists operants (including *kāna* and its *akhawāt*; cf.

28 Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab*, 3:73.

29 Ibid., 4:107–108.

30 Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh Lughda al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Naḥw*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Fatlī in *al-Mawrid* 3, pt. 3 (1974): 225, 228; Ibn Shuqayr, *Muḥallā* (published as Khalīl b. Aḥmad, *al-Jumal fī l-naḥw*, ed. Fakhr al-Dīn Qabāwa [Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1987]), 45, 118.

31 Ibn Shuqayr, *Muḥallā*, 45, 172, 202.

also his lists of operants which govern the genitive, subjunctive, and jussive), makes no reference whatsoever to any verb which indicates *muqāraba*. One is therefore led to believe that the absence of these verbs from this genre of grammatical writing during this period reflects the grammarians' lack of interest in them as an independent entity of operants and their belief that the grammatical issues related to them (in particular the occurrence of *an* in their predicate) are relatively unimportant and need not be mentioned in any listing of the various operants.

The *afʿāl al-muqāraba*, as an independent entity, are not discussed either in one of the most important sources of the period: Ibn al-Sarrāj's (d. 316/929) *K. al-Uṣūl fī l-naḥw*. In a lengthy chapter on *kāna* and its *akhawāt*,[32] Ibn al-Sarrāj discusses various syntactical aspects related to these "particles" but does not mention *ʿasā* or any of its *akhawāt*. Mention of *ʿasā*, however, occurs in other parts of the book, but only as part of the discussion of other operants. For example, when Ibn al-Sarrāj elucidates the meaning of *laʿalla*, in the *bāb* of *inna* and its *akhawāt*, he mentions *ẓanantu* as one of its possible meanings and only incidentally refers to the link that exists between *ẓanantu* and two direct objects (cf. *wa-l-dalīl ʿalā ẓanantu an tajīʾ bil-shayʾayni*) as well as between *ʿasā* and *an* (cf. *wa-l-dalīl ʿalā ʿasā an tajīʾ bi-an*).[33] In another *bāb*, namely that which deals with the meaning of particles (*bāb al-ḥurūf allatī jāʾat lil-maʿānī*), the meaning of *an* seems to trigger the mention of *ʿasā*, *kāda*, and *awshaka*.[34] Using the same above-quoted example cited by Sībawayhi to demonstrate the omission of *an* from certain constructions (i.e., *innahu khalīqun an/li-an yafʿala*), Ibn al-Sarrāj discusses the occurrence or lack of *an* with *ʿasā* and its two other *akhawāt* in both ordinary speech and poetry.

In contrast to Ibn al-Sarrāj, another prominent figure of the fourth/tenth century, namely Zajjājī (d. 337/949), devotes to the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* an independent *bāb* in his famous work, *al-Jumal*. In several respects, this *bāb* is similar to the one in Mubarrad's *Muqtaḍab*, particularly with regard to the position it occupies in each of the two books since neither *bāb* occurs anywhere near the *bāb* of *kāna* and its *akhawāt*.[35] This detachment is obviously due to the

32 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Suhayl Ibn al-Sarrāj, *al-Uṣūl fī l-naḥw*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Fatlī, 3 vols. (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1985), 1:81–98.

33 Ibid., 1:259.

34 Ibid., 2:207–208.

35 Cf. Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq al-Zajjājī, *al-Jumal*, ed. Muḥammad b. Abī Shanab (Paris: Klincksieck, 1957), 209–211 (for the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*) and 53–64 (for *kāna*, *amsā*, *aṣbaḥa*, *ṣāra*, etc.).

perspective from which both authors approach the group of verbs which comprise *muqāraba*. Their approach primarily focuses on the meaning of these verbs—defined by Zajjājī as the approximation of the verb and the wish for its occurrence to be imminent (*li-muqārabat al-fiʿl wa-istidnāʾ wuqūʿihi*)—rather than their regimen which resembles that used for *kāna* and its *akhawāt*. Zajjājī's *bāb* on the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*, however, is one step closer than Mubarrad's to restricting membership of this group of operants to those which govern the nominative in the topic and the accusative in the predicate. By eliminating *laʿalla* from the *bāb*, Zajjājī has effectively laid the foundation for a much closer relationship between the two *bāb*s of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* and *kāna wa-akhawātuhā* in the later sources. This is indeed a necessary condition for the eventual shift of the *bāb* of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* to a position which, almost invariably, immediately follows the *bāb* of *kāna wa-akhawātuhā* (and *akhawāt laysa*) in the later sources.

The link between *ʿasā* and *laʿalla*, however, persists in several sources of the late fourth/tenth century and this seems to be the reason for assigning to the *bāb* of *ʿasā*, *kāda*, etc. a position unrelated to that of *kāna* and its *akhawāt*. Perhaps the clearest example of this is that Zubaydī (d. 379/989), in a *bāb* entitled *bāb ʿasā wa-kāda* in his *K. al-Wāḍiḥ*, mentions only three operants, namely, *ʿasā*, *kāda*, and *laʿalla*, and notes that *an* does not occur in the predicate of *laʿalla*, except in poetic license, because of its analogy to *ʿasā* based on closeness of meaning (*fa-shabbahahā bi-ʿasā li-qurb maʿnāhā minhā*).[36] This *bāb* in Zubaydī's book is not placed in proximity to the *bāb* of *kāna* and its *akhawāt* as these occur in the early parts of the book, where nominal sentences and their operants are discussed.[37] For his part, Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987) also mentions the link between *ʿasā* and *laʿalla* in some of his works which do not examine systematically or exhaustively the bulk of grammatical topics.[38] Furthermore, in his *K. al-Īḍāḥ*, which does exhaust these topics systematically,

36 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Zubaydī, *Kitāb al-Wāḍiḥ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm Khalīfa (Amman: n.p., 1976), 129–130.

37 Ibid., 57–67, esp. 63.

38 Cf. Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Fārisī, *al-Masāʾil al-ʿAḍudiyyāt*, ed. ʿAlī Jābir al-Manṣūrī (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1986), 65–66; idem, *al-Masāʾil al-Ḥalabiyyāt*, ed. Ḥasan Hindāwī (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1987), 250–251; idem, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr aw Sharḥ al-abyāt al-mushkilat al-iʿrāb*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī, 2 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1988), 2:494–497. In his *ʿAskariyyāt* (ed. Ismāʿīl Aḥmad ʿAmāyira [Amman: al-Jāmiʿa al-Urduniyya, 1981], 72–73) and *Baghdādiyyāt* (ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ʿAbdallāh al-Sinkāwī [Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-ʿĀnī, 1983], 301), Fārisī mentions *ʿasā* (and *kāda* in the former), without reference to *laʿalla*.

ʿasā is not associated with the *bāb* of *kāna* and its *akhawāt*. In fact, it occurs there in a *bāb* devoted to uninflected verbs which include, in addition to *ʿasā*, the two verbs of praise (*niʿma*) and vituperation (*biʾsa*) and the patterns *afʿala* and *afʿil* used in admirative constructions. It is noteworthy that Fārisī does not mention *ʿasā* or any of its *akhawāt* in the *bāb*s which he devotes to the various operants that precede the topic and the predicate (*bāb al-ʿawāmil allatī tadkhul ʿalā l-mubtadaʾ wa-l-khabar*).[39] He begins the first of these *bāb*s with a general statement in which he specifies three types of these operants, namely, *kāna wa-akhawātuhā*, *inna wa-akhawātuhā*, and verbs like *ḥasibtu* and *ẓanantu* (i.e., mental verbs) which govern two direct objects. Obviously, the association of *ʿasā* with the uninflected "verbs"[40] *niʿma*, *biʾsa*, *afʿala*, and *afʿil*, rather than with any of the operants which introduce change either to the topic or the predicate, or to both of them, indicates that Fārisī is primarily interested in its morphological rather than syntactical traits, just as the grammarians who include *laʿalla* in the discussion of *ʿasā* and its *akhawāt* do so on the grounds of meaning, rather than regimen. In both cases, *ʿasā* and its *akhawāt* are left outside the sphere of any of the operants which precede the topic and the predicate, most notably *kāna* and its *akhawāt* with which they share a similar type of regimen (i.e., operant, plus nominative topic, plus accusative predicate). Finally, another late fourth/tenth-century author, Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002), in his *al-Lumaʿ fī l-ʿArabiyya*, places *ʿasā* (which he mentions under a separate heading, but without reference to *kāda* or any of its other *akhawāt*) in the context of uninflected verbs, namely, the admiratives, *afʿala* and *afʿil*, *niʿma* and *biʾsa*, and *ḥabbadhā*.[41] Accordingly, no link is established between *ʿasā* on the one hand and *kāna* and its *akhawāt* on the other, as these are discussed in a much earlier section of the book.[42]

39 Fārisī, *al-Īḍāḥ*, ed. Kāẓim Baḥr al-Marjān (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1996), 116.

40 Note that Fārisī, in line with the Basran tradition, considers *niʿma* and *biʾsa*, as well as admirative *afʿala*, to be verbs (*Īḍāḥ*, 110, 114–115), whereas to the Kufans is ascribed the view that they are nouns; cf. chapters 14 and 15 in Abū l-Barakāt ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Anbārī, *al-Inṣāf fī masāʾil al-khilāf bayna l-naḥwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Kūfiyyīn*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols. (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya, 1955), 1:97–148.

41 Abū l-Fatḥ ʿUthmān Ibn Jinnī, *al-Lumaʿ fī l-ʿArabiyya*, ed. Ḥusayn Muḥammad Muḥammad Sharaf (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, 1978), 217–226.

42 Ibid., 119 ff.

4 The Later Sources

It is in the sources of the fifth/eleventh century that the *bāb* of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* becomes truly independent of the semantic and morphological considerations that characterize most of the previous works. Unlike those authors of the fourth/tenth century who do not devote a *bāb* to these verbs (such as Ibn al-Sarrāj in his *Uṣūl*), fifth/eleventh-century authors uniformly discuss them in a separate *bāb*, and not as part of their discussion of other operants or forms, such as *an* (from the perspective of its being uttered or elided) and *niʿma/biʾsa* and *afʿala/afʿil* (from the perspective of their indeclinability). Moreover, the dissociation in these sources between *laʿalla* and *ʿasā* opened the way to a significant shift in the position assigned to the *bāb* of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*. With the ever-growing interest in the formal aspects of syntax, the resemblance between these verbs and *kāna* and its *akhawāt*—which, of course, did not escape earlier authors but was not a criterion for determining the position of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* in their works—became the primary factor in their inclusion with operants whose topics and predicates are in the nominative and accusative, respectively. It is thus customary in the sources of the fifth/eleventh century onward to find that such operants (collectively referred to as *nawāsikh*, lit. 'annullers') are arranged into three groups; the first of which includes *kāna* and its *akhawāt* (e.g., *aṣbaḥa*, *ẓalla*, *bāta*, *ṣāra*, *mā zāla*, etc.), all of which are considered verbs (*afʿāl*); whereas the second group (sometimes also discussed as part of the first group) is made up of five members, one of which is the verb *laysa*, and the others are the particles (*ḥurūf*) *mā*, *lā*, *lāta*, and *in*, all of which indicate negation. The third group is that of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* whose independent status is justified on the basis that the predicate of each of its members is normally an imperfect verb. On a wider scale, these three groups are contrasted with operants (also classified as *nawāsikh*) whose topics are in the accusative and predicates are in the nominative, and which also comprise three groups: *inna* and its *akhawāt*, generic *lā*, and verbs which govern two direct objects whose origin is topic and predicate (cf. *Zaydun ʿālimun* and *ẓanantu Zaydan ʿāliman*). The shift in the position which the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* occupy in the fifth/eleventh century works as compared to earlier sources is best exemplified by Jurjānī's (d. 471/1078) manual on *ʿawāmil*, in which these verbs are placed immediately after *kāna* and its *akhawāt* (including *laysa*).[43]

43 Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-Qāhir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jurjānī, *al-ʿAwāmil al-miʾa al-naḥwiyya fī uṣūl ʿilm al-ʿArabiyya, bi-sharḥ Khālid al-Azharī*, 2nd ed., ed. al-Badrāwī Zahrān (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1988), 265–268.

The arrangement of *ʿawāmil* in this manner obviously highlights the formal considerations which necessitate the placement of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* with operants that share their type of regimen. Another pedagogical manual by Jurjānī, *al-Jumal fī l-naḥw*, also follows the same arrangement,[44] as does one of the most important works of the sixth/twelfth century, Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) *al-Mufaṣṣal fī ʿilm al-ʿArabiyya*.[45] In the above-mentioned works, Jurjānī and Zamakhsharī exhaustively list the various verbs which comprise the *bāb* of *muqāraba*, and from the manner in which these verbs are listed, a pattern seems to emerge in recognizing three general types, although no clear-cut distinction is attempted. These types—which the later grammarians formally recognize, as we shall see below—are: (1) *ʿasā*; (2) *kāda*, *karaba*, and *awshaka*; and (3) *jaʿala*, *akhadha*, *ṭafiqa*, etc.

An interesting comparison which manifestly illustrates the development that took place in the later sources may be drawn from the genre of grammatical writing which deals exclusively with *ʿilal* (causes). In the famous work by Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181) entitled *Asrār al-ʿArabiyya*, the *ʿilal* related to *ʿasā* and *kāda* occupy an independent *bāb* that immediately precedes the *bāb* of *kāna* and its *akhawāt*, *mā* (which resembles *laysa* in regimen), *inna* and its *akhawāt*, and *ẓanantu* and its *akhawāt* (i.e., mental verbs).[46] In other words, *ʿasā* and *kāda* are firmly placed with the *nawāsikh*, in particular those whose topics are in the nominative and their predicates in the accusative. A markedly different approach is adopted by Ibn al-Warrāq (d. 381/991) in his *ʿIlal al-naḥw*, written about two centuries earlier. Although he devotes three consecutive *bāb*s to operants which cause solely the nominative, the nominative followed by the accusative, or the accusative followed by the nominative,[47] he does not discuss *ʿasā*, *kāda*, etc. in a separate *bāb*. Mention of *ʿasā* (but not *kāda* or any other

44 Jurjānī, *al-Jumal*, ed. ʿAlī Ḥaydar (Damascus: Majmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya, 1972), 62–63.

45 Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal fī ʿilm al-ʿArabiyya* (Cairo: n.p., 1323AH), 269–272.

46 Ibn al-Anbārī, *Asrār al-ʿArabiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Bahjat al-Bīṭār (Damascus: Maṭbaʿat al-Taraqqī, 1957), 126–131. It may be suggested that Ibn al-Anbārī places *ʿasā* before *kāna* and the rest of the *nawāsikh* which precede nominal sentences in order to ensure a smooth transition from the discussion of uninflected verbs, such as *niʿma/biʾsa*, *ḥabbadhā*, and *afʿala/afʿil* (which occupy the three *bāb*s which immediately precede *ʿasā*) to those *bāb*s which are devoted to the *nawāsikh*. Because *ʿasā* is also uninflected, it is placed just after the uninflected verbs, but in close proximity to *kāna*, *inna*, etc. since it shares with these the syntactic function of modifying nominal sentences.

47 Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-Warrāq, *ʿIlal al-naḥw*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Maḥmūd Naṣṣār (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2002), 305–359.

muqāraba verb) is indeed made in the third of these *bāb*s, namely that of *kāna*, *mā zāla*, *laysa*, *mā*, etc., but obviously not with the aim of classifying it with these operants; rather, it is only mentioned as one of several verbs which do not attain the status (*daraja*, *rutba*) of *laysa*, and hence their *mafʿūl* (here, accusative noun) cannot precede them (as in [our examples] *qāʾiman laysa Zaydun*, but not **rajulan niʿma/biʾsa Zaydun*, **rajulan akrim bihi*, and **an yaqūma ʿasā Zaydun*).[48] The difference between these two works of the *ʿilal* genre in their approach to *ʿasā* closely matches the difference between early and later authors of mainstream grammatical works as demonstrated above.

The position which the *bāb* of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* occupies in those later sources that became "standard" or "canonical" works is strongly linked with both the independent status assigned to these verbs and the overall approach to the issue of operants. The later sources will be exemplified by Ibn Yaʿīsh's (d. 643/1245) *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, Astarābādhī's (d. circa 686/1287) *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, various *Alfiyya* commentaries, and Suyūṭī's (d. 911/1505) *Hamʿ al-hawāmiʿ*. Two basic models emerge in these sources, in both of which the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* are discussed under a separate heading but in close association with *kāna* and its *akhawāt*, obviously due to its similar regimen. The first of these models is used by Ibn Yaʿīsh and Astarābādhī, both of whom follow the arrangement adopted by the authors of the texts which they expand, i.e., Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) in his *Mufaṣṣal* and Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646/1249) in his *Kāfiya*, respectively. According to this model, both types of verbs (i.e., *kāna* and its *akhawāt*, and the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*) are discussed in the section which is devoted to verbs and which includes topics such as transitivity/intransitivity, active voice/passive voice, and mental verbs. In contrast, those *ʿawāmil* which are classified as particles (*ḥurūf*), including *inna* and its *akhawāt*, are discussed under the general section which deals with particles. Hence, the *bāb* on *inna*, *anna*, *layta*, etc.—which are considered particles that are assimilated to verbs (*ḥurūf mushabbaha bil-fiʿl*)—is closer to the *bāb*s on prepositions (*ḥurūf al-jarr*), conjunctions (*ḥurūf al-ʿatf*), vocative particles (*ḥurūf al-nidāʾ*), otiose particles (*ḥurūf al-ziyāda*), etc. than to the *bāb*s which deal with their own counterparts that govern the nominative and then the accusative, such as *kāna*, *ʿasā*, *kāda*, etc.[49] It should be noted that both sources mention, as part

48 Ibid., 355–357. Note that some grammarians (e.g., Jurjānī, whose position will be mentioned later in the text) do not accept the construction *qāʾiman laysa Zaydun* in which *laysa* is preceded by its predicate.

49 Cf. Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ*, 7:1–162, esp. 7:89, 115; 8:54; Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ Kāfiyat Ibn al-Ḥājib fī l-naḥw*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: n.p., 1310 AH), 2:290, 301, 345.

of their discussion of *marfūʿāt* (nominative nouns) and *manṣūbāt* (accusative nouns), the topic (i.e., noun or *ism*) and predicate (i.e., *khabar*) of the various *nawāsikh*, and discuss generic *lā* with the *manṣūbāt*.[50] The second model is the one used by Ibn Mālik in his *Alfiyya* (and is naturally adopted by the commentators) and Suyūṭī in *Hamʿ al-hawāmiʿ*. The main feature in this model is the discussion of *nawāsikh* without their division into verbs and particles; that is, they are perceived as one entity whose position immediately follows that of the topic (*mubtadaʾ*) and predicate (*khabar*) since all members of this entity, irrespective of their morphological nature, introduce certain modifications to nominal sentences. The order in *Alfiyya* commentaries, for example, is as follows: (1) *kāna* and its *akhawāt*, including *laysa* (i.e., verbs); (2) the *akhawāt* of *laysa*, namely, *mā*, *lā*, *lāta*, and *in* (i.e., particles); (3) *ʿasā*, *kāda*, *jaʿala*, etc. (i.e., verbs); (4) *inna* and its *akhawāt* (i.e., particles); (5) the generic *lā* (i.e., particle); and (6) *ẓanna* and its *akhawāt* (i.e., verbs).[51] This order highlights the division of the *nawāsikh* based on whether they govern the nominative in the noun and the accusative in the predicate or vice versa. Both models, of course, are the result of purely formal considerations with little recourse to meaning. In particular, it is significant that some *Alfiyya* commentators specifically mention that *mā*, *lā*, *lāta*, and *in* are discussed under a separate heading because they are particles and not verbs;[52] that is, their independent status is not due to the fact that they have a negative meaning. Similarly, the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*, as Ibn Mālik's first line in the relevant chapter indicates,[53] are discussed in a special *bāb*, not in the same *bāb* where *kāna* and its *akhawāt* are mentioned, primarily because their predicates are normally imperfect verbs, and not because of any semantic reason.

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50 Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ*, 1:100–109 and 2:96–117; Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ*, 1:109–112, 251–256.

51 Ibn al-Nāẓim, *Sharḥ Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, n.d), 128–217; Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Hishām, *Awḍaḥ al-masālik ilā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 4 vols. (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya, 1956), 1:231 and 2:83; Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAqīl, *Sharḥ Ibn ʿAqīl ʿalā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, ed. Ramzī Munīr Baʿalbakī (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1992), 122–204; Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ushmūnī, *Sharḥ al-Ushmūnī ʿalā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik al-musammā Manhaj al-sālik ilā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 3 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1955), 1:109–168. Occasionally, the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* are placed before the *akhawāt* of *laysa*, as in Ibn ʿUṣfūr's (d. 669/1271) *Muqarrab*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Sattār al-Jawārī and ʿAbdallāh al-Jubūrī (Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-ʿĀnī, 1971), 107–116.

52 Ibn ʿAqīl, *Sharḥ*, 137; Ushmūnī, *Sharḥ*, 1:121.

53 Cf. the line *ka-kāna kāda wa-ʿasā lākin nadar *ghayru muḍāriʿin li-hādhayni khabar* (Ibn al-Nāẓim, *Sharḥ*, 153; Ibn ʿAqīl, *Sharḥ*, 146; Ushmūnī, *Sharḥ*, 1:128).

As part of their standardization effort, the later grammarians usually formulated steadfast rules pertaining to several syntactic aspects of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*. This is quite apparent in their approach to two major issues which the earlier grammarians had discussed, namely, the difference between these verbs as far as the introduction of *an* is concerned, and the use of *ʿasā*, *ikhlawlaqa*, and *awshaka* as complete verbs (*afʿāl tāmma*), in which case *an* and the imperfect that immediately follows any of them have the position of agent (e.g., *ʿasā an yaqūma Zaydun*). The second issue is linked in some works to the larger issue of word order in *kāna* (and *inna*) constructions,[54] and it is interesting to see how the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* were later introduced to the hierarchy which is usually established by the grammarians in interpreting some of the syntactical characteristics of *kāna*, *laysa*, and *mā*. Concerning *kāna* and its *akhawāt*, Jurjānī, for example, clearly formulates the issue by noting that *laysa* is weaker than *kāna* because the latter is fully declinable. Yet, *laysa* is stronger than *mā*, which is a particle and hence no pronominal suffixes are attached to it, whereas *laysa* is a verb and may be followed by pronominal suffixes (as in *lastumā*, *lastum*, etc.). He concludes that *laysa* has an intermediate position (*manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*) between a stronger *kāna* and a weaker *mā*. Accordingly, the predicate of *laysa*, unlike that of *kāna*, may not precede it (cf. *qāʾiman kāna Zaydun*, but not **qāʾiman laysa Zaydun*). On the other hand, the predicate of *laysa* may precede the topic (i.e., noun or *ism* of *laysa*), as in *laysa qāʾiman Zaydun*, but the same is not permissible in the case of *mā* (hence **mā qāʾiman Zaydun*).[55] Suyūṭī expands the hierarchy and discusses the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* from the perspective of word order in a manner simulating that used in earlier discussions concerning *kāna* and its *akhawāt*. He interprets the rule that the predicate of *ʿasā* and its *akhawāt* cannot precede them (cf. **an yaqūma ʿasā Zaydun*), unlike the predicate of *kāna* and its *akhawāt*, as being the result of the relative weakness of the former group (the position of whose predicate is restricted to imperfect verbs), compared with the latter group (to which no such restriction applies).[56] The hierarchy is further expanded by considering *inna* and its *akhawāt* all of which are particles—and assigning to them

54 For the grammarians' views on the issue of word order in *kāna* constructions, see Baalbaki, "Some Considerations of Word Order in *kāna* Constructions," *Romano-Arabica: Arabic Linguistics* (n.s.) 3 (2004): 41–58.

55 Jurjānī, *Kitāb al-Muqtaṣid fī sharḥ al-Īḍāḥ*, ed. Kāẓim Baḥr al-Marjān, 2 vols. (Baghdad: Dār al-Rashīd, 1982), 1:408–409; cf. n. 48 above and Ibn al-Anbārī, *Asrār*, 140–141 and *Inṣāf*, 1:163.

56 Suyūṭī, *Hamʿ al-hawāmiʿ sharḥ Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ fī ʿilm al-ʿArabiyya*, 2 vols. (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿāda, 1327 AH), 1:131.

a weaker status than *ʿasā* and its *akhawāt* since these are verbs and not particles. This is reflected, Suyūṭī argues, in the permissibility of placing the predicate in *muqāraba* constructions between the verb and the topic (as in *ṭafiqa yuṣalliyāni l-Zaydāni*, which is unanimously accepted by the grammarians, although they differ on its permissibility if *an* precedes the imperfect), and the impermissibility of a parallel construction in the case of *inna* and its *akhawāt*. Obviously, the introduction of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* into the discussion of word order of constructions in which the *nawāsikh* feature demonstrates that the same principles apply to them as to other verbs and particles which modify nominal sentences, and consequently proves the systematic nature of the data at hand.

Another feature which the later grammarians introduce to the study of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* and is related to their attempt at standardization is the explicit division of these verbs into three separate categories, namely (1) verbs which indicate *rajāʾ* (hope), i.e., *ʿasā*, *ḥarā*, and *ikhlawlaqa*; (2) verbs which indicate *muqāraba* (approximation), i.e., *kāda*, *karaba*, and *awshaka*; and (3) verbs which indicate *inshāʾ* (beginning), such as *jaʿala*, *ṭafiqa*, *akhadha*, *ʿaliqa*, *anshaʾa*, etc. The term *muqāraba* is thus reserved for the three verbs[57] which indicate approximation or nearness of action, and is not used to refer to the other verbs which share with them the syntactic characteristic of having the imperfect as predicate. This distinction is not found in the earlier sources which, as previously noted, use *muqāraba* to refer to all three types of verbs (cf. Mubarrad's use of the term to apply to *ʿasā*, *kāda*, *jaʿala*, *akhadha*, and *karaba* in addition to *laʿalla*).[58] The distinction among the above three types as presented, say, in the *Alfiyya* commentaries and Suyūṭī's *Hamʿ al-hawāmiʿ*, probably aims at addressing the doubt expressed earlier by some grammarians concerning the indiscriminate use of *muqāraba* to refer to various verbs, not all of which signify *muqāraba*. Zamakhsharī, for instance, apologetically explains that the difference between *ʿasā* and *kāda* is that the first indicates *muqāraba* in the sense of "hope" and "aspiration" (*ʿalā sabīl al-rajāʾ wa-l-ṭamaʿ*), as in *ʿasā l-Lāhu an yashfiya marīḍī* (I hope that God may heal my patient); whereas the second indicates *muqāraba* in the sense of "incidence" and "materialization" (*ʿalā sabīl al-wujūd wa-l-ḥuṣūl*), as in *kādat al-shamsu taghrubu* (The sun is on the verge of setting).[59] Astarābādhī more openly criticizes the traditional use of the term *muqāraba* to describe the meaning of any of the so-called *afʿāl al-muqāraba* other than *kāda* and its *murādifāt* (i.e., synonyms such as *awshaka*

57 Other verbs which are rarely cited as indicating *muqāraba* are *awlā*, *halhala*, and *alamma*; cf. Suyūṭī, *Hamʿ*, 1:128.

58 Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab*, 3:68–75.

59 Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 271; cf. Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ*, 7:124.

and *karaba*) which indicate approximation of action. Quoting the same example on *ʿasā* as the one Zamakhsharī cites, he asserts that the intention of the speaker is to express the hope that his patient will recover, irrespective of whether recovery should take place soon or after a long time (*li-ṭamaʿ ḥuṣūl maḍmūnihi muṭlaqan sawāʾ taraǰǰā ḥuṣūlahu ʿan qarīb aw buʿayd* [perhaps *baʿd*] *mudda madīda*).[60] As far as verbs which express *shurūʿ* (such as *ṭafiqa* and its *murādifāt*) are concerned, Astarābādhī describes as doubtful the view that they express *muqāraba* (*wa-kadhā fī ʿaddihim ṭafiqa wa-murādifātihi min afʿāl al-muqāraba bi-maʿnā kawnihā li-dunuww al-khabar naẓar*). Accordingly, the construction *ṭafiqa Zaydun yakhruju* indicates that Zayd has just begun to leave and is not intended to signify *muqāraba* since reference to the proximity of action, according to Astarābādhī, can only be made before the action actually begins. Given the later grammarians' fondness of subdividing data for pedagogical purposes, comments such as those made by Zamakhsharī and Astarābādhī must have contributed to the subdivision of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* into three distinct groups which together form a single *bāb*. Interestingly enough, the grammarians who subdivide these verbs into three groups persist in using the term *afʿāl al-muqāraba* in its original sense to cover all verbs within these groups, although they make it absolutely clear that only one subdivision truly qualifies for the term.

5 Conclusion

The development of the grammarians' approach to the study of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* clearly demonstrates the ever-increasing shift in grammatical study towards *lafẓī*, or formal, considerations as well as towards systematization and standardization. Given that *laʿalla* governs the accusative followed by the nominative, its inclusion by early grammarians in the discussion related to *ʿasā* and its *akhawāt* (i.e., the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*)—whether from the perspective of introducing *an* to their predicates, or from the perspective of their semantic resemblance (both of which are mentioned by the first two major authors, Sībawayhi and Mubarrad)—proves that their primary concern in the study of these verbs is not the type of regimen which they introduce to nominal sentences. Furthermore, the close affinity between *laʿalla* and these verbs traditionally meant that they could not be classified under *kāna* and its *akhawāt*

60 Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ*, 2:301. See also Mahdī Makhzūmī, *Fī l-naḥw al-ʿArabī: Naqd wa-tawjīh*, 2nd ed. (Baghdad: Dār al-Shuʾūn al-Thaqāfiyya al-ʿĀmma, 2005), 200–201.

or as a subdivision thereof, and this was often the reason for their discussion as part of other grammatical issues, rather than as a separate entity. But as the formal aspects of regimen took precedence, the semantic relationship between *laʿalla* and the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* ceased to preclude the association of the latter with *kāna* and its *akhawāt*. Accordingly, the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* were identified with the group of operants called *nawāsikh*, and in particular with those *nawāsikh* which govern the nominative followed by the accusative. Formal considerations also prevailed in the classification of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* as a subdivision of *kāna* and its *akhawāt*, and not as proper *akhawāt* of *kāna*, given that the predicates of *ʿasā*, *kāda*, etc. are almost exclusively imperfect verbs. It is therefore quite significant in this respect that the position assigned by the later authors to the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*—that is, immediately following *kāna* (and *mā* which resembles *laysa*)—is a feature common to both their models of arranging *nawāsikh*. Thus, irrespective of whether the *nawāsikh* are arranged according to the type of their regimen or the parts of speech to which they belong, the bond between *kāna* and its sisters and the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* was always maintained.

The later authors differ significantly from their predecessors in formulating fixed rules which are applicable to the main issues encountered in the study of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba*, such as their level of declinability,[61] the introduction of *an* to their predicates, and the possibility of using *ʿasā*, *ikhlawlaqa*, and *awshaka* as "complete" verbs (*afʿāl tāmma*) which do not require a predicate. On a broader scale, this approach may be seen as part of their normalization and standardization efforts which feature in their study of other grammatical issues. For example, the division of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* into three groups which indicate *muqāraba*, *rajāʾ*, and *shurūʿ*, although semantically based, cannot be fully understood in isolation of other (incidentally tripartite) divisions based on formal aspects. Just as much as the tripartite division of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* in the later sources aims at the distinction between three types of verbs in order to facilitate the formulation of rules (and interpretation of *shawāhid*) related to each type, the division of vocative constructions based on the formal character of the vocative (e.g., *yā rajulu*, *yā ghulāma Zaydin*, and *yā ṭāliʿan jabalan*) and the parallel division of generic *lā* constructions based on the formal character of the noun after *lā* (e.g., *lā rajula ʿindī*, *lā mithla Zaydin*, and *lā ṭāliʿan jabalan ẓāhirun*)[62] are intended to facilitate the study of the

61 Cf. their discussion of the permissibility of forms like *yaʿsī*, *yūshiku*, *yajʿalu*, *yatfaqu*, *ʿāsin*, *mūshik*, etc. (Ibn ʿAqīl, *Sharḥ*, 152).

62 For the various aspects of analogy between vocative and generic *lā* constructions in

syntactical characteristics of each type and formulate specific rules pertaining to it. This preoccupation with the formal aspects of constructions, particularly in relation to operants and case-endings, is the main reason for the complex, and often futile, interpretations and controversies—particularly concerning anomalous usage—which have plagued Arabic grammar for so long. In the case of the *afʿāl al-muqāraba* constructions, their formal resemblance to constructions with *kāna* and its *akhawāt* was a decisive factor, not only in the position allotted to them in grammatical works, but also in their very classification as *nawāsikh* and not as ordinary verbs that are followed by an agent (*fāʿil*). The anomalous expression *ʿasā l-ghuwayru abʾusā*, which Sībawayhi closely examines, seems to have dictated the "fate" of *ʿasā* (and its *akhawāt*) as an incomplete verb whose predicate is in the accusative, although the accusative has to be presumed in the vast majority of examples since the imperfect almost exclusively fulfils the function of a predicate.

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CHAPTER 17

Reflections on the Lives and Deaths of Two Umayyad Poets: Laylā al-Akhyaliyya and Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir

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Laylā al-Akhyaliyya and Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir are two Umayyad poets who are renowned for their love, the poetry they composed about their relationship, and, especially, for the *rithā'*s (laments) composed by Laylā for Tawba after he was killed. Laylā and Tawba had fallen in love with each other. But when Tawba asked for Laylā's hand in marriage, her father refused, and married Laylā to another man. Later, Tawba was killed, and this inspired the laments of Laylā. These laments are considered so highly that they have often been compared to those by the more famous poet al-Khansā' (d. ca. 24/645) for her two brothers. More recently, Laylā has been recognized as possibly the only female poet, whose poetry has come down to us, who composed a polythematic *qaṣīda*, and one of her short poems has been adduced as proof that the title *khalīfat Allāh* existed as early as the reign of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (r. 23–35/644–656). Among her other distinguished exploits is her victory in a *hijā'* (lampoon) exchange with a male poet after she came to the defense of her husband. Despite this relative fame, information about Laylā and her beloved Tawba is not securely established. There is some confusion about the death dates of these two poet-lovers and reports about Laylā are sometimes mixed up in the sources with those of the more renowned Laylā al-ʿĀmiriyya, the Laylā of Majnūn. This article has the modest aim of highlighting some of the issues and problems that are encountered in the sources, both ancient and modern, while studying the lives and the poetry of Laylā and Tawba.

1 The Death Dates of Tawba and Laylā

Let us begin at the end. The precise death dates of these two poet-lovers are not known and this has created some confusion among modern authors. The death of Tawba and the circumstances surrounding it are reported in detail in a number of Islamic sources, which inform us that he was killed in a fight after he had raided a tribe, but an exact date is rarely given. All sources agree that Laylā

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died some time after Tawba, but, again, an exact date is almost never specified. In her case, there are a number of diverging accounts that present different circumstances for her death.

So, when was Tawba killed? Many modern scholars have taken Tawba's death date to be between the years 80–85/700–704: more specifically, they have taken it to be in 80,[1] ca. 80,[2] or in 85.[3] A number of other scholars, following a

1 ʿUmar Farrūkh (1906–1987), *Tārīkh al-Adab al-ʿArabī* (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1385/1965), vol. 1: 466–469 (in 80/699); Abdullah al-Udhari, *Classical Poems by Arab Women* (London: Saqi Books, 1999), 80 (in 699).

2 Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819–1883), "Tawba ibn al-Ḥumayyir," in *Kitāb Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif*, ed. Buṭrus al-Bustānī (Beirut: Maṭbaʿat al-Maʿārif, 1882), vol. 6: 251–253; Maḥmūd Muṣṭafā, *Iʿjām al-Aʿlām* (Cairo: Jamāʿat Dār al-ʿUlūm and al-Maṭbaʿa al-Raḥmāniyya, 1354/1935), 86; ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ fī ʿĀlamay al-ʿArab wa-l-Islām*, 3rd ṭabʿa (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1397/1977) [First published: Damascus: al-Maktaba al-Hāshimiyya, 1940], vol. 4: 321; ʿAbd al-Badīʿ Ṣaqr, *Shāʿirāt al-ʿArab* (Damascus: Manshūrāt al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1387/1967), 345.

3 Louis Cheikho (1859–1927), in his edition of the *dīwān* of al-Khansāʾ (d. ca. 24/645), *Anīs al-Julasāʾ fī Dīwān al-Khansāʾ* (Beirut: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Kāthūlīkiyya, 1888), 99 (his dates are 85/695 [*sic*]) (following the edition of the *dīwān* of al-Khansāʾ, Cheikho adds the elegies of more than 50 female poets, amongst whom the longest entry is preserved for Laylā al-Akhyaliyya on pp. 99–116 which consists of a biographical sketch, on pp. 99–103, and 20 poetical pieces, mostly elegies of Tawba, comprising 49 verses); Zaynab bt. ʿAlī Fawwāz (1276–1332/1860–1914), *al-Durr al-Manthūr fī Ṭabaqāt Rabbāt al-Khudūr*, commented upon by Muḥammad Amīn Ḍinnāwī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1420/1999) [First published in 1894–1895], vol. 2: 315 (her date is 85/695 [*sic*]); Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956), *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar: Verlag von Emil Felber, 1898), vol. 1: 61 (but on p. 93 of the first *Supplementband*, [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937], Brockelmann states that Laylā entered into a *hijāʾ* with the poet al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī *after* she lamented Tawba's death; a few paragraphs above this statement, on the same page, he places al-Nābigha's death around 65/684); Anonymous, "Laylā al-Akhyaliyya," *al-Jāmiʿa al-ʿUthmāniyya* (Alexandria) 1, no. 6 (1317/1899): 103; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām: Qāmūs Tarājim li-Ashhar al-Rijāl wa-l-Nisāʾ min al-ʿArab wa-l-Mustaʿribīn wa-l-Mustashriqīn*, 11th ṭabʿa (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1995) [First published: Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿArabiyya, 1927–1928], vol. 2: 89–90; Kūrkīs ʿAwwād, *Mushārakat al-ʿIrāq fī Nashr al-Turāth al-ʿArabī* (Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāqī, 1388/1969) [Reprinted from *Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāqī* 17 (1388/1969): 98–181], 36 (131 of article; entry no. 178); Bayard Dodge in the biographical index in *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1970) (Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies 83), vol. 2: 1108 (he gives the date as 704); ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-Muʾallifīn: Tarājim Muṣannifī l-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1414/1993) [First published: Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, and Damascus: al-Maktaba al-ʿArabiyya, 1957–1961], vol. 1: 459–460 (no. 3467); Yāsīn al-Ayyūbī, *Muʿjam al-Shuʿarāʾ fī "Lisān al-ʿArab"* (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1980), 90; Kāmil Salmān al-Jubūrī, *Muʿjam al-Shuʿarāʾ min al-ʿAṣr al-Jāhilī ḥattā Sanat 2002 M* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1424/2003), vol. 1: 372–

report found in *al-Aghānī*, place his death during the reign of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (r. 41–60/661–680) while Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was *amīr* of Medina.[4] In

373 (copied from al-Ziriklī); Shādī ʿAbbūd, *Kuthayyir wa-ʿAzza · Tawba wa-Laylā al-Akhyaliyya · ʿUrwa wa-ʿAfrāʾ* (al-ʿĀshiqūn [3]) (al-Manṣūriyya, Lebanon: Kitābunā lil-Nashr, 2007), 57; Riḍwān Daʿbūl, ed., *al-Rawḍa al-Ghannāʾ fī Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ* (Damascus: al-Risāla al-ʿĀlamiyya, 1433/2012), vol. 3: 83, footnote 1.

4 Oskar Rescher (1883–1972), *Abriss der arabischen Litteraturgeschichte* (Stuttgart: [s.n.], 1925) [Reprinted: Osnabrück: Biblio, 1983], vol. 1: 164–166 (the biography is almost entirely derived from *al-Aghānī*); Khalīl Ibrāhīm al-ʿAṭiyya in the introduction to *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, collected by Khalīl Ibrāhīm al-ʿAṭiyya and Jalīl al-ʿAṭiyya (Baghdad: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa wa-l-Irshād, 1386/1967) (Silsilat Kutub al-Turāth 5), 31 (his date is ca. 55 or slightly later); idem in the introduction to his edition of *Dīwān Tawba ibn al-Ḥumayyir al-Khafājī* (Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-Irshād, 1387/1968) [Reprint: Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1998], 17 (he repeats the arguments which he makes in the introduction to the *Dīwān* of Laylā); Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), vol. 2: 398–399 (some time in the period 41–49/661–669 or 56–57/676–677, based on *al-Aghānī*; he also mentions the possibility of Tawba dying during the reign of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, 64–65/683–685, based on *Simṭ al-Laʾālī*); ʿAfīf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Muʿjam al-Shuʿarāʾ min al-ʿAṣr al-Jāhilī ḥattā Nihāyat al-ʿAṣr al-Umawī: Muʿjam Biblyūghrāfī Yuʿarrif bil-Shuʿarāʾ wa-Marājiʿ Dirāsatihim* (Beirut: Dār al-Manāhil lil-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 1417/1996), 45 (no. 230) (his actual dates are: between 41–49, 56–57, or 64–65; he is thus following Sezgin); Dana al-Sajdi, "Trespassing the Male Domain: The *Qaṣīdah* of Laylā al-Akhyaliyyah," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 31, no. 2 (2000): 124 (gives the exact date of death as 55/674); Anṭwān al-Qawwāl, *Sharḥ Dīwānay Laylā al-Akhyaliyya wa-Tawba ibn al-Ḥumayyir wa-Qiṣṣat Ḥubbihimā* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, 2003), 12–14 (he accepts al-ʿAṭiyya's date of ca. 55/675); Jihād Ṣāliḥ, *ʿĀshiqat al-ʿArab Laylā al-Akhyaliyya* ([Ramallah]: al-Markaz al-Filasṭīnī lil-Dirāsāt wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Iʿlām, 2005) (Silsilat al-Dirāsāt wa-l-Abḥāth al-Adabiyya 1), 58 and 86, note 18 (between the years 57–60; the author discusses the dating on pp. 56–58); Dana Sajdi, "Revisiting Layla al-Akhyaliya's Trespass," in *Transforming Loss into Beauty: Essays on Arabic Literature and Culture in Honor of Magda Al-Nowaihi*, ed. Marlé Hammond and Dana Sajdi (Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2008), 187 (the death date is given as 674) [The article is reprinted in *Early Islamic Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Variorum, 2009) (The Formation of the Classical Islamic World 37), 157–199]; Mahā Mubayyiḍīn, *al-Wāliha al-Ḥarrā: Laylā al-Akhyaliyya Shāʿirat al-ʿAṣr al-Umawī* (Amman: al-Ahliyya, 2011) (Dirāsāt), 28 (Tawba died in 55) and 32–33 (he died in 55 or a little later; the author discusses the dating on pp. 32–33). As far as I can tell, the first modern scholar to propose that Tawba died during the reign of Muʿāwiya was Carlo Nallino (1872–1938) in his *Tārīkh al-Ādāb al-ʿArabiyya min al-Jāhiliyya ḥattā ʿAṣr Banī Umayya: Naṣṣ al-Muḥāḍarāt allatī Alqāhā bil-Jāmiʿa al-Miṣriyya fī Sanat 1910–1911*, 2nd ṭabʿa (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1970), 137 ("fī muddat khilāfat Muʿāwiya"). Nallino does not cite a particular reference for his dating, but his sources for the verses of Tawba which he cites are: *al-Aghānī*, the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, *al-Shiʿr wa-l-Shuʿarāʾ* of Ibn Qutayba, and *al-Maḥāsin wa-l-Aḍdād* attributed to al-Jāḥiẓ. Since *al-Aghānī* is the source which provides

addition, one scholar gives the date as 70.[5] It has to be remarked as well that quite a number of scholars give biographical accounts without citing any date or approximate time period for Tawba's death at all.[6]

A similar discrepancy amongst modern authors is also found in the death date given for Laylā: some scholars provide no chronological framework for her death;[7] others are satisfied with providing an approximate period for the years in which she was active;[8] some have placed her death in

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the greatest amount of detail in narrating the death of Tawba, it seems most likely that it was the source for his dating.

5 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī in a footnote to his edition of *Simṭ al-Laʾālī*. See al-Bakrī, Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 487/1094), *Simṭ al-Laʾālī: al-Laʾālī fī Sharḥ Amālī al-Qālī*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Lajnat al-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Nashr, 1354/1936), vol. 1: 120, note 2.

6 Jirjī Zaydān (1861–1914), *Kitāb Tārīkh Ādāb al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya*, 2nd ṭabʿa (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Hilāl, 1924) [First published in 1911–1914 by the same publisher], vol. 1: 302–303 (he refers the reader to *al-Aghānī* for an account of Tawba's death); Régis Blachère (1900–1973), *Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XVe siècle de J.-C.* (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1964), vol. 2: 287–288. El Achèche does not commit himself and summarizes all the varying opinions over Tawba's death date; see T. El Achèche, "Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden: Brill, 1999), vol. 10: 386. On the other hand, he labels the report found in *al-Aghānī* which places Tawba's death during the reign of Muʿāwiya as "a dubious anecdote." For additional references on Tawba, see Khaldūn al-Wahhābī, *Marājiʿ Tarājim al-Udabāʾ al-ʿArab* (Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat Shafīq, 1376/1957), vol. 2: 124–125 (no dates are given for Tawba).

7 Yūsuf ʿĪd in his collection *Dīwān al-Bākiyatayn: al-Khansāʾ, Laylā al-Akhyaliyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1413/1992), 203–204 (ʿĪd collects 25 pieces comprising 148 verses of Laylā's poetry on pp. 205–246; he claims that he had not found a separate *dīwān* for Laylā, but the ʿAṭiyya brothers had already published two editions of their collection by 1977; in a long footnote, note 4 on pp. 213–218, he cites the report according to which Tawba was killed while Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was *amīr* of Medina); ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Wāʾilī, *Mawsūʿat Shāʿirāt al-ʿArab min al-Jāhiliyya ḥattā Nihāyat al-Qarn al-ʿIshrīn* (Amman: Dār Usāma lil-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 2001), vol. 2: 510–512.

8 H.H. Bräu, "Laila 'l-Akhyalīya," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, [first edition] (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1936), vol. 3: 10 ("She must […] have flourished in the second half of the first century A.H."); Kaḥḥāla, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ*, vol. 4: 321–334; Ṣaqr, *Shāʿirāt al-ʿArab*, 345–371 (Laylā died a long time after Tawba: "mātat baʿdah bi-zaman ṭawīl"); Arthur Wormhoudt in the foreword to his translation *Diwan ʿAntara ibn Shaddad ibn Qurad al ʿAbs / Diwan Laila Akhyaliyya* ([Oskaloosa, IA]: William Penn College, 1974) (Arab Translation Series 10) ("She lived in the latter part of the seventh century A.D."; this is a translation of the *Dīwān* collected by the ʿAṭiyyas—it should be used with care); Aliki Barnstone and Willis Barnstone, eds., *A Book of Women Poets from Antiquity to Now* (New York: Schocken Books, 1980), 98 (late seventh century AD; the entry on Laylā is on pp. 98–99 and includes the translation of three short pieces by her); F. Gabrieli,

75,[9] others in 80[10] or circa 80,[11] while others have placed it circa 85;[12] still

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"Laylā al-Akhyaliyya," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), vol. 5: 710 ("the date [i.e., of Laylā's death] would be in the early years of the 8th century A.D. (end of the 1st century of the Muslim era)"). Gabrieli's contention that "the pinnacle of her career should be placed at around 650–60 A.D." cannot be sustained, as will be seen in the next few pages. Also, his claim that "as far as is known, [Laylā's elegies of Tawba] were never collected in a *dīwān*" is contradicted by a number of references given by the ʿAṭiyya brothers in their introduction to her collected poetry in which the existence of her *dīwān* is attested from the fourth to the tenth/tenth to the sixteenth centuries (Laylā al-Akhyaliyya, *Dīwān*, 37–38).

9 Muḥammad al-Tūnjī in the introduction to his edition of Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Hādī (840–909/1437–1503), *Nuzhat al-Musāmir fī Akhbār Laylā al-Akhyaliyya* (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1416/1995), 6 (Laylā died in 75/695, and Tawba was killed some time before her, "wa-qutil qablahā bi-zaman").

10 Zaydān, *Kitāb Tārīkh Ādāb al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya*, vol. 1: 302; Bashīr Yamūt, *Shāʿirāt al-ʿArab fī l-Jāhiliyya wa-l-Islām* (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Ahliyya, 1353/1934), 137 (a long time after Tawba's death, "baʿdah bi-zaman ṭawīl;" Laylā's entry is the longest in Yamūt's book covering fourteen pages [pp. 137–151], mainly consisting of poetry citations: two pieces, three verses of Tawba; 17 pieces, 131 verses by Laylā on Tawba; 11 pieces, 49 verses by Laylā on other topics); Muḥammad Aḥmad Jād al-Mawlā, Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, and ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī, *Qiṣaṣ al-ʿArab*, 4th ṭabʿa (Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya, 1382/1963) [First published: Cairo: Maṭbaʿat ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1939], vol. 4: 395, footnote 1; al-Ayyūbī, *Muʿjam al-Shuʿarāʾ*, 361; Ḍinnāwī in a comment in a footnote in Fawwāz, *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 2: 311, note 1 (the death date is given as 80/770 [*sic*]; Fawwāz herself in the relatively long biography of Laylā on pp. 311–325 does not provide any dates for her death); Wāḍiḥ al-Ṣamad in his collection *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1998), 10 (she died in 80 or between 80 and 85); Daʿbūl, *al-Rawḍa al-Ghannāʾ*, vol. 3: 82 (entry no. 2525).

11 Al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 5: 249; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-Muʾallifīn*, vol. 2: 680 (no. 11288); ʿAwwād, *Mushārakat al-ʿIrāq*, 72 (167 of article; entry no. 395); Jād al-Mawlā, Ibrāhīm, and al-Bajāwī, *Qiṣaṣ al-ʿArab*, vol. 2: 129, footnote 3 (later on the authors give her death date as 80; see footnote 10 directly above); Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, vol. 2: 1034 (soon after 700); Muḥammad al-Dībājī in his edition of al-Mubarrad, Muḥammad b. Yazīd (210–286/826–900), *Kitāb al-Taʿāzī wa-l-Marāthī* (Damascus: Majmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya, 1396/1976), 37, footnote 4; ʿAbd Muhannā, *Muʿjam al-Nisāʾ al-Shāʿirāt fī l-Jāhiliyya wa-l-Islām: Khuṭwa naḥwa Muʿjam Mutakāmil* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1410/1990), 221 (entry no. 277, pp. 220–230; on p. 222, the author states that she died a long time after Tawba: "mātat wa-lākin baʿdah bi-zaman ṭawīl." The only reference given by the author is Yamūt, *Shāʿirāt al-ʿArab*. Indeed, he seems to be reproducing Yamūt's dates); al-Jubūrī, *Muʿjam al-Shuʿarāʾ*, vol. 4: 244–245 (copied from al-Ziriklī); ʿAbbūd, *Kuthayyir wa-ʿAzza · Tawba wa-Laylā al-Akhyaliyya · ʿUrwa wa-ʿAfrāʾ*, 59.

12 Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe*, vol. 2: 292 (before 85/704); Khalīl Ibrāhīm al-ʿAṭiyya in the introduction to *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, 32 (85 or 86); Muḥammad Ḥusayn

others, based on a report (found in *al-Aghānī* and in other sources) in which she supposedly died on the way to, or from, Khurāsān after asking al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf's permission to join Qutayba b. Muslim there, place her death in or about the year 85,[13] 86,[14] or 89/708, because Qutayba was governor of Khurāsān in the period 85–96/704–715.[15] One scholar put her death specifically in the year

al-Aʿlamī al-Ḥāʾirī, *Tarājim Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ* (Beirut: Manshūrāt Muʾassasat al-Aʿlamī lil-Maṭbūʿāt, 1407/1987), vol. 2: 388 ("kānat fī ḥudūd sanat 85"); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Muʿjam al-Shuʿarāʾ*, 231 (no. 1575) ("rubbamā tuwuffiyat bi-Fāris baʿda sanat 85 H"); Tilman Seidensticker, "Laylā al-Akhyaliyya (d. *c.* 85/704)," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), vol. 2: 463 (Seidensticker states that a quarter of Laylā's poems collected by the al-ʿAṭiyya brothers are elegies on Tawba, but actually about a third of the pieces and half of the verses of poetry in the *dīwān* consists of elegies on Tawba); al-Sajdi, "Trespassing the Male Domain," 121 (ca. 85/704); al-Qawwāl, *Sharḥ Dīwānay Laylā al-Akhyaliyya wa-Tawba*, 10 (he suggests ca. 586 [*sic*]/705; read ca. 86/705); Marlé Hammond, "*Qasida*, *Marthiya*, and *Différance*," in *Transforming Loss into Beauty: Essays on Arabic Literature and Culture in Honor of Magda Al-Nowaihi*, ed. Marlé Hammond and Dana Sajdi (Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2008), 159 (date given as ca. 704; this article includes a translation and a comparative analysis of one of Laylā's elegies for Tawba); Sajdi, "Revisiting Layla al-Akhyaliya's Trespass," 186 (the date given is ca. 704). Jennifer Heath places the death of Laylā ca. 82/704. See Jennifer Heath, *The Scimitar and the Veil: Extraordinary Women of Islam* (Mahwah, NJ: HiddenSpring, 2004), 416 (the entry on Laylā, is on pp. 416–417, and includes a translation of two pieces by her). Since AH 82 covered most of AD 701, and since no other source gives this date, I assume that 82 is a typographical error for 85.

13 Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 2: 399–400 (shortly after 85/704, on the way to or from visiting Qutayba b. Muslim in Khurāsān); ʿUmar Fārūq al-Ṭabbāʿ in his collection *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya* (Beirut: Sharikat Dār al-Arqam ibn Abī l-Arqam lil-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, [1416/1995]), 10 (after reaching Qutayba in Khurāsān, perhaps after 85); Renate Jacobi, "Laylā al-Akhyaliyya—an Umayyad Feminist?" in *Poetry's Voice—Society's Norms: Forms of Interaction between Middle Eastern Writers and Their Societies: Dedicated to Angelika Neuwirth*, ed. Andreas Pflitsch and Barbara Winckler (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2006) (Literaturen im Kontext: arabisch—persisch—türkisch 24), 190 (she died in Iran after visiting Qutayba, who was the *amīr* there since 85/704) [Revised from an article with the same title that appeared in *Figurationen: Gender, Literatur, Kultur* no. 01/05 (2005): 79–94 (here, the Gregorian date alone is given on p. 81)].

14 Ṣāliḥ, *ʿĀshiqat al-ʿArab Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, 86, note 18, and 161 (on p. 86, the date is said to be exactly 86, while on p. 161 it is given as 86 or shortly thereafter; the author states that Qutayba governed Khurāsān between 86 and 96); Mubayyiḍīn, *al-Wāliha al-Ḥarrā*, 16 (Laylā died most likely between 86 and 96), 37 (between 86 and 96), 80 (between 86 and 96, but most probably in 86), and 207 (after 86) (the author discusses the dating on pp. 33–37).

15 Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 1: 61 (his dates are 89/707); Fuʾād

90.[16] Before discussing these varying opinions, let us first review the information provided by the Islamic literary sources.

What do the literary sources tell us about the death dates of both Laylā and Tawba? In *Tārīkh al-Islām*, al-Dhahabī places both of their deaths in the decade 71–80. Although he does not give a specific date for Laylā, he does state that Ibn al-Jawzī had placed Tawba's death at circa 76.[17] Actually, Ibn al-Jawzī places *both* of Laylā and Tawba's deaths in the year 75.[18] Ibn Taghrībirdī also places Tawba's death in the year 75, but seems to give no death date for Laylā.[19] Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī provides different dates in two of his works: in *ʿUyūn al-Tawārīkh* he places Laylā's death in 75,[20] but in *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* he states that Tawba was killed circa 80 and places Laylā's death in the 80s.[21] In this

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Afrām al-Bustānī, "al-Akhyaliyya (Laylā)," in *Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif*, ed. Fuʾād Afrām al-Bustānī (Beirut: [s.n.], 1969), vol. 8: 11–12; Rescher, *Abriss der arabischen Litteraturgeschichte*, vol. 1: 165 (no death date is given, but he states that Laylā died while returning from a visit to Qutayba, when he was governor of Khurāsān); Fawwāz, *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 2: 324 (similar to Rescher's report, but Fawwāz dismisses it); H.H. Bräu, "Laila ʾl-Akhyalīya," 10 (no death date is given, but he seems to accept the report in which she is said to have died on the way to Qutayba); Farrūkh, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-ʿArabī*, vol. 1: 515–518 (ca. 90/709). Gabrieli suggests that this report is "more plausible" than others concerning the date and place of Laylā's death, though he states that Qutayba at this time was campaigning in Khurāsān (as opposed to being its governor) (Gabrieli, "Laylā al-Akhyaliyya"). Abdullah al-Udhari places Laylā's death in 706 without giving reasons for his choice (al-Udhari, *Classical Poems by Arab Women*, 80). This is equivalent to the year 87.

16 Anonymous, "Laylā al-Akhyaliyya," 105.

17 Al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 748/1348), *Tārīkh al-Islām wa-Wafayāt al-Mashāhīr wa-l-Aʿlām*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1410/1990), events of the years 61–80 AH, pp. 373–374 (for Tawba) and 517–519 (for Laylā). Tadmurī, on p. 374, note 1, remarks that the reference is to Ibn al-Jawzī's *al-Muntaẓam fī Akhbār al-Mulūk wa-l-Umam*. The only chronological references in al-Dhahabī occur in Laylā's entry: her *hijāʾ* with al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī; a meeting with ʿAbd al-Malik; and a meeting with al-Ḥajjāj.

18 Ibn al-Jawzī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī (d. 597/1201), *al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-l-Umam*, ed. Muḥammad and Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1412/1992), vol. 6: 168–169 (for Tawba) and 172–178 (for Laylā).

19 Ibn Taghrībirdī, Abū l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf (813–874/1411–1470), *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira* (Cairo: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa wa-l-Irshād al-Qawmī and al-Muʾassasa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma lil-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr, 1383/1963) (Turāthunā), vol. 1: 193–194 (he mentions meetings of Laylā with ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Ḥajjāj on p. 194).

20 Quoted by Khalīl Ibrāhīm al-ʿAṭiyya in the introduction to *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, 30.

21 Al-Kutubī, Muḥammad b. Shākir (d. 764/1363), *Fawāt al-Wafayāt wa-l-Dhayl ʿalayhā*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1973–1974), vol. 1: 259–260 (for Tawba), vol. 3: 226–228

latter dating, he is followed by al-Ṣafadī.[22] Dā'ūd al-Anṭākī, on the other hand, places Tawba's death in 70 or 71 and Laylā's, "after him by many years," in 101.[23] In *Simṭ al-La'ālī*, al-Bakrī places Tawba's death during the reign of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.[24] A number of sources give a detailed account of the circumstances in which Tawba was killed, situating the events during the reign of Muʿāwiya, while Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was *amīr* over Medina.[25]

Although they are slight, the discrepancies between the sources and most modern scholarship are obvious. The most glaring is the date 85/704 given to the death of Tawba by thirteen scholars—especially when ten of these scholars give Laylā's death date as ca. 80/700. It is impossible for Laylā to have died *before* Tawba! How could she have composed all of those elegies devoted to him for which she is so renowned? Also, some time should be allowed for the composition of these relatively numerous elegies. It should be noted as well that no literary source gives a death date for Tawba beyond the year 80. So how did these scholars come to accept 85/704 as the death date for Tawba? I will suggest that the spread of this erroneous date is due to a typographical error.

The earliest source that I have found that gives the date as 85 is Louis Cheikho in his 1888 edition of the *Dīwān* of al-Khansā'. His exact date is: 85/695. This was copied exactly by Fawwāz, both the Hijrī and Gregorian parts. But here

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(for Laylā). The only chronological references in both entries are Laylā's meetings with al-Ḥajjāj.

22 Al-Ṣafadī, Khalīl b. Aybak (696–764/1297–1363), *Kitāb al-Wāfī bil-Wafayāt / Das biographische Lexikon des Ṣalāḥaddīn Ḫalīl ibn Aibak aṣ-Ṣafadī*, vol. 10, ed. Jacqueline Sublet and ʿAlī ʿAmāra (Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, 1400/1980) (Bibliotheca Islamica 6j), 436–438 (no. 4929) at p. 437 (for Tawba), and vol. 25, ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥujayrī (Berlin: In Kommission bei „Das arabische Buch", 1420/1999) (Bibliotheca Islamica 6y), 8–13 (no. 6) at p. 8 (for Laylā; almost the entire entry is devoted to a meeting with al-Ḥajjāj).

23 Al-Anṭākī, Dā'ūd b. ʿUmar (d. 1008/1599), *Tazyīn al-Aswāq bi-Tafṣīl Ashwāq al-ʿUshshāq*, ed. Muḥammad al-Tūnjī (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1413/1993), vol. 1: 261 (reports on Tawba and Laylā occupy pp. 255–267). Curiously enough, the editor places the death of Tawba in 85 and that of Laylā ca. 80 without commenting on the discrepancy between his dates and those of al-Anṭākī (ibid., 255, note with a star).

24 Al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-La'ālī*, vol. 2: 757 ("fī khilāfat Marwān"). In vol. 1, p. 120, al-Bakrī by mistake states that Tawba is a pre-Islamic poet, "shāʿir jāhilī." He does not give any death dates for Laylā, but gives two versions of her death at the grave of Tawba (see below). In addition, he briefly mentions a meeting of Laylā with al-Ḥajjāj (vol. 1: 280), her *hijā'* with al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī (vol. 1: 281–283), and adds comments to several verses of hers and of Tawba (vol. 1: 280–281, vol. 2: 757).

25 *Dīwān Tawba ibn al-Ḥumayyir al-Khafājī*, 17; *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, 31.

we have an error, since the year 85 does not correspond to the year 695 but rather to the year 704. Realizing this, later scholars (Brockelmann, al-Ziriklī, and Kaḥḥāla) corrected the date to 85/704. This date having been entered in standard works of reference, it spread in the writings of other authors. What I would like to suggest here is that what was corrected was the wrong part of Cheikho's dating. The error was not in the conversion from the Islamic to the Gregorian calendar, but rather an error in the Islamic date itself, which should have read 75 (٧٥) instead of 85 (٨٥). The year 75 does indeed correspond to the year 695, and it is also the date of death given to Tawba by two literary sources (Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī). Once we discard the year 85 from our list of dates, the remaining dates suggested by modern authors correspond with the datings provided by the sources.

For the date of death of Tawba, the literary sources seem to provide two options: (1) the decade 70–80, with a preference for the years 73–75; and (2) during the reign of Muʿāwiya while Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was *amīr* of Medina. The date 70/71 proposed by al-Anṭākī is uncorroborated, although it still falls within the decade 70–80 given by other authors. On the other hand, al-Bakrī's suggestion that Tawba was killed during the reign of Marwān should probably be linked to point (2). Since Marwān is a protagonist in the reports detailing Tawba's death, and since his official position at the time is often omitted in these reports, al-Bakrī probably assumed that it was during his reign that the events described in the reports took place. But Marwān had a short reign[26] during a very troubled period, and it seems unlikely that he had the time to indulge himself in minor tribal squabbles that form the context of Tawba's death.

The second alternative (a death for Tawba during the reign of Muʿāwiya) has been accepted by a number of scholars, as indicated above. The most detailed discussion of the point is given by Khalīl Ibrāhīm al-ʿAṭiyya in the introductions to the *Dīwān*s of Tawba and Laylā. Based on an account found in *al-Aghānī*, in which Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, acting as *amīr* of Medina, pays the blood-money for the death of Tawba (*ʿaqila Tawba—ay dafaʿa diyatah*), al-ʿAṭiyya argues that Tawba must have died during the reign of Muʿāwiya (d. 60/680), perhaps around 55 (= 675) or slightly later.[27] Anṭwān al-Qawwāl accepts this argument and the proposed death date, and finds additional support in a report in which Muʿāwiya asks Laylā about Tawba using the past tense, thus implying that Tawba had already died.[28]

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26 He ruled for less than a year from Muḥarram 65/July 684 to Ramaḍān 65/April 685.

27 *Dīwān Tawba ibn al-Ḥumayyir al-Khafājī*, 17; *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, 31.

28 Al-Qawwāl, *Sharḥ Dīwānay Laylā al-Akhyaliyya wa-Tawba ibn al-Ḥumayyir*, 14. He states:

The death of Tawba and/or its circumstances are reported in detail in a number of sources. Many of these sources present an abridged account of a report, the most complete version of which is to be found in *al-Aghānī*.[29] Although the author of the latter work provides a chain of transmission for the report, the other sources fail to mention the authorities for their versions. But since the wording and the arrangement of the material is almost identical, we are most likely dealing with the same report.[30] According to this report, the

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"nurajjiḥ hādhā l-tārīkh istināda ilā l-khabar alladhī yaqūl inna Muʿāwiya saʾala Laylā: wayḥaki, a-kamā yaqūl al-nās kāna Tawba? fiʿl "kāna" hunā yufīd anna Tawba lam yakun ḥayyan."

29 Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 356/976), *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa wa-l-Irshād al-Qawmī and al-Muʾassasa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma lil-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr, [n.d.]) (Turāthunā) [Reprinted from the Dār al-Kutub edition], vol. 11: 210–217. The authority for this report is Abū ʿUbayda (two variant reports, also on the authority of Abū ʿUbayda, are given on pp. 217–224; the entire section devoted to Laylā and Tawba covers pages 202–250). In his summary of *al-Aghānī*, Ibn Wāṣil al-Ḥamawī chose to include this particular report, though he omitted some material and rephrased some other. See Ibn Wāṣil al-Ḥamawī, Muḥammad b. Sālim (604–697/1208–1298), *Tajrīd al-Aghānī*, ed. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Miṣr, 1376/1956), vol. 3, pt. 1: 1288–1290. Other abridgments of the text of *al-Aghānī* can be found in the following sources: Ibn Manẓūr, Muḥammad b. Mukarram (630–711/1233–1311), *Mukhtār al-Aghānī fī l-Akhbār wa-l-Tahānī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrāj (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya lil-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjama, 1385/1965) (Turāthunā), vol. 2: 130–140; Muḥammad al-Khuḍarī (1872–1927), *Muhadhdhab al-Aghānī* ([Cairo]: [s.n.], [1925]), vol. 4: 232–242 (selections of passages and poetry with some rearrangement of the order, but without any additional information and preserving the wording of *al-Aghānī*); Anṭūn Ṣāliḥānī, *Rannāt al-Mathālith wa-l-Mathānī fī Riwāyāt al-Aghānī*, 3rd ṭabʿa (Beirut: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Kāthūlīkiyya, 1936) [First published in 1888 by the same press], vol. 2: 374–383 (extracts and selections of reports from *al-Aghānī* maintaining the original text); Karam al-Bustānī, *Laylā al-Akhyaliyya wa-Tawba · ʿĀʾisha bint Ṭalḥa · al-Ḥārith al-Makhzūmī* (Quṭūf al-Aghānī [7]) (Beirut: Maktabat Ṣādir, 1950), 5–69 (the same material as found in *al-Aghānī* with the omission of the *isnād*s and some information and anecdotes).

30 See, e.g., al-Maydānī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 518/1124), *Majmaʿ al-Amthāl*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-Shurakāh, [1978]), vol. 3: 115–116 (Proverb no. 3341: *al-layl akhfā lil-wayl*). No source is given for the report, nor is a date or approximate time period given for Tawba's death. There is no mention whatsoever of Laylā in this report. A report with the same wording is to be found in al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama (d. ca. 291/903), *al-Fākhir*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm al-Ṭaḥāwī (Cairo: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa wa-l-Irshād al-Qawmī, 1380/1960) (Turāthunā), 195–197 (Proverb no. 317: *al-layl akhfā lil-wayl*). Again, no sources are given. The report given here is longer, containing a description of a fighting scene involving Tawba, which was omitted by al-Maydānī. The same report, with a few minor additions, can be found in al-Bakrī, Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-

beginning of the conflict which eventually led to the death of Tawba occurred in the presence of a certain Hammām b. Muṭarrif al-ʿUqaylī, who was appointed by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam to collect the alms-tax of the Banū ʿĀmir (*kāna Marwān b. al-Ḥakam istaʿmalah ʿalā ṣadaqāt Banī ʿĀmir*). Most of the sources do not give any details as to the capacity of Marwān and the position which he held at that time, nor do they provide any other chronological markers. But *al-Aghānī* provides the additional information omitted by the others: at the time, Marwān was *amīr* of Medina during the reign of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (*kāna Marwān b. al-Ḥakam yawmaʾidh amīran ʿalā l-Madīna fī khilāfat Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān*).[31]

ʿAzīz (d. 487/1094), *Faṣl al-Maqāl fī Sharḥ Kitāb al-Amthāl*, ed. ʿAbd al-Majīd ʿĀbidīn and Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Khartoum: Jāmiʿat al-Kharṭūm, 1958) (Maṭbūʿāt Jāmiʿat al-Kharṭūm—Qism al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya 3), 61 (*bāb* 16). A yet longer report of this story is found in Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245/860), *Asmāʾ al-Mughtālīn min al-Ashrāf fī l-Jāhilīyya wa-l-Islām*, ed. Sayyid Kisrawī Ḥasan (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1422/2001), 256–262 (entry no. 116: Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir). No source is given. Where the material coincides, the wording is generally identical with that in the previous reports. But this version contains additional details about the fight involving Tawba and includes a continuation of the story with a description of his flight and eventual death at the hands of his pursuers.

31 Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vol. 11: 210–211. The following sources copy the reports of *al-Aghānī*, with the last three including the tidbit that Marwān was *amīr* of Medina under Muʿāwiya: "Akhbār Laylā wa-Tawba," edited in *Dīwān Tawba ibn al-Ḥumayyir al-Khafājī*, 69–85 (= *al-Aghānī*, vol. 11: 210–217) (There is no source given for the report, and the work is anonymous, although the manuscript itself is datable to the sixth or seventh century/twelfth or thirteenth century. The wording seems to be that of the report found in *al-Aghānī*, but, although Marwān b. al-Ḥakam's involvement in the episode is mentioned twice, curiously his official position is omitted); Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtār al-Aghānī*, vol. 2: 130–136 (on p. 136 we are told that Marwān took care of the blood-money involved [*kāfaʾa bayn al-damayn*]); Ibn al-Mibrad, *Nuzhat al-Musāmir fī Akhbār Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, 30–43 (= *al-Aghānī*, vol. 11: 210–224) (This work is actually an untitled chapter [*faṣl*] at the end of Ibn al-Mibrad's work, *Nuzhat al-Musāmir fī Akhbār Majnūn Banī ʿĀmir*. The present title of the book was created by the editor, who had not recognized that the book is actually a chapter from a larger work. About 80 percent of this work is taken from *al-Aghānī* in the same order as it is presented there. Only slight variations appear in the wording); Ibn Ṭūlūn, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣāliḥī (880–953/1473–1546), *Basṭ Sāmiʿ al-Musāmir fī Akhbār Majnūn Banī ʿĀmir, wa-bi-Ākhirih Akhbār Laylā al-Akhyaliyya wa-Tawba, wa-Akhbār Qays ibn Dharīḥ wa-Lubnā*, ed. ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl al-Ṣaʿīdī (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qāhira, 1383/1964), 106–146 (90 percent of this work is a reproduction of *Nuzhat al-Musāmir fī Akhbār Majnūn Banī ʿĀmir*, by Ibn al-Mibrad, one of the teachers of Ibn Ṭūlūn. The author describes his work as being a commentary [*taʿlīq*], but, actually, this book only adds a few extra reports and verses of poetry to the treatise by Ibn al-Mibrad. The order of the material and the wording are identical in both works. Ibn Ṭūlūn cites Ibn al-Mibrad in a number of his

The death dates accepted by the modern scholars consulted are summarized in Table 1 below which is arranged chronologically according to the date of publication.[32]

TABLE 1 *The death dates of Tawba and Laylā according to modern scholars*

Modern author	**Tawba's death date AH/AD**	**Laylā's death date AH/AD**
Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1882)	ca. 80	–
Louis Cheikho in al-Khansā', *Anīs al-Julasā' fī Dīwān al-Khansā'* (1888)	85/695 [*sic*]	–
Zaynab bt. ʿAlī Fawwāz (first published in 1894–1895) (for Tawba); commentary of Muḥammad Amīn Ḍinnāwī (1420/1999) (for Laylā)	85/695 [*sic*]	80/770 [*sic*]
Carl Brockelmann (1898)	85/704	89/707
Anonymous (1317/1899)	85	90
Carlo Nallino [Originally in a lecture delivered in 1910–1911]	during the reign of Muʿāwiya	–
Jirjī Zaydān (1911–1914)	–	80
Oskar Rescher (1925)	during Muʿāwiya's reign	while Qutayba b. Muslim was *amīr* of Khurāsān
Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī (1927–1928)	85/704	ca. 80/700
Bashīr Yamūt (1353/1934)	a long time before Laylā's death	80
Maḥmūd Muṣṭafā (1354/1935)	ca. 80	–
H.H. Bräu (1936)	–	flourished in the second half of the first century
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī in a note in al-Bakrī's *Simṭ al-La'ālī* (1354/1936)	70	–

isnāds, but never claims to be copying from his teacher's book. The section on Laylā al-Akhyaliyya and Tawba is identical to the material found in Ibn al-Mibrad's work, with slight variations in wording).

32 All dates, both Hijrī and Gregorian, are given exactly as presented by the authors. Complete bibliographic references have been presented in the above footnotes and are also to be found in the bibliography at the end of the article.

TABLE 1 *The death dates of Tawba and Laylā according to modern scholars* (cont.)

Modern author	Tawba's death date AH/AD	Laylā's death date AH/AD
Muḥammad Aḥmad Jād al-Mawlā, Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, and ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī (1939)	–	ca. 80 and 80
ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla (1940)	ca. 80	–
ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla (1957–1961)	85/704	ca. 80/700
Régis Blachère (1964)	–	before 85/704
ʿUmar Farrūkh (1385/1965)	80/699	ca. 90/709
Khalīl Ibrāhīm al-ʿAṭiyya in the introduction to *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya* (1386/1967)	ca. 55 or slightly later	85 or 86
ʿAbd al-Badīʿ Ṣaqr (1387/1967)	ca. 80	a long time after Tawba
Khalīl Ibrāhīm al-ʿAṭiyya in the introduction to *Dīwān Tawba ibn al-Ḥumayyir al-Khafājī* (1387/1968)	55 or slightly later	–
Kūrkīs ʿAwwād (1388/1969)[33]	85/704	ca. 80/700
Fuʾād Afrām al-Bustānī (1969)	–	ca. 89/708
Bayard Dodge in the biographical index in *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm* (1970)	704	soon after 700
Arthur Wormhoudt in the foreword to *Diwan ʿAntara ibn Shaddad ibn Qurad al ʿAbs / Diwan Laila Akhyaliyya* (1974)	–	she lived in the latter part of the seventh century
Fuat Sezgin (1975)	41–49 /661–669 or 56–57 /676–677; or 64–65 /683–685[34]	shortly after 85/704
Muḥammad al-Dībājī in his edition of al-Mubarrad, *Kitāb al-Taʿāzī wa-l-Marāthī* (1396/1976)	–	ca. 80
Yāsīn al-Ayyūbī (1980)	85/704	80/700

33 This work is a list of modern publications (both monographs and editions) printed in Iraq up to 1968. It is curious that, although the *Dīwān*s of the two poets edited by the ʿAṭiyya brothers are listed by ʿAwwād, the dates for the deaths of Tawba and Laylā that they suggest are disregarded by him.

34 In other words, while Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was governor of Medina during the reign of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (a position that he held for two separate periods), or during Marwān's reign. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was *amīr* of Medina twice under Muʿāwiya: in 41–48/661–668 and in 54–57/674–677. He reigned for six or ten months in 64–65/684–685. See C.E. Bosworth, "Marwān I b. al-Ḥakam," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), vol. 6: 621–623.

Modern author	Tawba's death date AH/AD	Laylā's death date AH/AD
Aliki and Willis Barnstone (1980)	–	late seventh century
F. Gabrieli (1986)	–	end of first century / early years of eighth century
Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Aʿlamī al-Ḥāʾirī (1407/1987)	–	ca. 85
ʿAbd Muhannā (1410/1990)	a long time before Laylā's death	ca. 80
Yūsuf ʿĪd in *Dīwān al-Bākiyatayn* (1413/1992)	– (see note)[35]	–
Muḥammad al-Tūnjī in al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-Aswāq bi-Tafṣīl Ashwāq al-ʿUshshāq* (1413/1993)	85	ca. 80
ʿUmar Fārūq al-Ṭabbāʿ [1416/1995]	–	perhaps after 85
Muḥammad al-Tūnjī in the introduction to Ibn al-Mibrad, *Nuzhat al-Musāmir fī Akhbār Laylā al-Akhyaliyya* (1416/1995)	before Laylā by some time	75/695
ʿAfīf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1417/1996)	between 41–49, 56–57, or 64–65	ca. 85
Wāḍiḥ al-Ṣamad (1998)	–	80 or between 80 and 85
Tilman Seidensticker (1998)	–	ca. 85/704
T. El Achèche (1999)	–	–
Abdullah al-Udhari (1999)	699	706
Dana al-Sajdi (2000)	55/674	ca. 85/704
ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Wāʾilī (2001)	–	–
Kāmil Salmān al-Jubūrī (1424/2003)	85/704	ca. 80/700
Anṭwān al-Qawwāl (2003)	ca. 55/675	ca. 586/705 [*sic*] (read: 86/705)
Jennifer Heath (2004)	–	ca. 82/704 [*sic*]
Renate Jacobi (2005, 2006)	–	85/704 or afterwards
Jihād Ṣāliḥ (2005)	57–60	86 (or shortly after)
Shādī ʿAbbūd (2007)[36]	85/704	ca. 80/ca. 700
Marlé Hammond (2008)	–	ca. 704
Dana Sajdi (2008)	674	ca. 704

35 ʿĪd does not give any death dates either for Tawba or Laylā, but in a long footnote (note 4 on pp. 213–218) he cites the account in which it is narrated that Tawba was killed while Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was *amīr* of Medina.

36 Quoting the entire entries in al-Ziriklī's *al-Aʿlām*.

TABLE 1 *The death dates of Tawba and Laylā according to modern scholars* (cont.)

Modern author	Tawba's death date AH/AD	Laylā's death date AH/AD
Mahā Mubayyiḍīn (2011)	55, or a little later	between 86 and 96, most probably 86
Riḍwān Daʿbūl (1433/2012)	85/704	80/700

Table 2 below summarizes the death dates of Tawba and Laylā as given in the Islamic literary sources, arranged according to the death dates of the authors—only those sources that give a specific date or specific time period are listed.

TABLE 2 *The death dates of Tawba and Laylā according to Islamic sources*

Author	Tawba's death date AH	Laylā's death date AH
Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (d. 356/976), *Kitāb al-Aghānī*	while Marwān was *amīr* of Medina during the reign of Muʿāwiya	–
al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), *Simṭ al-Laʾālī*	during the reign of Marwān (*fī khilāfat Marwān*)	–
Anonymous, "Akhbār Laylā wa-Tawba" (6th or 7th centuries/12th–13th centuries)	during the lifetime of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam	–
Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201), *al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-l-Umam*	75	75
Ibn Wāṣil al-Ḥamawī (604–697/1208–1298), *Tajrīd al-Aghānī*	while Marwān was in charge of Medina for Muʿāwiya[37]	–
Ibn Manẓūr (630–711/1233–1311), *Mukhtār al-Aghānī fī l-Akhbār wa-l-Tahānī*	while Marwān was *amīr* of Medina during the reign of Muʿāwiya	–
al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), *Tārīkh al-Islām wa-Wafayāt al-Mashāhīr wa-l-Aʿlām*	71–80	71–80
al-Kutubī (d. 764/1363), *Fawāt al-Wafayāt wa-l-Dhayl ʿalayhā*	ca. 80	80s
al-Kutubī, *ʿUyūn al-Tawārīkh*	–	75

37 "Wa-huwa [i.e., Marwān b. al-Ḥakam] yatawallā l-Madīna li-Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān."

Author	Tawba's death date AH	Laylā's death date AH
al-Ṣafadī (696–764/1297–1363), *Kitāb al-Wāfī bil-Wafayāt*	ca. 80	80s
Ibn Taghrībirdī (813–874/1411–1470), *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*	75	–
Ibn al-Mibrad (840–909/1437–1503), *Nuzhat al-Musāmir fī Akhbār Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*	while Marwān was *amīr* of Medina during the reign of Muʿāwiya	–
Ibn Ṭūlūn (880–953/1473–1546), *Basṭ Sāmiʿ al-Musāmir fī Akhbār Majnūn Banī ʿĀmir*	while Marwān was *amīr* of Medina during the reign of Muʿāwiya	–
al-Anṭākī (d. 1008/1599), *Tazyīn al-Aswāq bi-Tafṣīl Ashwāq al-ʿUshshāq*	70 or 71	101

What should we make of all these dates? It is probable that the Muslim scholars who placed Tawba's death date close to that of Laylā's did so because they did not have any other historical report regarding his death that could help them narrow it down any further. They had an idea of the period of Laylā's activity since a number of reports linked her with ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 65–86/685–705) and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, and so they put Tawba's death in the same time period. However, as mentioned above, this is a quite unrealistic dating. Other scholars associated Tawba's death with the governorship of Marwān over Medina and this has been accepted by a number of modern scholars as well. This dating has the benefit of putting some distance between the dates of Tawba and Laylā and of allowing time for her to compose her elegies on Tawba and defend her relationship before ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Ḥajjāj. The dating is plausible; however, it is not altogether certain. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam appears in the stories of a number of other famous early Muslim lovers (in particular those of Qays b. Dharīḥ and Lubnā and of Qays b. al-Mulawwiḥ and Laylā[38]) that are found, just like the story of Tawba's death, in *al-Aghānī*. The presence of Marwān in the story of Laylā and Tawba may thus be a result of confusion in the reporting of tales related to early Islamic lovers.

As for Laylā's death, no exact date can be presented with certainty. Those scholars who have posited a date between 85 and 90 have done so on the basis of reports that place her death on the way to or from Khurāsān while on a

38 This is discussed below in Section 4, Other Salient Events in the Lives of Laylā and Tawba.

visit to Qutayba b. Muslim who was *amīr* of the province between the years 85–96/704–715. Since there are a number of reports that show Laylā interacting with al-Ḥajjāj and with ʿAbd al-Malik, but none with the latter's successor, the year 85 has been preferred by scholars (because ʿAbd al-Malik died in 86). However, the reports of the visit to Qutayba themselves do not give a specific date and they contradict each other in a number of details. In addition, some reports have Laylā visiting Khurāsān for a different reason and at an earlier time.[39] Furthermore, there are reports that give completely different accounts about how and where Laylā died. Hence, it is not possible to provide a precise date for Laylā's death, which is why most Muslim scholars either avoided doing so or resorted to placing her death within the span of a decade.

2 Laylā's *Madīḥ* of Ibn Marwān

Did our poets have any direct contact with Marwān b. al-Ḥakam? No such information exists for Tawba. However, a number of scholars have identified two poems composed by Laylā as being panegyrics praising Marwān.[40] One of these is a *qaṣīda bāʾiyya* which seems to be the only surviving polythematic ode written by a female poet in Arabic.[41] The other is a short piece reportedly recited by Laylā at the gate of Marwān in Medina when she was brought there after the Banū Jaʿda complained about her *hijāʾ* against them. There is, however, one problem; in both poems, the addressee is in fact referred to as Ibn Marwān, which means that the poems are praising the son of Marwān, not Marwān himself.[42] Curiously, some scholars have taken the name in the ode to be a reference to Marwān (ignoring the "Ibn"), while accepting that its occurrence in the short piece is indeed a reference to ʿAbd al-Malik.[43] Other

39 See below, Section 3, The *Hijāʾ* Exchange between Laylā al-Akhyaliyya and al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī.

40 *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, collected by al-ʿAṭiyya brothers, 53–58 (Poem no. 4) and 87–88 (Poem no. 24).

41 Al-Sajdi, "Trespassing the Male Domain," 122.

42 *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, collected by al-ʿAṭiyya brothers, 57 (verse 26 of 35: idhā mā unīkhat bi-Ibni Marwāna nāqatī / fa-laysa ʿalayhā lil-habānīqi markabī) and 87 (verse 1 of 8: unīkhat ladā bābi bni Marwāna nāqatī / thalāthan lahā ʿinda l-nitāji ṣarīfu).

43 *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, collected by al-ʿAṭiyya brothers, 53 and 87; *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, collected by al-Ṭabbāʿ, 56 (poem no. 1: "bi-Ibni Marwāna: ay bi-bāb Marwān b. al-Ḥakam wa-huwa l-mamdūḥ") and 89 (poem no. 29); *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, collected by al-Ṣamad, 28 (poem no. 5) and 63–64 (poem no. 22).

scholars have puzzled over the matter and have either declared their inability to find a solution to the discrepancy or have made contradictory statements in identifying the praised ruler.[44] Still others, particularly Dana al-Sajdi, have straightforwardly accepted the identification of Ibn Marwān in the ode with ʿAbd al-Malik, rejecting the introductory few lines that precede the ode in the anthologies or poetry collections.[45] Considering the wording found in the ode and the number of reports linking Laylā with ʿAbd al-Malik and his court, it seems reasonable to accept that he was the object of the ode's praise.

One source describes a meeting of Laylā with Marwān, although no indication is given of when this was or what position he held at the time. He asks her immediately about Tawba and she defends him and recites some verses of poetry. Hearing this, Marwān sends to the tribe of ʿUqayl warning them that if he hears from them something he dislikes about Tawba, he will crucify them on palm trees.[46] Except for the last threat, this type of exchange is common in the sources, however, Laylā's interlocutor is almost always ʿAbd al-Malik or

44 In her article "Laylā al-Akhyaliyya—an Umayyad Feminist?" first published in 2005, Jacobi identified the addressee of the ode as Marwān (pp. 85–87, 89). But when she republished a revised version of the article the following year (with the same title), she pointed out that the ode and the other piece actually address Ibn Marwān and admitted that she could offer no solution to the problem (p. 197). Mubayyiḍīn is also aware of the issue. She argues that the short piece may have been addressed to ʿAbd al-Malik while Marwān was *wālī* over Medina for Muʿāwiya. As for the ode, she initially states that she is not able to definitively decide on the identity of the addressee. As a result, she concludes that there are no existing poems by Laylā in praise of ʿAbd al-Malik that were composed during his reign (although she could have praised him in his youth in the piece said to have been recited for his father) (Mubayyiḍīn, *al-Wāliha al-Ḥarrā*, 66–70). However, later in the book she accepts both the ode and short piece as being addressed to ʿAbd al-Malik with the ode having been composed during the latter's reign (ibid., 143, 149–153, 164, 168, 171–172, and 174–180). No explanation is given for these differing attributions.

45 Al-Sajdi, "Trespassing the Male Domain," especially pp. 121–122 (note 3), 123, and 136. In the ode itself there appear the terms *amīruhā* and *dār al-amīr* in lines 28 and 33 (pp. 57 and 58 of al-ʿAṭiyya's collection). However, these should most probably be read as abbreviations of the longer title *amīr al-muʾminīn*. The article by al-Sajdi gives an English translation and a detailed analysis of the ode.

46 Al-Ḥuṣrī, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Qayrawānī (d. 413/1022), *Zahr al-Ādāb wa-Thamar al-Albāb*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī, 2nd ṭabʿa ([Cairo]: ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-Shurakāh, 1389/1969), vol. 2: 934. In another version of this report, the link with the reign of Muʿāwiya is made explicit, since Laylā is said to have addressed Marwān as *al-amīr* (*Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, collected by al-ʿAṭiyya brothers, 62, the report associated with poem no. 9).

al-Ḥajjāj, and occasionally it is Muʿāwiya.[47] It remains doubtful whether Laylā actually ever met Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

3 The *Hijāʾ* Exchange between Laylā al-Akhyaliyya and al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī

One of the renowned events in Laylā's career is the exchange of invectives which she had with the poet al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī.[48] The poetical exchange actually began between al-Nābigha and Laylā's husband, Sawwār b. Awfā al-Qushayrī, but Laylā was obliged to join in to defend her husband when he was unable to match his opponent in poetical skill.[49] By all accounts, Laylā is considered to have come out victorious and to have shamed al-Nābigha. This verbal exchange

47 The same source has anecdotes in which the interlocutors are ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Ḥajjāj, as well as one with Muʿāwiya. See al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Ādāb*, vol. 2: 932–933 and 935–939.

48 Virtually nothing is known of al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī before he took part in the deputation of the Banū Jaʿda to the Prophet probably in 9/630. During the period of the conquests, he migrated with his tribe to al-Baṣra where he had contests in *hijāʾ* with Aws b. Maghrāʾ and al-Akhṭal ca. 40/660. He fought on ʿAlī's side at al-Nukhayla and Ṣiffīn, for which he had to suffer under Muʿāwiya's reign, as Muʿāwiya had his property in Medina confiscated for a while. The poet was then in Iṣfahān where he had *hijāʾ* exchanges with Sawwār b. Awfā and his wife Laylā al-Akhyaliyya. Arazi seems to place this event between the years 40/660 and 63/683. Al-Nābigha gave his allegiance reluctantly to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr some time between 63/683 and 65/685. See Maria Nallino, "An-Nābiġah al-Ǧaʿdī e le sue poesie," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 14, fasc. 2 (1933): 135–190; 14, fasc. 4 (1934): 380–432; Khalīl Ibrāhīm Abū Dhiyāb, *al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī: Ḥayātuh wa-Shiʿruh* (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, and Beirut: al-Manāra, 1407/1987), 136–155; A. Arazi, "al-Nābigha al-Ḏjaʿdī," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), vol. 7: 842–843; James E. Montgomery, "al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī (d. *c.* 63/683)," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), vol. 2: 571.

49 The verses composed by al-Nābigha against Laylā can be found in: *Le poesie di an-Nābiġah al-Ǧaʿdī*, ed. and trans. Maria Nallino (Rome: Dott. Giovanni Bardi editore, 1953) (Università di Roma: Studi orientali pubblicati a cura della Scuola orientale 2), 94–95 and 99–100, poem VII (b), 6 verses; *Shiʿr al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Rabāḥ (Damascus: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1384/1964), 123–127; *Dīwān al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī*, ed. by Wāḍiḥ al-Ṣamad (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1998), 133–135 (poem no. 58). For a study of the poetry involved, see Abū Dhiyāb, *al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī*, 211–220 and 381 (concentrating on al-Nābigha's verses); Nallino "An-Nābiġah al-Ǧaʿdī e le sue poesie," 401–404 (translation of relevant passages from *al-Aghānī* and al-Baghdādī's *Khizānat al-Adab* of his *hijāʾ* with Laylā). For the verses of Laylā against al-Nābigha, see *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, collected by al-ʿAṭiyyas, 100–103 (poems nos. 33–34), while on the poetical confrontation itself see ibid., 25–28.

is said to have occurred as a result of the larger conflict between the Banū Jaʿda and the Banū Qushayr which arose in Iṣfahān.[50] A political motivation can also be surmised by the fact that Laylā and her tribe were staunchly pro-Umayyad, while al-Nābigha was a supporter of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (r. 35–40/656–661).[51] When this *hijāʾ* exchange took place is difficult to pinpoint with any accuracy.

The exact date of death of al-Nābigha is also not known; scholars have placed it: ca. 63/683 in Iṣfahān, where the poet was exiled by Muʿāwiya;[52] ca. 65/684–685 in Iṣfahān;[53] between the years 65 and 70/684–690;[54] and ca. 79/698–699 in Khurāsān.[55] There are a number of reports in which Laylā is said to have asked permission from al-Ḥajjāj or ʿAbd al-Malik to seek out al-Nābigha and kill him.[56] Indeed, some reports have her follow her opponent from province

50 See Abū Dhiyāb, *al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī*, 89–90 and 148–149. The hatred of Laylā for al-Nābigha which supposedly arose because of this confrontation has been preserved in legendary reports.

51 Sajdi, "Revisiting Layla," 212–213: "Naturally, Layla's invectives were hurled at the enemies of her patrons [viz. the Umayyads], chief among whom were the 'counter-caliph,' ʿAbd Allah b. al-Zubayr (d. 692), and the Kufan rebel, ʿAbd al-Rahman b. al-Ashʿath (d. ca. 701). Even her famous round of flytings with al-Nabighah al-Jaʿdi, which was framed in the *akhbar* as a personal dispute, in fact had larger political implications. Two of al-Jaʿdi's panegyrics are dedicated to none other than ʿAli b. Abi Talib (d. 661) whose progeny and supporters constituted the strongest threat to Umayyad legitimacy, and the above-mentioned Ibn al-Zubayr, who proclaimed a counter-caliphate. In sum, Layla and al-Nabigha's respective political allegiances were not only at odds, but diametrically opposed, and it is in this context of political struggles that their poetic duels should be read. The declaration that Layla was the winner of her duels with al-Nabigha may simply be a later and retroactive judgment transposing on the poetic arena the final Umayyad victory in the political arena. […] Al-Jaʿdi, then, was not merely Layla's personal enemy, but a political enemy who contested Umayyad suzerainty."

52 Montgomery, "al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī," 571.

53 Abū Dhiyāb, *al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī*, 109.

54 Nallino, *Le poesie di an-Nābiġah al-Ǧaʿdī*, pp. ix–x.

55 Arazi, "al-Nābigha al-Ḏjaʿdī," 842–843 (the author states that the poet was still composing poetry under ʿAbd al-Malik); Mubayyiḍīn, *al-Wāliha al-Ḥarrā*, 35 (perhaps in 79).

56 See, for example, Ibn al-Mibrad, *Nuzhat al-Musāmir*, 20–21 (Laylā asks al-Ḥajjāj to hand over al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī to her; she ends up following him to al-Shām, then to Khurāsān, but dies on the way there). To Nallino, such reports seemed to be of a legendary nature. She concluded on the life of al-Nābigha: "[Dopo i rapporti con Ibn al-Zubayr] non esistono se non notizie evidentemente leggendarie, le quali trattano dell'odio di Laylà al-Aḫyaliyyah verso il poeta e mancano nell'*Aġānī* e nei testi più antichi" ("An-Nābiġah al-Ǧaʿdī e le sue poesie," 391–392). Mubayyiḍīn considers the story to be an exaggeration. She argues that Laylā did visit Qutayba, but not to seek al-Nābigha (*al-Wāliha al-Ḥarrā*, 35).

to province all the way to Khurāsān, during which she is sometimes reported to have died on the way. These could have been confused with reports of her visiting Qutayba in that province around the time of her death. Thus, on the basis of the available reports, the earliest time for the exchanges between Laylā and al-Nābigha could have been during the reign of Muʿāwiya and the latest they could have occurred was during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik. It is also possible that the hostility between Laylā and al-Nābigha persisted throughout the time period that spanned the reigns of the two sovereigns.

4 Other Salient Events in the Lives of Laylā and Tawba

The fame of Laylā and Tawba rests on their love relationship (which was never fulfilled because Laylā's father rejected the match and married his daughter off to another man) and to the laments which Laylā composed after Tawba was killed (laments which were compared to those of al-Khansāʾ).[57] In fact, in many literary sources, if they cite anything about the two, they mention this relationship and almost nothing else.[58] Some sources will cite exclusively reports in which Laylā is asked about her relationship with Tawba by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf or

57 An independent work devoted to their lives is already attested in the third/ninth century: al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256/870) is said to have written a book entitled *Akhbār Tawba wa-Laylā*. See Ibn al-Nadīm, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (d. ca. 385/995), *al-Fihrist*, ed. Gustav Flügel (Beirut: Maktabat Khayyāṭ, [1966]) (Rawāʾiʿ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī 1) [Reprint of: Leipzig: F.C.W. Vogel, 1871–1872], vol. 1: 111 (see also p. 306); Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (574–626/1179–1229), *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ: Irshād al-Arīb ilā Maʿrifat al-Adīb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1993), vol. 3: 1326 (no. 497).

58 For example: al-Buḥturī, al-Walīd b. ʿUbayd (206–284/821–897), *Kitāb al-Ḥamāsa*, ed. Louis Cheikho (1859–1927) (Beirut: [Imprimerie catholique], 1910), 269–271 (cites five pieces comprising 40 verses all laments of Tawba. No anecdotal reports or background information is provided); al-Mubarrad, *Kitāb al-Taʿāzī wa-l-Marāthī*, 37 and 73–78 (laments over Tawba; an incident between them; and her visit to his grave); Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad (d. 294/909), *al-Zahra*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrāʾī, 2nd ṭabʿa (al-Zarqāʾ, Jordan: Maktabat al-Manār, 1406/1986), vol. 1: 229, 231, and 475 (verses by Tawba for Laylā; verses by Laylā lamenting Tawba's death; and a meeting between Laylā and al-Ḥajjāj in which he asks about an incident that occurred to Laylā near the grave of Tawba); al-Zajjājī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq (d. ca. 337/950), *al-Amālī fī l-Mushkilāt al-Qurʾāniyya wa-l-Ḥikam wa-l-Aḥādīth al-Nabawiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, [n.d.]) [Reprint of: Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Maḥmūdiyya al-Tijāriyya, 1354/1935], 49–50 (Tawba's death and a lament by Laylā); al-Khālidī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Hāshim (d. 380/990) and Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Hāshim al-Khālidī (fourth/tenth century), *Kitāb al-Ashbāh wa-l-Naẓāʾir min Ashʿār al-Mutaqaddimīn wa-l-Jāhiliyya wa-l-Mukhaḍramīn*, ed. al-Sayyid Muḥammad Yūsuf (Cairo:

Maṭbaʿat Lajnat al-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Nashr, 1958 and 1965), vol. 2: 167, 245, 325–326 (laments of Laylā for Tawba [23 verses], and seven verses of Tawba on Laylā. In addition, in vol. 1, on pp. 43–44, 9 verses by Laylā praising Āl Muṭarrif; and in vol. 2, on p. 1, a verse by Laylā without context, but which could, I believe, refer to Tawba); al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Ādāb*, vol. 2: 927–928 and 931–939 (comparison of the merits of Laylā and al-Khansāʾ; poem lamenting Tawba; meeting with Muʿāwiya, praising him, answering him on the merits of Arabian tribes, and defending Tawba; defending Tawba to Marwān; exchanges with al-Ḥajjāj praising him and talking about Tawba; exchange with ʿAbd al-Malik about Tawba); al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn (355–436/967–1044), *Amālī l-Murtaḍā: Ghurar al-Fawāʾid wa-Durar al-Qalāʾid*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya, 1373/1954), vol. 1: 124–125, 363–364 and vol. 2: 57, 118–119 (laments by Laylā for Tawba [14 verses], and three verses by Tawba on Laylā. In addition, in vol. 1, on p. 58, al-Farazdaq is said to have been envious of three verses composed by Laylā, and on p. 497 one verse of Laylāʾs is cited in praise of Āl Muṭarrif; and in vol. 2, on p. 19, two verses initially attributed to Laylā are eventually said to actually belong to Aʿshā Bāhila); Ibn al-Shajarī, Hibat Allāh b. ʿAlī (450–542/1058–1148), *Kitāb al-Ḥamāsa* (Hyderabad: Maṭbaʿat Majlis Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1345/[1926]), 84–85 (a lament of Laylā for Tawba); Ibn Maymūn, Muḥammad b. al-Mubārak (529–597/1135–1201), *Muntahā l-Ṭalab min Ashʿār al-ʿArab*, ed. Muḥammad Nabīl Ṭarīfī (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1999), vol. 1: 222–235 (poems no. 21–23, by Tawba on Laylā) and 236–254 (poem no. 24, said to be in praise of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, and nos. 25–26, *rithāʾ* of Tawba, all by Laylā. No anecdotal reports, background information, or commentary is provided); al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-Aswāq*, vol. 1: 255–267 (meeting with al-Ḥajjāj; meeting with ʿAbd al-Malik in which he asks Laylā about Tawba). In al-Baṣrī, Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Abī l-Faraj (d. 659/1260), *al-Ḥamāsa al-Baṣriyya*, ed. Mukhtār al-Dīn Aḥmad (Hyderabad: Maṭbaʿat Majlis Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1383/1964) (al-Silsila al-Jadīda min Maṭbūʿāt Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya 125), 24 out of 28 verses are laments for Tawba, vol. 1: 220–222 (laments), 12 and 198 (other).

Other sources that cite the poetry of Laylā and Tawba and anecdotal reports about them include: al-Anbārī, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (d. 304/917), in his *Sharḥ* of *Dīwān al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Muḥammad Nabīl Ṭarīfī (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1424/2003), vol. 1: 402, 433, 527 (citation of the same verse by Laylā in a *rithāʾ* of Tawba), and vol. 2: 96, 251, 371 (two verses by Laylā in praise of the Banū Muṭarrif; one verse in a *rithāʾ* of Tawba; and two verses in a *rithāʾ* of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān); al-ʿAynī, Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad (855–962/1361–1451), "Sharḥ al-Shawāhid al-Kubrā," on the margin of *Khizānat al-Adab wa-Lubb Lubāb Lisān al-ʿArab*, by ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿUmar al-Baghdādī (1030–1093/1621–1682) (Būlāq: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Mīriyya, 1299/1881), vol. 1: 569–571 (verses of Laylā against al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī with commentary), vol. 2: 47–50 (verses of Laylā against ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr with commentary), and vol. 4: 453–454 (verses of Tawba on Laylā) (al-ʿAynīʾs book is also known as *al-Maqāṣid al-Naḥwiyya*). See also Mehmet Zihni (1845–1913) [Muḥammad Dhihnī], *Kitāb Mashāhīr al-Nisāʾ* [Kitab-i Meşahir ün-nisa] ([Istanbul]: Dār al-Ṭibāʿa al-ʿĀmira, 1295/[1878]), vol. 2: 180–184 (anecdotes about the relationship of Laylā and Tawba; exchanges of Laylā with ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Ḥajjāj; citation of a number of verses by her, including from elegies of Tawba, praise of al-Ḥajjāj, and an elegy of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān).

ʿAbd al-Malik.[59] Meetings with al-Ḥajjāj are frequently attested for her.[60] Few are the sources which indicate meetings or dealings with Muʿāwiya,[61] and even

59 Ibn al-Jawzī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī (d. 597/1201), *Dhamm al-Hawā*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadītha, 1381/1962), 224 (*bāb* 31; ʿAbd al-Malik) and 427–433 (*bāb* 41; al-Ḥajjāj) (pp. 433–435, report of Laylā passing by Tawba's grave and three poems by Tawba about Laylā); Ibn Ẓāfir al-Azdī, ʿAlī (567–613/1171–1216), *Badāʾiʿ al-Badāʾih*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anjlū l-Miṣriyya, 1970) (ʿUyūn al-Adab), 29–30 (al-Ḥajjāj); Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtār al-Aghānī fī l-Akhbār wa-l-Tahānī*, ed. Ṭāhā al-Ḥājirī (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya lil-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjama, 1386/1966), vol. 6: 313–320 (reports about Laylā and Tawba; exchanges of Laylā with al-Ḥajjāj and ʿAbd al-Malik about Tawba; her praise of al-Ḥajjāj; her death on the way back from Qutayba is rejected in favor of her death at the grave of Tawba; lampoon of ʿAbd al-Malik); Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (691–751/1292–1350), *Akhbār al-Nisāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Majīd Ṭuʿma Ḥalabī (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifa, 1417/1997), 35–36 (*bāb* 2) (al-Ḥajjāj); idem, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn wa-Nuzhat al-Mushtāqīn*, ed. Ṣābir Yūsuf (Cairo: Dār al-Ṣafā and Maktabat al-Jāmiʿa, 1973), 332 (ʿAbd al-Malik) and 342 (no name given for interlocutor) (both reports are in *bāb* 23).

60 Al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā (d. 279/892), *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, 1957), vol. 2: 382 (report no. 781); Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (246–328/860–940), *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, ed. Mufīd Muḥammad Qumayḥa (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1404/1983), vol. 1: 273 and vol. 7: 4; al-Masʿūdī, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 345/956), *Les prairies d'or*, ed. and trans. Charles Barbier de Meynard (1826–1908) (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1869) (Collection d'ouvrages orientaux), vol. 5: 324–325 (the subject is Tawba's grave; ch. 95) and 389–390 (ch. 96); al-Qālī, Ismāʿīl b. al-Qāsim (288–356/901–967), *Kitāb al-Amālī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1416/1996), vol. 1: 86–90; al-Jarīrī, Abū l-Faraj Muʿāfā b. Zakariyyā al-Nahrawānī (303–390/915–1000), *al-Jalīs al-Ṣāliḥ al-Kāfī wa-l-Anīs al-Nāṣiḥ al-Shāfī*, ed. Muḥammad Mursī al-Khūlī (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1981), vol. 1: 331–346 (the report on pp. 331–337 is the same as that in al-Qālī pp. 86–89); al-Sarrāj al-Qārīʾ, Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad (417–500/1026–1106), *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿUshshāq* (Beirut: Dār Bayrūt and Dār Ṣādir, 1378/1958), vol. 1: 283–287 (this is the same as the report found in al-Qālī pp. 86–89); al-Zamakhsharī, Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar (467–538/1075–1144), *Rabīʿ al-Abrār wa-Nuṣūṣ al-Akhbār*, ed. Salīm al-Nuʿaymī ([Baghdad]: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-l-Shuʾūn al-Dīniyya, 1400/1980) (Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-Islāmī 13), vol. 3: 688–689; Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (608–681/1211–1280), *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa-Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, [1968]), vol. 2: 47–50 (within the biography of al-Ḥajjāj; this is the same as the report found in al-Qālī, pp. 86–89, with the exception of seven verses of Tawba cited by Laylā in the presence of al-Ḥajjāj which are omitted by Ibn Khallikān); al-Qālī's report is also found in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Dhamm al-Hawā*, 427–433 and in idem, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 6: 174–177 (on pp. 173–174 are given two reports of exchanges between Laylā and ʿAbd al-Malik about Tawba).

61 In one short report, Muʿāwiya asks Laylā about Muḍar. In her reply, she says that the Quraysh are the leaders and lords of Muḍar ("Quraysh qādatuhā wa-sādatuhā"). Muʿāwiya

in these instances the sources might be confusing him with ʿAbd al-Malik or al-Ḥajjāj. Laylā is said to have met all three, who asked her the same questions about Tawba. Already some Muslim scholars have suggested that this meeting and exchange was with ʿAbd al-Malik or al-Ḥajjāj, and not with Muʿāwiya.[62] Additionally, Muʿāwiya is reported to have had similar exchanges with a number of eminent and eloquent women.[63] Given the political nature of these reports (most of the women were supporters of ʿAlī), whether any of these encounters actually took place remains a matter for debate.

A number of seemingly legendary accounts are also reported about both Laylā and Tawba: (1) It is said that Tawba met Jamīl b. Maʿmar (Jamīl Buthayna) and had a wrestling and running contest with him after Buthayna showed some interest in Tawba;[64] (2) Laylā is said to have died at the grave of Tawba

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asked Umāma bt. Yazīd b. ʿAmr b. al-Ṣaʿiq a similar question. See Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245/860), *Kitāb al-Munammaq fī Akhbār Quraysh*, ed. Khūrshīd Aḥmad Fāriq (Hyderabad: Maṭbaʿat Majlis Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1384/1964) (al-Silsila al-Jadīda min Maṭbūʿāt Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya 127), 8–9. A slightly longer version of Laylā's report is found in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, 1400/1979) (Bibliotheca Islamica 28d), vol. 4, pt. 1: 27 (no. 94). See also al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Ādāb*, vol. 2: 932–933 (in addition to the question about the Arabian tribes, Laylā recites a few verses in praise of Muʿāwiya, many more on Tawba, and defends the latter when questioned by Muʿāwiya who gives her 50 camels as a reward). Only eight verses in Laylā's *dīwān* are addressed to or concern Muʿāwiya (that is less than 3 percent of her surviving poetry). In comparison, 40 verses of poetry (almost 13 percent of her poetry) are addressed to or concern al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr combined. Forty-three verses (almost 14 percent of her poetry) supposedly refer to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, but within the verses themselves the poet seems actually to be addressing or referring to Ibn Marwān (i.e., ʿAbd al-Malik).

62 Al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-Aswāq*, vol. 1: 267: "wa-aẓunnuh [i.e., ʿAbd al-Malik] alladhī saʾalahā ʿan Tawba: a-kāna kamā yaqūl al-nās? […] lā Muʿāwiya kamā qīla hunā." This report (in which Muʿāwiya asks Laylā about Tawba) is also cited in Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vol. 11: 237–239. In Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtār al-Aghānī*, vol. 2: 137–139, the exchange between Laylā and Muʿāwiya is reproduced, but at the end we are told that the interlocutor was actually al-Ḥajjāj (*wa-yuqāl inna lladhī khāṭabahā al-Ḥajjāj*; ibid., 139).

63 See, for example, al-Ḍabbī, al-ʿAbbās b. Bakkār (129–222/746–837), *Akhbār al-Wāfidāt min al-Nisāʾ ʿalā Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān*, ed. Sukayna al-Shihābī (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1403/1983), especially 33–36, 57–59, and 78 (nos. 3, 9, and 15); Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, Aḥmad (204–280/819–893), *Balāghāt al-Nisāʾ wa-Ṭarāʾif Kalāmihinna wa-Mulaḥ Nawādirihinna wa-Akhbār Dhawāt al-Raʾy minhunna wa-Ashʿāruhunna fī l-Jāhiliyya wa-Ṣadr al-Islām*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Hindāwī (Cairo: Dār al-Faḍīla, 1998), 82–100, 115–118, 133–141, 153–159, especially 155–157.

64 See, e.g., al-Bustānī, "Tawba ibn al-Ḥumayyir," 252; Zaydān, *Kitāb Tārīkh Ādāb al-Lugha*

after an owl (or an unspecified bird) scared her camel which threw her off its back;[65] (3) Laylā is said to have pursued al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī until his death, asking permission first from al-Ḥajjāj and then from ʿAbd al-Malik;[66] and (4) It is said that Mālik b. al-Rayb, known as al-Liṣṣ al-Māzinī, felt forced to move to Khurāsān after being humiliated by Tawba in a wrestling match in front

al-ʿArabiyya, vol. 1: 302–303; Muṣṭafā, *Iʿjām al-Aʿlām*, 94; Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vol. 11: 239–240; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtār al-Aghānī*, vol. 2: 140; al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-Aswāq*, vol. 1: 256.

65 See, e.g., al-Bustānī, "Tawba ibn al-Ḥumayyir," 253; Anonymous, "Laylā al-Akhyaliyya," 105; Fawwāz, *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 2: 324–325; Fuʾād al-Bustānī, "al-Akhyaliyya (Laylā)," 11 (where he describes the story as a legend); Kaḥḥāla, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ*, vol. 4: 333–334; al-Masʿūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, vol. 5: 325 (different version); Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vol. 11: 244; al-Jarīrī, *al-Jalīs al-Ṣāliḥ*, vol. 1: 338–340 (three variant reports); al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-Laʾālī*, vol. 1: 119–120 and 283; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Dhamm al-Hawā*, 433; idem, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 6: 178; al-Balawī, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad (529–604/1135–1207), *Kitāb Alif Bā* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Wahbiyya, 1287/[1870]), vol. 2: 314–315; Ibn Wāṣil al-Ḥamawī, *Tajrīd al-Aghānī*, vol. 3, pt. 1: 1295–1296; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, vol. 1: 260; al-Ṣafadī, Khalīl b. Aybak (d. 764/1363), *al-Ghayth al-Musjam fī Sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿAjam* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1395/1975), vol. 2: 43–44; idem, *al-Wāfī bil-Wafayāt*, vol. 10: 437–438; Ibn Abī Ḥajala, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā (725–776/1325–1375), "Dīwān al-Ṣabāba," on the margin of *Tazyīn al-Aswāq bi-Tafṣīl Ashwāq al-ʿUshshāq*, by al-Anṭākī, Dāʾūd b. ʿUmar (d. 1008/1599), 3rd ṭabʿa (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Azhariyya al-Miṣriyya, 1328/[1910]), [*bāb* 26] 184 (this is reproduced in *Qiṣaṣ al-ʿArab*, vol. 4: 395 [no. 128]); Ibn al-Mibrad, *Nuzhat al-Musāmir*, 22–23; al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (849–911/1445–1505), *Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughnī*, ed. Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Shinqīṭī ([Damascus]: Lajnat al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1386/1966), vol. 2: 644–646; al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-Aswāq*, vol. 1: 261–262.

66 Also mentioned above in section 3. See, e.g., al-Qālī, *Kitāb al-Amālī*, vol. 1: 89; al-Jarīrī, *al-Jalīs al-Ṣāliḥ*, vol. 1: 336–337; al-Sarrāj al-Qāriʾ, *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿUshshāq*, vol. 1: 287; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Dhamm al-Hawā*, 433; idem, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 6: 177; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, vol. 2: 50; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir fī ʿUlūm al-Lugha wa-Anwāʿihā*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Jād al-Mawlā, ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī, and Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya, [n.d.]), vol. 2: 487 (a brief reference to the report); al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-Aswāq*, vol. 1: 267 (who dismisses the report; he states that Laylā sought al-Nābigha until she, not he, died near Baghdad); al-Baghdādī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿUmar (1030–1093/1621–1682), *Khizānat al-Adab wa-Lubb Lubāb Lisān al-ʿArab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Cairo: al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma lil-Kitāb, 1397/1977) (Turāthunā), vol. 6: 243 (commentary on the *shāhid* no. 458; the *hijāʾ* between Laylā and al-Nābigha and a commentary on it is given on pp. 238–246); Fawwāz, *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 2: 324 (who also dismisses it). See also Nallino "An-Nābiġah al-Ǧaʿdī e le sue poesie," 391–392 (the reports are dismissed as legendary); the introduction of Laylā's *Dīwān*, collected by the al-ʿAṭiyya brothers, 28.

of Laylā.[67] A number of scholars have already commented on the legendary nature of these, and other, reports concerning Laylā and Tawba.[68]

In this regard, some confusion seems to have arisen in the sources between the love story of Laylā and Tawba and that of other famous couples, in particular Laylā and Majnūn.[69] A notable example of this type of mix-up is a biographical entry in Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya*. In a list of eminent individuals who died in the year 73/692–693, Ibn Kathīr includes a short entry for an individual whom he calls Tawba bt. al-Ṣimma [*sic*]. Ibn Kathīr promptly identifies Tawba with Majnūn Laylā. But the report he cites, in which ʿAbd al-Malik asks Laylā about her relationship with Tawba, is almost identical to the one that is usually found in reports about Laylā al-Akhyaliyya and Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir. Ibn Kathīr ends the short biographical entry by reporting that Laylā died while weeping at the grave of Tawba.[70] Laylā al-Akhyaliyya is often described as dying at Tawba's grave, albeit the cause, as mentioned above, is a bird that frightens the camel which she is riding, causing her to fall and die.[71]

Other similarities can be noted among stories of early Islamic lovers. One is how the families of the women complain to the authorities (*al-sulṭān*) about

67 See al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bil-Wafayāt*, vol. 25, ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥujayrī (Berlin: In Kommission bei „Das arabische Buch", 1420/1999) (Bibliotheca Islamica 6y): 61–62 (no. 38). But al-Ṣafadī himself states that this same story was told with al-Farazdaq as protagonist instead of Mālik (p. 62). This event supposedly happened shortly before Muʿāwiya appointed Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān over Khurāsān (p. 61).

68 Carlo Nallino wrote about Laylā and Tawba: "ḍuribat bihim al-amthāl wa-kathurat fihim al-ḥikāyāt wa-l-riwāyāt al-khayāliyya fī kutub al-adab" (Nallino, *Tārīkh al-Ādāb al-ʿArabiyya*, 137). Along the same lines, Régis Blachère commented: "[…] les données historico-biographiques colportées sur lui [i.e., Tawba] et sur son Amante sont fort caractéristiques de la transfiguration subie par certains personnages dans la légende" (Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe*, vol. 2: 288). He also advised prudence in using these accounts and considered some of them as suspicious: "des anecdotes suspectes la montrent [i.e., Laylā] interrogée avec curiosité, sur cet amour, par Muʿâwiya et al-Ḥajjâj […] [U]ne telle hétérogénéité inspire la plus grande prudence, dans l'utilisation de ces textes" (ibid., 292).

69 This has already been noted by some scholars: Farrūkh has pointed out that Muslim transmitters hesitated in attributing some poetry between Tawba and Majnūn (Farrūkh, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-ʿArabī*, vol. 1: 467). Al-Tūnjī as well has indicated that the story of Laylā al-Akhyaliyya gets mixed up in the sources with that of Laylā, the beloved of Qays (in the introduction to his edition of Ibn al-Mibrad, *Nuzhat al-Musāmir*, 5). For example, three verses attributed by Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī to Tawba are attributed to Majnūn in other sources (see *al-Zahra*, vol. 1: 229, note 13 by the editor).

70 Ibn Kathīr, Abū l-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar (d. 774/1373), *al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya*, ed. Aḥmad Abū Mulḥim et al. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1405/1985), vol. 8: 353–354.

71 See the references given in footnote 65 above.

the men's constant visits and are granted permission to kill them if they ever catch them (*ahdar damah*). The family of Laylā al-Akhyaliyya is said to have complained to the authorities who made it permissible for them to kill Tawba if they caught him in their midst (*shakawh ilā l-sulṭān fa-abāḥahum damah in atāhum*).[72] It is also related that when Qays b. al-Mulawwiḥ (Majnūn) fell in love with Laylā and began courting her, her family forbade him from talking to her or seeing her, and threatened to kill him. He refused to comply and kept visiting Laylā at night. This made Laylā's father go with a number of his tribesmen to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam to complain about Qays (again, no title is given to Marwān, and there is no indication of where this audience took place). They asked him to write to his official (*ʿāmil*) who was appointed over them asking him to forbid Qays from contacting Laylā and warning Qays that if he were caught by Laylā's family with her that it was lawful for them to kill him (*fa-in aṣābah ahluhā ʿindahum fa-qad ahdarū damah*).[73] The same thing happened to Jamīl when he fell in love with Buthayna. He asked for her hand in marriage, but when this was refused, he wrote poetry about her and visited her in secret, even after she was married to another man. When Dajāja b. Ribʿī was appointed over Wādī l-Qurā, her family complained to him about Jamīl and Dajāja gave them permission to kill him if he ever visited Buthayna again (*fa-shakawh ilayh* […] *wa-ahdar damah lahum in ʿāwad ziyāratahā*; *nadhar ahl Buthayna dam Jamīl wa-ahdarah lahum al-sulṭān*).[74] Similarly, it is reported

72 See, e.g., Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vol. 11: 205.

73 See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Dhamm al-Hawā*, 388. See also Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vol. 2: 16 and 26 ("anna ahlahā staʿdaw al-sulṭān ʿalayh fa-ahdar damah in atāhum;" "fa-shakawh ilā l-sulṭān fa-ahdar damah lahum"); Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtār al-Aghānī*, vol. 6: 133–134 (it is said that Marwān had appointed ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf over the *ṣadaqāt* of a number of tribes when this happened and that ʿUmar had met with Qays) and 138; Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Hādī (840–909/1437–1503), *Nuzhat al-Musāmir fī Akhbār Majnūn Banī ʿĀmir*, ed. Muḥammad al-Tūnjī (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1414/1994), 36 and 38–40 (three reports are given including the one found in *al-Aghānī*. In the other two reports, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam is said to have appointed over the alms tax of the Banū ʿĀmir an official who is told that the *amīr al-muʾminīn* had allowed Laylā's family to kill Qays [pp. 39–40]. On p. 115, it is stated that Qays lived in the time [*zaman*] of Marwān and ʿAbd al-Malik. These reports make it explicit that the events involving Laylā and Qays occurred during the reign of Marwān and not earlier); Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Basṭ Sāmiʿ al-Musāmir fī Akhbār Majnūn Banī ʿĀmir*, 28–32 (identical to the reports given by Ibn al-Mibrad. The reports in which Marwān is referred to as *amīr al-muʾminīn* are given on pp. 31–32. On p. 106 is found the report stating that Qays lived in the times of Marwān and ʿAbd al-Malik); al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-Aswāq*, vol. 1: 156–157 (very brief account).

74 Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vol. 8: 108–109 (the entry on Jamīl is on pp. 90–

that Qays b. Dharīḥ (ca. 4–70/626–689) fell in love with Lubnā bt. al-Ḥubāb and wanted to marry her. His father initially refused, but then he agreed to their marriage. However, both parents then pressed Qays to divorce Lubnā, which he did. Qays later regretted this and was devastated by the loss of Lubnā. Her father is said to have complained to Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān that Qays was bothering his daughter. Muʿāwiya then wrote to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam decreeing that Qays could be killed with impunity if he were to continue bothering Lubnā. He also ordered that Lubnā was to be married to another man. One version states that Muʿāwiya wrote either to Marwān or to Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ (d. 59/679). Later on, Qays went to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya and asked him to intercede on his behalf with his father. Muʿāwiya repealed his previous decree and allowed Qays to reside wherever he wanted.[75]

Another similarity can be seen in a brief exchange that a few of the women are said to have had with ʿAbd al-Malik who asks them what their lovers liked, or saw, in them to fall in love with them. The women respond by saying that their men liked in them what the Muslims liked in him when they appointed him sovereign over them (*istakhlafūk*). ʿAbd al-Malik then laughs so much that

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154), 122–123 (here, the name of the official is given as ʿĀmir b. Ribʿī b. Dajāja who was in charge of the lands of ʿUdhra. It is also said that Jamīl had composed lampoons against Buthayna's tribe [after he had been lampooned by members of the tribe] and this was an additional grievance by the tribe against him), and 123–124. Jamīl also shares an anecdote with Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. It is said that the two were travelling with another poet and a group of the Quraysh when Marwān asked the other poet to compose some *rajaz* verses hoping that he would be praised. He then asked Jamīl to do the same hoping also to be praised by him. The two poets recited boastings (*fakhr*) instead. See ibid., 132–133. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtār al-Aghānī*, vol. 2: 253 (where it is said that the father of Buthayna asked ʿAbd al-Malik himself and it was he who allowed the killing of Jamīl [*qad abaḥtukum damah in wajadtumūh*]) and 262 (where the person who allowed the killing is referred to as *al-sulṭān*; the family of Buthayna complains again and Jamīl flees to Yemen until that *wālī* has been removed from office; in this case it doesn't seem that we are dealing with ʿAbd al-Malik anymore), and 269 (where the *wālī* is finally identified as Dajāja b. Ribʿī, although the one who allowed the killing is referred to as *al-sulṭān*: *kāna l-wālī ʿalā Wādī l-Qurā lammā hadara l-sulṭān dam Jamīl Dajāja b. Ribʿī*) (the entry on Jamīl is on pp. 233–275); al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-Aswāq*, vol. 1: 101 (a brief account of the matter where the name of the official is given as Marwān b. Hishām al-Ḥaḍramī, a *wālī* for ʿAbd al-Malik over Taymāʾ, although Ribʿī b. Dajāja is also given as an alternative).

75 Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vol. 9: 3317–3318 and 3320. The repeal of the decision is given on pp. 3331–3332. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtār al-Aghānī*, vol. 6: 194–195 (Muʿāwiya writing to Marwān with the order) and 201–202 (repeal of the order); al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-Aswāq*, vol. 1: 137 (brief account with Muʿāwiya writing to Marwān with the order).

a black tooth of his becomes visible. This exchange is reported to have occurred with Laylā al-Akhyaliyya, ʿAzza (who was loved by Kuthayyir), and Buthayna.[76] All these reports indicate the extent to which these various stories became intertwined and how details were transferred from the story of one couple to that of another.

5 The Elegy of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān

Reports about Laylā al-Akhyaliyya usually associate her with two Muslim sovereigns, ʿAbd al-Malik and Muʿāwiya, and one governor, al-Ḥajjāj. However, a short four-verse *rithāʾ* is attributed to Laylā in which she laments the death of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. A number of scholars have taken this as an indication that Laylā was active as a poet from at least the reign of ʿUthmān and that she composed the elegy right after his death. This has led some to take the occurrence of the title *khalīfat Allāh* in the second verse of the lament as evidence that the title was already in use during ʿUthmān's reign.[77] The following are the first two verses of the elegy:

a-baʿda ʿUthmāna tarjū l-khayra ummatuhu / wa-kāna āmana man yamshī ʿalā sāqi
khalīfata llāhi aʿṭāhum wa-khawwalahum / mā kāna min dhahabin jammin wa-awrāqi[78]

76 Al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Ādāb*, vol. 2: 939 (for Laylā and Tawba); Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vol. 9: 3147 (for ʿAzza and Kuthayyir; two versions are given of the reply; in the second version, ʿAzza gives a very different answer); ibid., vol. 8: 122 (for Buthayna and Jamīl); Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtār al-Aghānī*, vol. 2: 262 (for Buthayna and Jamīl); ibid., vol. 6: 239 (for ʿAzza and Kuthayyir) and 316 (for Laylā and Tawba); al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-Aswāq*, vol. 1: 104 (for Buthayna and Jamīl).

77 Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 37), 6. This is the second of two verses cited by Crone and Hinds as evidence for the use of the title during the lifetime of ʿUthmān.

78 *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, collected by the al-ʿAṭiyya brothers, 92 (poem no. 27; verses 1–2 of 4). This piece can be found in: Ibn Qutayba, ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim (213–276/828–889), *al-Shiʿr wa-l-Shuʿarāʾ* (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1964), vol. 1: 360; al-Mubarrad, Muḥammad b. Yazīd (ca. 210–286/826–900), *al-Kāmil*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and al-Sayyid Shiḥāta (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, [n.d.]), vol. 3: 28; al-Anbārī, *Dīwān al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (with the *sharḥ* of al-Anbārī), vol. 2: 371 (only two verses); Ibn ʿAsākir, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan (499–571/1105–1176), *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, ed. ʿUmar b. Gharāma al-ʿAmrawī (Beirut:

After ʿUthmān, does his community hope for good, he who was the most trustworthy of those who walk,
khalīfat Allāh, he gave them and granted to them what there was of abundant gold and silver.

The following observations can be made on this piece: (1) These verses were composed *after* the death of ʿUthmān and, therefore, do not date from his reign. (2) Unlike much of Laylā's poetry, these verses are not placed within a historical context by the literary sources. In other words, there is no indication whatsoever in the sources as to when these verses were composed or first recited. This could have happened any time after the death of ʿUthmān and before the death of the poet herself.[79] (3) It is curious that, within all of the surviving poetry of Laylā, the full title *khalīfat Allāh* appears only in the verse cited above despite the fact that she lived through the reigns of several rulers. In the remainder of her poetry, the title *khalīfa* appears only twice (once with the definite article and once without), both times referring to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān.[80] The title *amīr al-muʾminīn* appears only once in the *Dīwān* of Laylā where it is applied to Muʿāwiya.[81] ʿUthmān appears only one other time in the

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Dār al-Fikr, 1419/1998), vol. 70: 72; al-Baṣrī, *al-Ḥamāsa al-Baṣriyya*, vol. 1: 198 (only verses 1–2 and 4). According to the al-ʿAṭiyyas, these verses are also cited by al-Kutubī, Muḥammad b. Shākir (d. 764/1363), in an unpublished part of his *ʿUyūn al-Tawārīkh* (*Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, 92). See also Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 6.

79 Dana Sajdi has noted that it is not possible to date these verses: "Whether Layla had composed this elegy immediately after the death of ʿUthman, or in a retrospective display of allegiance to the Umayyads in their rivalry with the ʿAlids, is not clear. Either way, this elegy and her panegyrics serve to demonstrate a lifelong, unwavering dedication to the Umayyad cause" (Sajdi, "Revisiting Layla," 212).

80 *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, collected by the al-ʿAṭiyyas, 63 (poem no. 10, verse 1 of 2), addressed to al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (Ḥajjāju anta lladhī mā fawqahu aḥadu / illā al-khalīfatu wa-l-mustaghfaru l-ṣamadu) and 113 (poem no. 38, verse 8 of 9), in which Laylā is attacking ʿĀtika bt. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya and her husband ʿAbd al-Malik (a-qulti: khalīfatun fa-siwāhu aḥjā / bi-imratihi wa-awlā bil-liʾāmi).

81 In the *dhayl* of the second edition of the *Dīwān*, collected by the al-ʿAṭiyyas, 220 (piece no. 6, verses 3–4 of 4), mentioning the death of ʿUthmān and addressed to Muʿāwiya supporting his claims for rule:

fa-nhaḍ Muʿāwiya nahḍatan / tashfī bihā l-dāʾa l-dafīnā
anta lladhī min baʿdihi / nadʿū amīra l-muʾminīnā

This short piece is quoted by the al-ʿAṭiyyas from only two sources: al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (172–256/788–870), *al-Akhbār al-Muwaffaqiyyāt*, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Yūsuf b. ʿAbdallāh (d. 463/1071), *al-Istīʿāb fī Maʿrifat al-Aṣḥāb*.

Dīwān where he is given the title *al-imām* (the only individual to be given this title in Laylā's surviving poetry).[82] (4) The earliest literary sources to cite the verses above were composed around the middle of the third/ninth century. (5) Laylā and her tribe are known for their staunch pro-Umayyad stance and Laylā used her poetry to show support for Umayyad claims.[83] Her lament for ʿUthmān's death is a show of such support (just like her invectives against al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī, who praised and backed ʿAlī). Since initial Umayyad claims for legitimacy rested partly on their assumed vindication of ʿUthmān's murder, this short piece is an endorsement of these claims and its composition need not be confined to a particular time period. The piece could have been written any time during the reign of Muʿāwiya or that of ʿAbd al-Malik. Since Laylā's activity is more securely associated with ʿAbd al-Malik than with Muʿāwiya, it is quite possible that the verses were written during the rule of the Marwānid sovereign.

This brings into question the dating of the adoption of the title *khalīfat Allāh* by Muslim sovereigns. Laylā's verse containing the title is one of two verses that have been quoted by scholars as proof that *khalīfat Allāh* was in use at least as early as the time of ʿUthmān. The second verse of poetry adduced as evidence is attributed to Ḥassān b. Thābit (d. 40/659, 50/669, or 54/673). Let us look more closely at this verse and at the poetry of Ḥassān in general.

Ḥassān hailed from Yathrib/Medina and is reported to have had connections with the Lakhmid and Ghassānid courts in al-Ḥīra and Bilād al-Shām, respectively, prior to the rise of Islam. After some initial friction with the newly arrived Muslim immigrants from Mecca, he became one of the most eminent poets in the service of the Prophet. After the death of the Prophet, very little is heard of him until the uprising against ʿUthmān. He sought to defend the beleaguered

82 It is the first verse in the piece cited in the previous footnote: qutila bnu ʿAffāna l-imā/mu fa-ḍāʿa amru l-muslimīnā.

83 Sajdi, "Revisiting Layla," 212; Ṣāliḥ, *ʿĀshiqat al-ʿArab Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, 19–20; Mubayyiḍīn, *al-Wāliha al-Ḥarrā*, 61–62. The latter two authors seem to place the time of composition of the elegy of ʿUthmān right after his death, perhaps around the time of the Battle of the Camel or the Battle of Ṣiffīn. Politically, Laylā could be seen as an opportunistic poet who used her talent to benefit herself and her tribe. She praised rulers and governors when she sought remuneration or favors from them, but lampooned them when such favors where refused. Specifically, she praised ʿAbd al-Malik in two poems, however, when he rejected one of her requests to give her tribe a watering place, she composed a scathing lampoon against him. The tone and language of the elegy on ʿUthmān and the verses voicing her support for Muʿāwiya seem to indicate that Muʿāwiya and the Umayyads had already secured their leadership over the Muslims.

sovereign and, after his death, supported Muʿāwiya in seeking his killers. In one of the elegies on ʿUthmān that are attributed to Ḥassān we find the verse that is of interest to us:

> *laʿallakum an taraw yawman bi-maghbaṭatin / khalīfata llāhi fīkum ka-lladhī kānā*[84]
>
> = Perhaps you will see one day *khalīfat Allāh* in happiness among you as he used to be.

Khalīfat Allāh in the verse refers to ʿUthmān. The poem from which this verse is taken is one of eight elegies that Ḥassān is said to have composed on ʿUthmān. However, it is noteworthy that this is the only time in which this particular title is applied to ʿUthmān. Not only that, but the title does not otherwise appear in the collected *Dīwān* of Ḥassān.

When dealing with the corpus of poetry of Ḥassān, caution must be observed. Walid ʿArafat has argued in a number of articles that a substantial portion of the poetry attributed to Ḥassān is spurious, and that entire poems or groups of verses within poems ascribed to him were actually composed by people from Medina during the Marwānid period and then attributed to him due to his importance and prestige as a poet.[85] ʿArafat estimates that approxi-

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84 Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān of Ḥassān ibn Thābit*, ed. Walid N. ʿArafat (London: Luzac and Company Ltd., 1971) ("E.J.W. Gibb Memorial" Series [n.s.] 25), 1: 96, poem 20 (verse 10 of 10). Crone and Hinds translate the verse as follows: "Perhaps you will see the *khalīfa* of God among you as he was, one day in a place of joy" (Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 6). This is the first of the two verses cited by Crone and Hinds as evidence for the use of the title *khalīfat Allāh* during the reign of ʿUthmān.

85 W. ʿArafat, "A Controversial Incident and the Related Poem in the Life of Ḥassān b. Thābit," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 17, pt. 2 (1955): 197–205 (especially 204–205 where he casts doubt on the authenticity of four lines from a nine-line poem and declares four poems attributed to Ḥassān to be the work of later poets); idem, "An Interpretation of the Different Accounts of the Visit of the Tamīm Delegation to the Prophet in A.H. 9," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 17, pt. 3 (1955): 416–425 (argues that three poems which are said to have been recited by Ḥassān when a delegation from the tribe of Tamīm appeared before the Prophet in 9/631 are forgeries from a later period); idem, "The Development of a Dramatic Theme in the Story of Khubaib b. ʿAdiyy and the Related Poems," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 21, pt. 1 (1958): 15–30 (argues that out of thirteen poems that are attributed to Ḥassān and that are connected with the incidents of al-Rajīʿ and Biʾr Maʿūna in which a number of Muslims was ambushed and killed, only two may be authentic, while the remainder

mately 60 to 70 percent of Ḥassān's poetry may be spurious.[86] A considerable amount of the poetry attributed to him had already been considered as forgery or falsely attributed to him by Muslim scholars from the second/eighth century onwards.[87] The ascription of poetry to Ḥassān must have started at a very early date, since it is reported that Ḥassān's grandson, Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān, was aware of the forged poetry that was being spread in the name of his grandfather and pointed out some of it.[88] All this shows the great prestige

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are of a later date); idem, "Early Critics of the Authenticity of the Poetry of the *Sīra*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 21, pt. 3 (1958): 453–463 (argues that the authenticity of a number of poems and verses attributed to Ḥassān had already been rejected by early Muslim scholars); idem, "An Aspect of the Forger's Art in Early Islamic Poetry," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 28, pt. 3 (1965): 477–482 (argues that one poem supposedly recited by Ḥassān during the siege of Medina in 5/627 is the product of a later time period); idem, "The Historical Significance of Later Anṣārī Poetry," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 29, pt. 1 (1966): 1–11 and pt. 2: 221–232 (argues that sixteen poems of boasting ascribed to Ḥassān are actually of late authorship); idem, "The Elegies on the Prophet in Their Historical Perspective," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1967): 15–21 (argues that four elegies of the Prophet attributed to Ḥassān are spurious); idem, "Unusual Lampoons and Their Historical Background," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 30, pt. 3 (1967): 681–684 (argues that two short lampoons, nos. CCII and CCIII in ʿArafat's edition of the *Dīwān*, ostensibly directed against al-ʿAwwām, father of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, are not by Ḥassān but were composed in the Marwānid period); idem, "Hassan b. Thabit, *Diwan*, No. 1: The Historical Background to a Composite Poem," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 15, no. 1 (1970): 88–97 (argues that a large part of a 30-line poem attributed to Ḥassān is not authentic); idem in *Dīwān of Ḥassān ibn Thābit*, vol. 1: 13–14, 23–25, and 28–31 (general comments on the authenticity of the poetry attributed to Ḥassān). This critical attitude towards the poetry ascribed to Ḥassān is also found in James T. Monroe, "The Poetry of the *Sīrah* Literature," in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, ed. A.F.L. Beeston et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) (The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature 1), 368–373.

86 W. ʿArafat, "Ḥassān b. Thābit," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979), vol. 3: 272.

87 See especially ʿArafat, "Early Critics of the Authenticity of the Poetry of the *Sīra*," 453–463. On this issue, Ibn Sallām states: "qad ḥumila ʿalayh mā lam yuḥmal ʿalā aḥad. lammā taʿāḍahat Quraysh wa-stabbat, waḍaʿū ʿalayh ashʿāran kathīra lā tunaqqā" [= It has been attributed to him (an amount of poetry) that has not been attributed to anyone else. When the (tribe of) Quraysh insulted and cursed each other, they fabricated much poetry in his name that cannot be separated (from his original poetry)]; see Ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī, Muḥammad (139–231/756–845), *Ṭabaqāt Fuḥūl al-Shuʿarā'*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Madanī, 1394/1974), vol. 1: 215 (report no. 291).

88 ʿArafat, "Early Critics of the Authenticity of the Poetry of the *Sīra*," 454–455 and 460–461. Saʿīd also revealed that his father, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān, would himself sometimes

that the name of Ḥassān possessed and the desire to elevate the forged poetry by attributing it to him. ʿArafat posits that most of this forged poetry was composed by Muslims from Medina (Anṣārīs) beginning from a date following the battle of al-Ḥarra and the sack of Medina in 63/683 and possibly up to the early ʿAbbāsid period.[89] These poems tend to reflect the troubled condition of Medina and its inhabitants in the aftermath of their defeat by the Umayyads.

As for the eight elegies on ʿUthmān themselves, ʿArafat considers seven of them to be spurious.[90] But for the poem which includes the verse that concerns us, he does not give any explicit judgment aside from statements such as the poem "is the most powerful [of the eight elegies] and has most thrust."[91] He does, however, consider at least one verse in the poem (that contains a hint of accusation against ʿAlī) to have been added later by an Umayyad sympathizer (what he calls "the Syrian faction") and acknowledges that three other verses (including the one that is of interest to us) are pro-Umayyad ("the Syrian party").[92] In addition to this, one other verse in the poem is also attributed to a different poet.[93] Furthermore, although verses from the poem are found in eleven different literary sources, no source cites the entire poem, and, with the exception of the *Dīwān* itself, only Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih in *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd* cites the verse that includes the title *khalīfat Allāh*.[94]

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compose a poem and then attribute it to Ḥassān (ibid., 454 and 461). See also idem in *Dīwān of Ḥassān ibn Thābit*, vol. 1: 7.

89 One can find statements to this effect scattered in the articles by ʿArafat given above, but it is stated most clearly in ʿArafat, "The Historical Significance of Later Anṣārī Poetry," 1–11 and 221–232, and idem, "The Elegies on the Prophet in Their Historical Perspective," 15–21.

90 W. ʿArafat, "The Historical Background to the Elegies on ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān Attributed to Ḥassān b. Thābit," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 33, pt. 2 (1970): 276–282. The total number of poems or pieces attributed to Ḥassān that are about ʿUthmān are actually eleven: *Dīwān of Ḥassān ibn Thābit*, vol. 1: 96 (poem no. 20); 118 (no. 28); 120 (no. 29); 122 (no. 30); 123 (no. 31); 311 (no. 155); 319 (no. 160); 320 (no. 161); 477 (no. 307); 511 (no. 349); and 515 (no. 355). Ten of these have been translated in Daniela Amaldi, "Il Califfo nelle dieci poesie in morte di ʿUthmān di Ḥassān b. Thābit," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 6 (1983): 325–332. Amaldi does not have any problem in accepting the authenticity of all of this poetry and considers the verse with the title *khalīfat Allāh* as the earliest documentation for its use in poetry (ibid., 326–327).

91 ʿArafat, "The Historical Background to the Elegies on ʿUthmān," 277.

92 ʿArafat, "The Historical Background to the Elegies on ʿUthmān," 277–278. See also *Dīwān of Ḥassān ibn Thābit*, vol. 2: 92.

93 *Dīwān of Ḥassān ibn Thābit*, vol. 2: 92.

94 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, ed. ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Tarḥīnī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1404/1983), vol. 5: 48. See also the detailed listing of sources in *Dīwān of Ḥassān ibn Thābit*, vol. 1: 96–97.

We are now faced with the following facts: (1) since the *Dīwān* of Ḥassān contains a total of 32 elegies, the eight elegies on ʿUthmān make up 25 percent of all the elegies. This seems to be a large number especially if we consider that these are twice as many as the elegies on the Prophet. It is also curious that there is not a single elegy on a local person from Medina (i.e., an Anṣārī) even though Medina was the birthplace of Ḥassān himself;[95] (2) in all the pieces on ʿUthmān attributed to Ḥassān, the title *khalīfat Allāh* appears only in the above cited verse. In the other poems or poetical pieces, the Muslim sovereign is referred to without any titulature (ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān [once], ʿUthmān [five times], Ibn ʿAffān [once], Ibn Arwā [once, albeit it is a variant reading], Abū ʿAmr [once]) or with a different epithet or title (*imām* [twice], *walī Allāh* [once]); (3) the title *khalīfat Allāh* is not found again in the *Dīwān*; (4) of all the sources that cite verses from the poem from which this verse is taken only one source other than the *Dīwān* cites this particular verse; and (5) one anti-ʿAlī verse in the poem is acknowledged to have been a later addition by a pro-Umayyad author while another verse is also ascribed to a different poet. The poem itself contains a number of strongly pro-Umayyad verses. On the basis of these points, the authenticity of the entire poem is put into question and one is more inclined to accept that it was not composed by Ḥassān but by a later pro-Umayyad author. Hence, it cannot be taken as documentation for the adoption of the title *khalīfat Allāh* prior to the reign of Muʿāwiya.[96]

It follows from the above arguments that the two verses discussed in the last few pages, the one by Laylā al-Akhyaliyya and the other by Ḥassān b. Thābit, cannot provide reliable evidence for the adoption of the title *khalīfat Allāh* by a Muslim sovereign as early as the reign of ʿUthmān.

6 Concluding Remarks

Al-Sajdi has noted that "Nothing is known of Laylā's early years, and the reports about the place and time of her death are contradictory. As is typical of the genre of *akhbār* about poets, reports about Laylā seem to be composed of

95 ʿArafat, "The Historical Background to the Elegies on ʿUthmān," 276.

96 ʿArafat prefers the earlier date of 40/659 for the death of Ḥassān on the basis that there are no reports that can place him after that date. See ʿArafat, "Ḥassān b. Thābit," 272 and idem in *Dīwān of Ḥassān ibn Thābit*, vol. 1: 3. However, after the death of the Prophet, Ḥassān kept a low profile and seldom appears in historical reports especially after he had grown old. Hence, his absence from involvement in political events after the assumption of power of Muʿāwiya does not necessarily mean that he had died around that time.

information derived from her poetry (and that of her admirer and kinsman, Tawbah […]) and woven into disparate narratives *ex post facto*."[97] In effect, the poetry of Laylā is our safest guide to determine various events and aspects of her life. Even then, however, we must be cautious in accepting and interpreting the various poems and the reports that accompany them.

The editors of the *Dīwān* of Laylā al-Akhyaliyya assume that she lived part of her life during the Rāshidūn period on the basis that she composed elegies for ʿUthmān.[98] However, as we have seen above, there is nothing in her poetry to actually reflect this and there are no reports in the literary sources that link her with this time period. The earliest we hear of her is during the reign of Muʿāwiya. The editors of the *Dīwān* wonder why no poetry of hers has survived that dates from the Rāshidūn period and propose three possible explanations for this: (1) she might not have composed any poetry during this period; (2) she might have been too young; or (3) what she composed has not reached us.[99] The first two explanations seem more likely than the third, as there is no indication that she was active before the reign of Muʿāwiya. A large percentage of her poetry was composed during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik and all of her poetry can be dated from the reign of Muʿāwiya (at the earliest) onwards. Of all of Laylā's poetry in the *Dīwān*, 51.5 percent consists of elegies for Tawba, so that about 65 percent of her poetry is in one way or another linked with Tawba, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, or al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. An additional 13.7 percent of the poetry is said by some sources to be referring to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, whereas the poems themselves explicitly address Ibn Marwān, i.e., ʿAbd al-Malik. On the other hand, only about 3.8 percent of her poetry refers to ʿUthmān or Muʿāwiya (in three short, four-verse pieces). The rest of her poetry cannot be dated securely. It is also to be noted that Muslim scholars considered Laylā an Umayyad poet.[100] The editors of her *Dīwān* eventually have

97 Al-Sajdi, "Trespassing the Male Domain," 124.

98 *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, collected by the al-ʿAṭiyyas, 19.

99 *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, collected by the al-ʿAṭiyyas, 20. One modern scholar has suggested that when Tawba was killed in 55/[675] Laylā was more than 50 years old (Mubayyiḍīn, *al-Wāliha al-Ḥarrā*, 28). This would mean that she was born during the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad. With regard to the age of Laylā, it is curious that in a few reports recounting her appearance at the court of al-Ḥajjāj, when she was presumably quite old, she is described as being at the time of the audience one of the most beautiful women, a *jāriya* "min ajmal al-nisāʾ wa-akmalihinna wa-atammihinna khalqan wa-aḥsanihinna muḥāwara," while some men in the gathering who met her for the first time said that they had not seen anyone more beautiful than her (*ajmal wajhan*). See al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Ādāb*, vol. 2: 935–937.

100 Al-Baṣrī in *al-Ḥamāsa al-Baṣriyya* considered her Umayyad ("umawiyyat al-shiʿr") and Ibn

to conclude that, even if she had lived in the pre-Umayyad period, she was an Umayyad poet, whose poetic abilities shone during the Umayyad period, and who praised the sovereigns and *amīr*s of the Umayyads and attended several of their gatherings.[101]

However, the association of Laylā with the reign of Muʿāwiya is not entirely unproblematic, as there are some curious incongruities in the literary material. Laylā addressed Muʿāwiya only twice in her poetry, and there are only two or three reports that place them together. Other problems in the reports of Marwān and Laylā's beloved, Tawba, have been detailed above.

What can be said with some certainty is that Laylā had a platonic love relationship with Tawba during the Umayyad period and that she interacted with the courts of ʿAbd al-Malik and his governor, al-Ḥajjāj, to whom she addressed some panegyrics and, in the case of the former, a lampoon as well. She also had an exchange of invectives with the poet al-Nābigha al-Jaʿdī at some point during the Umayyad period.

The story of Laylā and Tawba has not ceased to inspire authors writing in Arabic. More recently, some of these authors have focused on the love story of the two poets which they have idealized and romanticized,[102] while others have utilized the story as a basis for writing their own poetical compositions.[103]

Wāṣil al-Ḥamawī in *Tajrīd al-Aghānī* says: "wa-hiya min al-nisāʾ al-muqaddamāt fī l-shiʿr min shuʿarāʾ al-dawla al-umawiyya" (cited in *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, collected by the al-ʿAṭiyyas, 20).

101 *Dīwān Laylā al-Akhyaliyya*, collected by the al-ʿAṭiyyas, 20.

102 See, e.g., Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Jamal, *Qiṣṣat al-ʿĀshiqa al-Shāʿira Laylā al-Akhyaliyya* (Cairo: Nahḍat Miṣr lil-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 1998) (This is a fictionalized and romanticized account of Laylā's life in which the author accepts the various reports told about her and attempts to harmonize them all into a single narrative. No death date is given, although the author accepts that she was allowed by al-Ḥajjāj to be taken to Qutayba b. Muslim in Khurāsān, dying on the way back from her visit there [pp. 77–80]. Her birth is said to have occurred at the beginning of the 20s AH [fī awāʾil al-ʿaqd al-thālith min al-qarn al-awwal al-hijrī, p. 9].); ʿAbbūd, *Kuthayyir wa-ʿAzza · Tawba wa-Laylā al-Akhyaliyya · ʿUrwa wa-ʿAfrāʾ*, 55–86 (the reports utilized in this work consist entirely of quotes from Ibn al-Mibrad's *Nuzhat al-Musāmir* and from *al-Aghānī*).

103 See, e.g., Ḥusayn Jamīl al-Barghūthī, *Laylā wa-Tawba: Qaṣāʾid min al-Manfā ilā Laylā al-Akhyaliyya* (Jerusalem: Ittiḥād al-Kuttāb al-Filasṭīniyyīn fī l-Ḍiffa al-Gharbiyya wa-Qiṭāʿ Ghazza, 1992). A selection from this collection was published in idem, *Mā Qālathu al-Ghajariyya: Mukhtārāt Shiʿriyya* (Beirut: al-Muʾassasa al-ʿArabiyya lil-Dirāsāt wa-l-Nashr, and Ramallah: Bayt al-Shiʿr—al-Markaz al-Thaqāfī al-Filasṭīnī, 1999), 46–65.

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CHAPTER 18

Literature and Thought: Re-reading al-Tawḥīdī's Transcription of the Debate between Logic and Grammar

Wen-chin Ouyang

1 "The Death of an Author"

Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī is dead. But of course! This is a human inevitability. We all die and in fact the man purportedly from Shiraz known as Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī enjoyed rather exceptional longevity for his time. He lived for more than ninety years. His death is a historical fact. From his own works, or what is left of them, and historical accounts immediately or tangentially relevant to his life and works, we have been able to construct his biography, both historical and literary, distill his persona that resembles a miserable "sod" from his constant "whining," and recreate the vibrant "humanist" multicultural *milieu* of the tenth-century Buyid *Mashriq*. The man who was born between 310–320/922–932 and died in 414/1023 and assessed later as one of the famous *zanādiqa*[1] of Islam (together with Ibn al-Rāwandī and Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī) was a cultivated intellectual despite his impoverished background.[2] Yāqūt (d. 626/1228)

1 *Zanādiqa*, plural of *zindīq*, is a term referring either to Zoroastrians who pretended to have converted to Islam or simply those who pretended to be believers of the Muslim faith.

2 See Ṭāhā Jābir ʿAlwānī, *Naḥwa manhajiyya maʿrifiyya Qurʾāniyya: muḥāwalāt fī bayān qawāʿid al-manhaj al-Tawḥīdī lil-maʿrifa* (Beirut: Dār al-Hādī lil-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 2004); ʿAbd al-Amīr Aʿsam, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī fī kitāb al-Muqābasāt* (Baghdad: Āfāq ʿArabiyya, 1980); ʿAfīf Bahnasī, *ʿIlm al-jamāl ʿinda Abī Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī wa-masāʾil fī l-fann* (Baghdad: Wizārat al-Iʿlām, Mudīriyyat al-Thaqāfa al-ʿĀmma, 1972); Nūr al-Dīn Bin Bilqāsim, *Aṣdāʾ al-mujtamaʿ wa-l-ʿaṣr fī adab Abī Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī* (Tripoli, Libya: al-Munshaʾa al-ʿĀmma lil-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ wa-l-Iʿlān, 1984); Marc Bergé, *Pour un humanisme vécu: Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī: essai sur la personnalité morale, intellectuelle et littéraire d'un grand prosateur et humaniste arabe, engagé dans la société de l'époque bouyide, à Bagdad, Rayy et Chiraz, au IVe–Xe siècle* (*entre 310/922 et 320/932–414/1023*) (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1979); Khālid Muḥyī al-Dīn Barādiʿī, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī* (Damascus: Manshūrāt Ittiḥād al-Kuttāb al-ʿArab, 1983); ʿAlī Dubb, *al-Adīb wa-l-mufakkir Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī* (Tunis: al-Dār al-ʿArabiyya lil-Kitāb, 1976); Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb Ḥammādī, *al-Tawḥīdī wa-qirāʾa jadīda*

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sums up the iconic image of al-Tawḥīdī in one paragraph. Yāqūt tells us that he is versed in all branches of knowledge, including grammar, lexicography, poetry, *adab*, jurisprudence, and theology (which Yāqūt misidentifies as the Muʿtazilite school), and that he (al-Tawḥīdī) writes like al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868). Al-Tawḥīdī is a Sufi master, a philosopher among men of letters, a man of letters among philosophers, a traditionalist among theologists, a theologist among traditionalists, unrivaled in intelligence and eloquence but little satisfied with his lot, always complaining of his misfortunes and deprivation and quick to find fault with others and slander them:

> وكان متفنّناً في جميع العلوم من النحو واللغة والشعر والأدب والفقه والكلام على رأي المعتزلة وكان جاحظياً يسلك في تصانيفه مسلكه ويشتهي أن ينتظم في سلكه فهو شيخ الصوفية وفيلسوف الأدباء وأديب الفلاسفة ومحقق الكلام ومتكلم المحققين وإمام البلغاء وعمدة لبني ساسان سخيف اللسان قليل الرضى عند الإساءة والإحسان الذمّ شأنه والثلب دكّانه وهو مع ذلك فرد الدنيا الذي لا نظير له ذكاء وفطنة وفصاحة ومكنة كثير التحصيل للعلوم في كل فنّ حفظه واسع الدراية وكان مع ذلك محدوداً محارفاً يتشكّى صرف زمانه ويبكي في تصانيفه على حرمانه.[3]

fī l-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa (Tunis: Ṣafāʾ, 1979); Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī fī qaḍāyā l-insān wa-l-lugha wa-l-ʿulūm* (Beirut: al-Dār al-Muttaḥida, 1974); Muḥammad ʿImāra, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī bayna al-zandaqa wa-l-ibdāʿ* (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 1997); Ibrāhīm Kīlānī, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1957); Muḥammad Masʿūdī, *Ishtiʿāl al-dhāt: simāt al-taṣwīr al-ṣūfī fī kitāb al-Ishārāt al-ilāhiyya li-Abī Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Intishār al-ʿArabī, 2007); Barakāt Muḥammad Murād, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī mughtariban* (Kuwait: Jāmiʿat al-Kuwayt, 2001); Muḥammad ʿAlī Ṣabbāḥ, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī: faylasūf al-udabāʾ wa-adīb al-falāsifa* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1990); Khayrī Shalabī, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī: rabīʿ al-thaqāfa al-ʿarabiyya* (Cairo: Muʾassasat al-ʿUrūba, 1990); ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Ḥasan Shaykh, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī wa-juhūduh al-adabiyya wa l-fanniyya* (Alexandria: al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma lil-Kitāb, 1980); Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghanī Shaykh, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī: raʾyuh fī l-iʿjāz wa-atharuh fī l-adab wa-l-naqd* (Tripoli, Libya: al-Dār al-ʿArabiyya lil-Kitāb, 1983); Muṣṭafā Tawātī, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī: dirāsa taḥlīliyya wa-nuṣūṣ mubawwaba* (Tunis: Dār al-Taqaddum, 1986); Ḥātim ʿUbayd, *al-Tikrār wa-fiʿl al-kitāba fī l-Ishārāt al-ilāhiyya li-Abī Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī* (Ṣafāqis: Kulliyyat al-Ādāb wa-l-ʿUlūm al-Insāniyya, 2005).

3 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ aw Irshād al-arīb ilā maʿrifat al-adīb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 7 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1993), 5: 1924.

Al-Tawḥīdī, in Iḥsān ʿAbbās's portrait of him, lived in perpetual existential angst, bitter at the lack of recognition for his talents.[4] He was a social climber, a courtier wannabe. He was not content with being a member of the two intellectual groups to which he seemed to have belonged: the "literary" circle represented and lead by the grammarian Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī (d. 368/978) early in his "career," and later the "philosophical" circle represented and led by the philosopher Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī, also known as al-Manṭiqī (d. 375/985). He tried his luck at the courts of Abū Muḥammad al-Muhallabī (d. 352/963) in Baghdad, of Abū l-Faḍl Ibn al-ʿAmīd (d. 360/970), of his son Abū l-Fatḥ (d. 366/976), and of al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 385/995) in Rayy, and failed miserably at each. His ambitions were hampered by his unattractive looks and miserable temperament and, worse, his beautiful handwriting seemed to always overshadow what he perceived to be his exceptional intellectual and literary talents. At long last he "struck gold" with Ibn Saʿdān. Alas, his good fortune was short lived, two years to be exact. Ibn Saʿdān was appointed vizier by Ṣamṣām al-Dawla in 373/983 and executed in 375/985–986. Al-Tawḥīdī would have disappeared into obscurity if it had not been for his books. These ensured his lasting presence in the historical memory of his time. Traces of the intellectual *milieu* of the courts of the famous viziers, images of the intellectual circles clustered around "disciplines" and their members, the ideas and issues raised and debated in these courts and intellectual circles, information on the intellectual trends possible and fashionable at the time, and perhaps even the political, social and economic forces at work at the time al-Tawḥīdī conjured for us in his books, are the stuff that allows us to see from the perspective of hindsight the trajectory of the development of what we would call Islamic civilization in general and Islamic thought in particular.

The death of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī is not merely that of a miserable old man or a failed courtier, but the death of an author. The "death of the Author" is "serious business" in the world of critical theory and thought as Derrida reminds us in his elegy for Roland Barthes,[5] who notoriously declared "The Death of the Author" in his eponymous essay in 1967. This famous essay was the watershed of what Derrida would call one of Barthes' deaths, here, his "death" as a structuralist and his "return to life" as a post-structuralist. "The death of the Author" is an attempt at grappling with the "role" of the "author" in the interpretive process involving a text or a number of texts. It looks at the simultaneous

4 Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī* (Khartoum: Dār Jāmiʿat Kharṭūm lil-Nashr, 1980).

5 Jacques Derrida, "The Deaths of Roland Barthes," trans. Pascale-Anne Brault, in *The Work of Mourning*, ed. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 34–67.

absence and presence of the author in the text, her disappearance as soon as she has written the text which we are attempting to interpret, and her "return to life" in our interpretation. However, the text is not the "author."[6] We can never know the author from the text; therefore, we can never comprehend the text merely as a "reflection" of the author, necessarily as a piece in the puzzle of her biography. Conversely, we can never reconstruct her biography from a text or a totality of texts she has "written."

2 Abū Ḥayyān Comes Back to Life: The "Author-Function"

The "author" we summon back from the dead is never the flesh-and-blood author who wrote the texts about which we feel strongly enough to want to decipher. More important, she is not one; as her deaths are multiple, she is as many as her texts. If I may sum up poststructuralism and deconstruction simply, the "author" is an effect of text, or textuality. The "Abū Ḥayyān" we know today is not the Abū Ḥayyān who lived in the tenth-century Buyid *Mashriq*. He is variously amalgamated from his texts, and from interpretations of his texts, but at the same time reduced to "author-function," which in Foucauldian terms (and Foucault and Derrida did not always see eye-to-eye) is expressive of "the mode of existence, circulation, and functioning of certain discourses within a society."[7] There are four characteristic traits of the "author-function": (1) it is linked to the juridical and institutional system that encompasses, determines, and articulates the universe of discourses; (2) it does not affect all discourses in the same way at all times and in all types of civilization; (3) it is not defined by the spontaneous attribution of a discourse to its producer, but rather by a series of specific and complex operations; (4) it does not refer purely and simply to a real individual, since it can give rise simultaneously to several selves, to several subjects—positions that can be occupied by different classes of individuals.[8]

Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī in contemporary writings, seen through the prism of "author-function," exposes two fundamental mechanisms in the way we construct historical discourses. In the first instance, biographical information is double-checked against his writing in order to reconstruct his "biography." In

6 Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author" (1967), in *Image. Music. Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 142–148.

7 Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?" in *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism*, ed. Josué V. Harari (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), 148.

8 Foucault, "What is an Author?" 153.

the second, his writing is mobilized in the "historical" reconstructions of the intellectual world of the tenth century, especially the antagonism between "foreign" "Greek sciences" and "native" "Arabic sciences" already palpable in what Arkoun calls open, rational, multicultural "humanism" of the tenth century (symbolized by the flowering of philosophy at the time) that would eventually lead to the triumph of single-faith driven "fundamentalism" in the eleventh century[9] (exemplified by the demise of philosophy and reason in what he would later call "Islamic Unthought").[10] Arkoun is controversial. However, there seems a tacit acceptance of the ascendance of Arabic sciences at the expense of Greek sciences. The explanations may differ but the result is the same. The terms of reference may inevitably be reduced to binarisms: Greek versus Arabic, philosophy versus religion, reason versus faith, enlightenment versus fundamentalism, tolerance versus persecution (of free thinkers), logic versus grammar. This teleological narrative of the demise of philosophy—as reason, enlightenment and tolerance (of freedom of thought)—is an effect of texts many of which al-Tawḥīdī wrote. More to the point, it is the effect of our reading of these texts, which involves what Foucault speaks of as a series of specific and complex conceptual processes we have yet to identify and analyze.

What we have done (and I include myself in our collective desire to "revive" medieval Islamic culture) is to bring the author back to life and assign a function to him that would serve our purposes, here, our scholarly venture into "reconstructing the past." We do this without interrogating the "death", or "disappearance" of al-Tawḥīdī in his writing, in the language of his writing. Language through which we think and seek truth (or meaning), if I may sum up Derrida very quickly, is structured by an epistemological (or semiological) system that deconstructs itself as soon as writing takes place, deferring meaning and creating difference (alterity). This always leads to multiplicity of possible meanings and results in the elusiveness of meaning, of referent, of truth. The referent of the name Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, for example, points to a multiplicity of Tawḥīdīs, seen even in Yāqūt's biography of him, which cannot be reduced to a singularity, to a true Tawḥīdī, to one truth. What if we were to re-read al-Tawḥīdī with this in mind? What if we were to re-think his binarisms as his way

9 See Mohammed Arkoun, *Miskawayh; philosophe et historien; contribution à l'étude de l'humanisme arabe IVe/Xe siècle* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1970); Arabic translation, *Naz'at al-ansina fī l-fikr al-'arabī jīl Miskawayh wa-l-Tawḥīdī* (London: Dār al-Sāqī, 1997).

10 See Mohammed Arkoun, *The Unthought in Contemporary Islamic Thought* (London: Dar Saqi in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2002).

of managing the slippery grounds of thinking and thought, as we do, of attempting to come to grips with the elusiveness of meaning, of truth, as we do, and of trying to transcend the epistemological system structuring discourses of his time, as the deconstructionists do?

3 The Text and Its Context

I want to give this new mode of reading a try and see what lessons we may learn from the process. I will focus on one duality associated with al-Tawḥīdī, that he is both *faylasūf al-udabāʾ wa-adīb al-falāsifa*, and a story he tells on the eighth night of *al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa* of the debate between Mattā b. Yūnus (d. 328/940) and Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī (d. 368/978) on the "superiority" of Greek logic or Arabic grammar. I begin by showing the way in which the debate recounted in this story has come to be "mythologized" in past and present discourses as an antagonism between Greek philosophy and the Arabic language crystallized in the *munāẓara* between "logic" and "grammar." "Myth" according to Roland Barthes is an old "sign" emptied of its original "historical" context and replanted in a completely new historical context. The significance of the sign is now derived from this new "historical" context.[11] The debate between Mattā and al-Sīrāfī, as transcribed by al-Tawḥīdī, is often extracted as an autonomous, coherent text and interpreted outside the context of *al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, which is in turn a text, onto which the very same debate, similarly an extract, is grafted. In both cases, in *al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, and later "texts" (e.g., *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* by Yāqūt), the same debate is given a new context. For example, while Yāqūt situates this debate as the crown in the jewels of al-Sīrāfī's learnedness, contemporary discourses on medieval Islam structure various moments of the 'tension' between Greek philosophy and Arabic sciences before and after the debate around this seminal event.[12]

11 Roland Barthes, "Myth Today," in *Mythologies*, trans. Anette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1987), 109–158.

12 See, for example, Gerhard Endress, "The Defense of Reason: The Plea for Philosophy in the Religious Community," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenchaften* 6 (1990): 1–49. See also, Taha Abderrhamane, "Discussion entre Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī, le grammairien et Mattā b. Yūnus, le philosophe," *Arabica* 25.3 (1978): 310–323; Gerhard Endress, "The Debate between Grammar and Greek logic," *Journal for the History of Arabic Sciences* 2.2 (1977): 106–118; and D.S. Margoliouth, "The Discussion between Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus and Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī on the Merits of Logic and Grammar," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1905): 79–129.

Let me now turn to the place of this debate in *al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa* and the ways in which al-Tawḥīdī narrates and contextualizes it. This debate appears in one *musāmara* in al-Tawḥīdī's transcript of the entertaining stories courtiers tell each other at night at the court of their patron. This *musāmara* is framed by another story Abū Ḥayyān tells (Abū l-Wafāʾ al-Muhandis [al-Buzjānī] [d. 388/998]) of a conversation he had with Ibn Saʿdān on Ibn Yaʿīsh al-Raqqī's *risāla* (epistle or treatise) on the relative easiness in mastering philosophy. Ibn Yaʿīsh asserted in this *risāla* that philosophy, as a discipline of knowledge, was easily accessible to all, "demanding no effort and imposing no hardship on its seeker."[13]

ليس على سالكها كدّ ولاشقّ في بلوغ مايريد من الحكمة ونيل مايطلب من السعادة وتحصيل الفوز في العاقبة.

The philosophers have made the goal of mastering philosophy seem unreachable because they have adopted logic and engineering and the relevant (sciences or crafts) as their means of livelihood. Al-Tawḥīdī points out that Ibn Yaʿīsh was equally self-serving in his *risāla* commissioned by a certain "al-Malik al-Saʿīd,"[14] possibly ʿAḍud al-Dawla. He then provides the views of his detractors that human beings despite their uneven talents nevertheless gravitate towards "knowledge of nature, soul, intellect and God" (*maʿrifat al-ṭabīʿa wa-l-nafs wa-l-ʿaql wa-l-ilāh taʿālā*), all of which are not necessarily obtainable from study and books. Al-Tawḥīdī then gives an example of mastery of language that is not necessarily preceded by the study of grammar. Knowledge of grammar does not have to lead to mastery of language. But he does return to the point Ibn Yaʿīsh makes about philosophers' greed and gives the example of Mattā dictating a folio (*waraqa*) for a *muqtadarī dirham* while drunk (*sakrān la yaʿqil*). He then proceeds to tell the story of the *munāẓara*, as passed on to him by al-Sīrāfī in highlights (*bi-lumaʿ*). This story, Abū Ḥayyān adds, is recounted by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994), who also wrote a commentary on it. In fact, he tells us that he copied the story from al-Rummānī. The *musāmara* then develops into a comparison between al-Sīrāfī and another famous grammarian of his time, Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987), who was also versed in Logic, followed by a discussion of their scholarly circles including the members.

13 References are made to *Kitāb al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn and Aḥmad al-Zayn (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, n.d), 1: 104.

14 This is an honorific bestowed on a dead monarch during Buyid times, here, possibly referring to ʿAḍud al-Dawla or Ṣamṣām al-Dawla.

In his book-length study of the art of *munāẓara* in the courtly *milieu* in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, Ḥusayn al-Ṣiddīq places the debate between al-Sīrāfī and Mattā on Grammar and Logic in the broader context of the epistemological encounter between Greek and Arabic sciences. This encounter, and the inherent debates, the proliferation of which was a testimony to the freedom of thought in these centuries, speak to the ways in which cross-cultural fertilization lies at the heart of civilizational development and, more important, to the perpetual search for the Truth and the means to know this Truth.[15] The *munāẓara* in *al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa* is not the "plot" in the narrative of an ongoing confrontation between Logic and Grammar, between Greek sciences and Arabic sciences, I argue, but on the role of a "discipline" like "grammar" in knowledge, in knowing. Questions raised with regard to grammar may be asked of other disciplines, including Logic, and by extension philosophy. One such question is "what becomes of the object of knowing when knowledge is commoditized?" *Al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa* is, in a sense, a literary conceit. It is purportedly written for Abū l-Wafāʾ al-Muhandis at his request to record for him the *musāmarāt* between Abū Ḥayyān and Ibn Saʿdān. But it is more likely a response to Abū l-Wafā"s "the inquiring mind wants to know" and his behest to "seek truth" (*tawakhkhā al-ḥaqq*) by being extremely careful with the terrifyingly "treacherous" language in his use of it. Arriving at truth during and at the end of a process of thinking can take place only in language which, according to al-Sīrāfī, as al-Tawḥīdī relates it, is a system of thought.

4 On the Duality of Grammar and Logic, of Language and Thought

If we read the *munāẓara* outside the context of *al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānsa*, as a text, we may make conclusions based on the certainty we detect in al-Sīrāfī's confidence, assertiveness, facility with language and ability to articulate. He beats Mattā b. Yūnus in a game of language, for indeed what he says amounts to the same thing Mattā says, with one significant difference: while Mattā insists on the universality of Logic, al-Sīrāfī argues for the derivation of logic from language, or the symbiosis between language and thought. As will be seen below, al-Sīrāfī wins the argument only because he is clever, or quicker, with words, especially at exploiting the slippages in the multiple signifieds (here, meanings, denotations, connotations and concepts) of a signifier (as a word

15 Ḥusayn al-Ṣiddīq, *al-Munāẓara fī l-adab al-ʿarabī-al-islāmī* (Cairo: al-Sharika al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀlamiyya-Longman, 2000).

and a technical term), especially in the overlap between these signifieds and the use of the signifier in ordinary language on which they are based, in this case, the Arabic language. What we witness in this *munāẓara*, as al-Tawḥīdī retells it, is akin to a dialogue between classical philology and deconstructionist poststructuralism, between the notion that thought shapes language and the idea that thought is shaped in language. I reproduce below the key passages from the Arabic text, underlining the key parts on which my discussion is based. I will not translate, for no translation would be able to convey the nuances of the verbal games al-Sīrāfī plays with Mattā, or the slippages he exploits to forward his argument. Translation in this case obfuscates rather than communicates the nuances of al-Sīrāfī's language, as narrated by al-Tawḥīdī, and the points he tries to impart through playing with semiotics, or the ways in which a signifier points to multiple signifieds. I will instead explain the ways in which al-Sīrāfī mobilizes his mastery of the Arabic language, especially Grammar, which he likens but considers superior to Logic, as we already know, not only to score points in rhetorical skills but also to drive home the point that thought, or thinking, is an integral part of language; language being the embodiment, manifestation and expression of thought. The contest begins with definitions.

Mattā defines *manṭiq*—by which he means Greek Logic—as "one of the instruments of *kalām*"—which can mean speech, discourse or utterance in linguistic terms in addition to theology in philosophical terms even in the language of Mattā and al-Sīrāfī—"through which the sound *kalām* may be distinguished from the defective, the corrupt from the good. *Manṭiq* works like scales; he uses it to separate the heavy from the light, or to discern that which tips the balance."[16]

> قال متّى [و هو يجيب عن سؤال ابن الفرات: 'حدّثني عن المنطق ما تعني به']: أعني به آلة من آلات الكلام يُعرَف بها صحيح الكلام من سقيمه، وفاسد المعنى من صالحه، كالميزان، فإني أعرف به الرجحان من النقصان، والشائل من الجانح.

Al-Sīrāfī protests rather loudly, asserting that the soundness of *kalām* may only be determined by its agreement with the familiar syntax, or composition (*al-naẓm al-maʾlūf*), and recognizable grammar (*al-iʿrāb al-maʿrūf*). In narrowing the scope of the connotations of *kalām* to the linguistic arena, shifting the grounds of debate to *kalām* as speech, and moving from the abstract (thought) to the concrete (expression in language), he is able to point out that not all

16 *Al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, 1: 109.

things are weighed, but more important, that Logic was founded by a Greek man on the basis of the language familiar to him. What then makes Greek logic so universal as to be imposed on the speakers of Turkish, Hindi, Persian and Arabic, and to be adopted by them as their judge and jury? Mattā is too honest to call al-Sīrāfī's bluff, and remains on an abstract plane. Logic is universal, he replies, because it looks into concepts and conceptualization, which he describes in four adjectival clauses: intentions graspable by the intellect; comprehensible meanings; ideas that come to mind; and thoughts that present themselves, and which he sees as abstract, and as processes taking place in the abstract (what we often refer to as "pure thought" today, outside what I would call the materiality of language). Concepts are more like numerals, and thinking a mathematical process: four plus four equals eight among all "nations." At the most abstract level, Mattā seems to say, all nations 'think' alike.[17]

قال متّى: انما لزم ذلك لأن المنطق بحث عن الأغراض المعقولة والمعاني المدركة وتصفّح للخواطرالسانحة والسوانح الهاجسة والناس في المعقولات سواء ألا ترى أن أربعة و أربعة ثمانية سواء عند جميع الأمم وكذلك ماأشبهه.

Al-Sīrāfī disagrees. It is impossible to think outside language, he contends, for there are two sides to any thinking process: concepts and the medium through which they find articulation (assuming that concepts do not exist until they find articulation). Here, thinking necessarily takes place in and through language. Intelligible intentions and comprehensible meanings (i.e., concepts) are so (i.e., graspable) only in and through a language that is made up of nouns, verbs, and particles. It is, therefore, not possible to think outside language. All "nations," al-Sīrāfī can now insist, do not think alike; for thinking is shaped by the language in which it takes place.[18]

قال أبوسعيد: لوكانت المطلوبات بالعقل والمذكورات باللفظ ترجع مع شعبها المختلفة وطرائقها المتباينة إلى هذه المرتبة البيّنة في أربعة وأربعة وأنها ثمانية زال الاختلاف وحضر الاتفاق ولكن الأمر ليس كذلك ولقد موّهت بهذا المثال ولكم عادة التمويه ولكن مع هذا أيضاً إذا كانت الأغراض المعقولة والمعاني المدركة لا يوصل إليها إلا باللغة الجامعة للأسماء والأفعال والحروف أفليس قد لزمت الحاجة الى معرفة اللغة؟ قال: نعم.

17 *Al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, 1: 111.

18 *Al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, 1: 111.

Mattā's acknowledgment that language is indispensable to "thinking" opens the door for al-Sīrāfī to go on the offensive, asserting "then what you advocate is not Logic *per se* but that we should all learn the language of the Greeks, when you do not know it yourself."[19] Al-Sīrāfī speaks explicitly of Mattā's ignorance of the Greek language and that he came to Logic through the Syriac translations, which he then translated into the Arabic language. Many kinds of distortion can occur in such three-way translations. And even if one were able to argue that it is possible not to err, it is not possible to establish a perfect equivalence between two languages, let alone three, for this is not in the nature of languages or the ways in which concepts are formulated (*maqādīr al-maʿānī*).[20] If thinking cannot take place outside language, then Mattā is not merely advocating the universality of Logic but also the superiority of the Greeks, it is as if he were saying, as al-Sīrāfī puts it, "only Greek minds are able to think authoritatively, present irrefutable evidence, and represent the truth."[21] If this is not racism, what is?

But al-Sīrāfī is less interested in the racist implications of Mattā's intellectual position, or his championing Logic, than in the perspective through which he is able to present Logic as a universal instrument of thought, or his insistence that thought transcends language. In his refutation of such a notion, al-Sīrāfī piles on one example after another of the symbiosis between language and thought, as the lengthy paragraph below shows. He takes advantage of the richness of his terminological vocabulary, the abundance of near synonyms in Arabic, and the slippages between the use of each as a term and as an ordinary utterance, and goes for the jugular. Suddenly, *kalām*, *nuṭq* (the basic meaning of which is to "utter" in Arabic, and from which the term denoting Logic is derived) and *lugha* (language) become synonyms as well as synonymous with other Arabic grammatical and rhetorical terms, all having to do with making visible (in expressions, articulations, or verbal representations) what is internal (such as intentions, meanings and concepts) in and through language. They have, above all, a built-in logic that can determine what sound thinking is. The first example he gives, which not coincidentally pairs *nuṭq* with *kalām*, shows as much. "Zayd uttered the truth but did not speak the truth" is premised on faulty thinking, even when two different verbs are used. It is as if al-Sīrāfī were saying that *manṭiq* and *kalām* are the same thing, not different things as Mattā would have it, that *manṭiq* is the instrument of *kalām*. The logic built into any

19 *Al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, 1: 111.

20 *Al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, 1: 112.

21 *Al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, 1: 112.

language is precisely its grammar, al-Sīrāfī argues: "grammar is logic derived from the Arabic language, and logic is grammar comprehensible in and through language."[22]

فقال أبو سعيد: أخطأت، لأن الكلام والنطق واللغة والإفصاح والإعراب والإبانة والحديث والإخبار والاستخبار والعرض (والتمنّي) والنهي والحضّ والدعاء والنداء والطلب كلّها من واد واحد بالمشاكلة والمماثلة ألا ترى أن رجلاً لو قال: نطق زيد بالحقّ ولكن ماتكلم بالحقّ، وتكلّم بالفحش ولكن ماقال بالفحش، وأعرب عن نفسه ولكن ما أفصح، وأبان المراد ولكن ما أوضح، أو فاه بحاجته ولكن ما لفظ، أو أخبر ولكن ما أنبأ، لكان في جميع هذا مُحرّفاً ومُناقِضاً وواضعاً للكلام في غير حقّه، ومُستعمِلاً اللفظ على غير شهادة من عقله وعقل غيره؛ والنحو منطق ولكنه مسلوخ من العربية والمنطق نحو ولكنه مفهوم باللغة ، وإنماالخلاف بين اللفظ والمعنى أن اللفظ طبيعي والمعنى عقلي؛ ولهذا كان اللفظ بائداً على الزمان، لأن الزمان يقفو أثر الطبيعة (بأثر آخر من الطبيعة) ولهذا كان المعنى ثابتاً على الزمان، لأن مستملى المعنى عقل، والمعنى إلهي؛ ومادّة اللفظ طينية، وكلّ طيني متهافت؛ وقد بقيت أنت بلا اسم لصناعتك التي تنتحلها، وآلتك التي تزهى بها، إلا أن تستعير من العربية لها اسماً فتعار، ويُسلّم لك ذلك بمقدار؛ و إذا لم يكن لك بدّ من قليل هذه اللغة من أجل الترجمة فلا بدّ لك أيضاً من كثيرها من أجل تحقيق الترجمة واجتلاب الثقة والتوقّي من الخلّة اللاحقة.

It is, then, implausible and impractical to think of *lafẓ* (what is uttered) and *maʿnā* (what is meant) as separate entities, each subject to an independent discipline of intellectual inquiry—grammar and logic respectively—as Mattā would see things, for even a Logician is incapable of communicating his ideas clearly and accurately, whether to his student or opponent in a debate, unless his *lafẓ* (utterance, speech or discourse) "comprises what he intends, conforms with his purpose, and befits his objective."[23]

قال أبو سعيد ...: فلِمَ تدّعي أن النحوي إنما ينظر في اللفظ دون المعنى، والمنطقي ينظر في المعنى لا في اللفظ؟ هذا كان يصحّ لوأن المنطقي كان يسكت ويجيل فكره في المعاني، ويرتّب ما يريد بالوهم السانح والخاطر العارض والحدس الطارئ؛ فأما وهو يريغ أن يبرّر ما

22 *Al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, 1: 115.

23 *Al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, 1: 119.

صحّ له بالاعتبار والتصفّح إلى المتعلّم و المناظِر، فلا بدّ له من اللفظ الذي يشتمل على مراده، ويكون طباقاً لغرضه، وموافقاً لقصده.

5 Dialogism, Not Duality

I now return to the way al-Tawḥīdī frames this *munāẓara* within a *musāmara* in yet another imagined conversation he has with Abū l-Wafāʾ al-Muhandis.[24] He quotes at length Abū l-Wafāʾ's "advice" to him on language and writing in his "Introduction" to *al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, as he embarks on the search for truth and honesty in his presentation of his dialogues with Ibn Saʿdān (*tawakhkhā al-ḥaqq fī taḍāʿīfih wa-l-ṣidq fī īḍāḥih*).[25] *Kalām*, and here it may be useful to think of *kalām* as Bakhtinian speech genre, is made up not only of single utterances, words or sentences, but also of the composition of a string of utterances and the associations these utterances have acquired through language use. *Kalām*, as well as comprehending it, is wily in that it is not subject to easy mastery, especially where the articulation of truth is concerned. Even though it originates from the intellect (assuming that it is reasonable and rational), or that its material is intellectual (*māddatuh min al-ʿaql*), it is subject to unpredictable fancy, or imagination (*wahm*), and finds circulation in language, or takes shape in language as currents would follow the course carved out by nature (*majrāh ʿalā l-lisān*). As soon as one gets into the territory of language and its relationship with thought, one enters a complex world, where a word is given meaning in the form in which it is cast, in the way in which it is strung to other words, in its terminological use, as dictated by our intellect, comprehended by our critical perception, and informed by our delicate sensibilities. All these together make it impossible to pin down any intention, meaning, concept and, above all, truth. *Kalām*, whether we think of it as speech, discourse or utterance, is slippery, so is what it conveys. It does not really matter whether we think of thought as Logic or Grammar, as long as we understand that meaning is produced in dialogism, in the ways in which language and thought define each other and give each other shape. Abū l-Wafāʾ's advice, "do not love the word to the exclusion of meaning, and do no desire meaning above the word," as rendered by al-Tawḥīdī, makes sense, and becomes the "plot" around which the *musāmarāt* and *munāẓarāt* of *al-Imtāʿ*

24 For the frame-within-frame technique, see Anwar Lūqā, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī wa-Shahrazād* (Tunis: Dār al-Janūb, 1999).

25 *Al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, 1: 9.

wa-l-muʾānasa are structured, and out of which the dramas of the world of ideas, of thought and thinking, and their relationship to language, are played out.[26]

فإن الكلام صلف تياه لا يستجيب لكلّ إنسان، ولا يصحب كلّ لسان؛ وخطره كثير، ومتعاطيه مغرور، وله أرن كأرن المهر وإباء كإباء الحرون، وزهو كزهو الملك، وخفق كخفق البرق؛ وهو يتسهّل مرّة ويتعسّر مراراً، ويذلّ طوراً و يعزّ أطواراً؛ و مادّته من العقل (والعقل) سريع الحؤول خفي الخداع؛ وطريقه على الوهم، والوهم شديد السيلان؛ ومجراه على اللسان، واللسان كثير الطغيان؛ وهو مركّب من اللفظ اللغوي والصوغ الطباعي، والتأليف الصناعي، والاستعمال الاصطلاحي ، ومستملاه من الحجا ودريه بالتمييز؛ ونسجه بالرقّة، والحجا في غاية النشاط وبهذا البون يقع التباين و يتّسع التأويل، ويجول الذهن؛ و تقطع الدعوى ، ويفزع إلى البرهان، ويبرأ من الشبهة ، و يعثر بما أشبه الحجّة وليس بحجّة؛ فاحذر هذا النعت وروادفه، واتّق هذا الحكم وقوائفه؛ ولا تعشق اللفظ دون المعنى ولا تهو المعنى دون اللفظ.

The "first night," then, is expectedly a transcription of his discussion of a number of conceptual categories with Ibn Saʿdān, such as, "*al-ʿatīq*" (ancient or old) and "*al-ḥadīth*" (new or modern) and a number of derivatives of the latter. Ibn Saʿdān also implores him to be "precise and concise." Language, it seems, is at issue not simply as a linguistic phenomenon but also as a system of thought. Abū l-Wafāʾ and Ibn Saʿdān seem to say, "Please tell me the truth!" and al-Tawḥīdī seems to respond, "But it is hidden behind language." This framing technique seems to distance the truth further and further. He even casts doubt on al-Sīrāfī, who is quoted as having said, "This is the end of what I had written down from ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī's dictation. Abū Saʿīd had narrated highlights of this story, and he used to say, 'I did not remember everything I had said and what I remember is not entirely orderly, but some of those who attended wrote it down in some papers, as well as ink, they had with them.'"[27]

هذا آخر ما كتبت عن علي بن عيسى الرمّاني الشيخ الصالح بإملائه. وكان أبوسعيد قد روى لمعاً من هذه القصة.

26 *Al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, 1: 9.

27 *Al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, 1: 128.

وكان يقول: لم أحفظ عن نفسي كلّ ما قلت، ولكن كتب ذلك أقوام حضروا في ألواح كانت معهم و محابر أيضاً؛ وقد اختلّ عليّ كثير منه.

What then is one to make of the duality of logic and grammar and of *falsafa* and *adab*? They define each other. They are wrapped around each other and cannot be separated. One would be lost without the other. Logic may not be grammar, or *adab falsafa*, but they are intertwined in such a dialogical way that the terms used to describe al-Tawḥīdī are, for example, an *izdiwāj* pairing comprising two inverted *iḍāfa*s: *faylasūf al-udabāʾ*, *adīb al-falāsifa*. Here, one is defined in its dialogue with the other, which is re-created in the *musāmara* and *munāẓara* formats.

What if we were to start with this understanding of al-Tawḥīdī's "dialogism" to re-think tenth-century Islamic culture? What if we abandon monologism in our thinking of that period implicit in Endress's article titled, "The Defense of Reason: The Plea for Philosophy in the Religious Community," and re-imagine the tenth-century intellectual world as dialogically interdisciplinary (not multi-disciplinary)? Will we be able to add substance and nuance to Iḥsān ʿAbbās's masterful *Malāmiḥ yūnāniyya fī l-adab al-ʿarabī*?[28] Will we be able to produce a different narrative of philosophy's "death" in Islam?

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28 Beirut: al-Muʾassasa al-ʿArabiyya lil-Dirāsāt wa-l-Nashr, 1977.

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CHAPTER 19

The Play of Genre: A *Maqāma* of "Ease after Hardship" from the Eighth/Fourteenth Century and Its Literary Context

Maurice A. Pomerantz

Like the protean and playful characters they depict, *maqāmāt* works have often exhibited a remarkable capacity to travel and transform. Invented in the fourth/tenth century by Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008) in Eastern Iran, their influence soon spread across the East and West of the Islamic world. Authors such as Ibn Shuhayd (d. 426/1035) and Ibn Sharaf (d. 460/1067) writing from al-Andalus, and Ibn Nāqiyā (d. 485/1092) writing from Baghdad, all appear to have found some measure of inspiration in the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī.[1]

From the sixth/twelfth century onwards, the *maqāma* genre began to travel more widely with al-Ḥarīrī's (d. 516/1122) authorship of a collection of 50 *maqāmāt*. Intended to rival al-Hamadhānī's *corpus*, al-Ḥarīrī's work nearly succeeded in becoming the normative definition of the *maqāma* genre for subsequent generations. As Wolfhart Heinrichs observes, "If one can speak of best-sellers in medieval Arabic literature (which was not a market for the masses), the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī by modern standards would clearly qualify."[2] The causes for the popularity of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* remain to be explored, however, the effects of the work's diffusion can still be seen in the large numbers of extant copies of the work.[3]

Scholarship on the *maqāma* has primarily concentrated on the formative period of the *maqāma* genre between al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī. Abdelfattah Kilito, Philip F. Kennedy, Julia Bray, Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, Katia Zakharia,

1 See Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "The Early *Māqama*: Towards Defining a Genre," *Asiatische Studien* 51 (1997): 577–599, for a good overview of questions of literary influence.

2 Wolfhart Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres in Classical Arabic Literature," in *Prosimetrum: Crosscultural Perspectives on Narrative in Prose and Verse*, ed. Joseph Harris and Karl Reichel (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997), 262.

3 Pierre A. MacKay, "Certificates of Transmission on a Manuscript of the *Maqāmāt* of Ḥarīrī (MS. Cairo, Adab 105)," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 61 (1971): 1–81, illustrates the remarkable transmission history of one of the important early manuscripts of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*.

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among others, have shed much light on how the *maqāma* developed within the literary context of the fifth-sixth/eleventh-twelfth centuries.[4]

As Everett Rowson states, "al-Ḥarīrī's work was for a long time a *ne plus ultra* for scholars of Arabic prose literature, who believed that literary works of the later Mamlūk and Ottoman period did not merit serious consideration."[5] Scholars aiming to redress this bias have in recent years begun to reassess the value of Arabic literature written in the post-classical period. Writing in the *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, Devin Stewart provides a useful overview of the classical *maqāma* form and its subsequent development in the post-classical period.[6] Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila's comprehensive study of 2002, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, offers a rich guide to the large historical and geographical range of *maqāma* writing in the premodern period.[7]

These works demonstrate real progress in the study of the later history of the *maqāma*. Nevertheless, many *maqāmāt* from different time periods and contexts remain to be examined in greater detail. In particular, works from the seventh–eighth/fourteenth–fifteenth centuries stand out as important. Both in terms of the quantity and diversity of texts, further study of this period promises to shed light on changes in the modes and values of Arabic literary culture. As Hämeen-Anttila writes "after al-Ḥarīrī, the maqama started to be seen as

4 Among representative studies are: Abdelfattah Kilito, "Le genre 'séance': une introduction," *Studia Islamica* 43 (1976): 25–51; idem, "Contribution à l'étude 'littéraire' classique, L'example de Ḥarīrī," *Arabica* 25 (1978): 18–48; idem, *Les Séances. Récits et codes culturels chez Hamadhānī et Ḥarīrī* (Paris: Sindbad, 1983); Phillip F. Kennedy, "Some Demon Muse: Structure and Allusion in al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāma Iblīsiyya*," *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* 2 (1999): 115–135; idem, "The *Maqāmāt* as a Nexus of Interests: Reflections on Abdelfattah Kilito's *Les Séances*," in *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam: Muslim Horizons*, ed. Julia Bray (London: Routledge, 2006), 153–214; Julia Ashtiany [Bray], "Al-Tanūkhī's *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda* as a Literary Source," in *Arabicus felix: luminosus Britannicus: Essays in Honour of A.F.L. Beeston on His Eightieth Birthday* (Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 1991), 108–115; Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002), 62–97; Katia Zakharia, "al-Maqāma al-Bišriyya. Une épopée mystique," *Arabica* 37 (1990): 250–291; eadem, *Abū Zayd al-Sarūǧī, Imposteur et Mystique: Relire les Maqāmāt d'al-Ḥarīrī* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 2000).

5 Everett K. Rowson, "Two Homoerotic Narratives from Mamlūk Literature: Al-Ṣafadī's *Law'at al-shākī* and Ibn Dāniyāl's *al-Mutayyam*," in *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature*, ed. J.W. Wright, Jr. and Everett K. Rowson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 158.

6 Devin Stewart, "The *Maqāma*," in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, ed. R. Allen and D.S. Richards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 145–159.

7 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*.

a more or less fixed genre, and al-Ḥarīrī's picaresque/philological maqama became the model for two centuries until the genre started disintegrating in the 14th century."[8] Devin Stewart also identifies what he terms a "widening" of the *maqāma* genre during the same period. According to Stewart, even the term *maqāma* underwent a change in meaning. He states that, "certainly from the fourteenth century on, the term *maqāma*, comes to denote simply an epistle written in rhymed prose which indulges heavily in formal rhetorical flourishes and aspires to elegance."[9]

In this essay, I edit, translate, and discuss an unusual and hitherto unstudied *maqāma* from the early eighth/fourteenth century entitled the "The Maqāma of Relief after Hardship" (*Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda*) from the *al-Maqāmāt al-Jalāliyya* (heretofore referred to as the *MJ*), a collection of 30 *maqāmāt* authored by al-Ṣafadī al-Barīdī. After surveying the *MJ* collection and this particular *maqāma*, I claim that the author draws upon the well-known literary theme of "relief after hardship" in this *maqāma* to highlight its similarities and differences from the *maqāma* form which he inherited from his predecessors. This essay argues that al-Ṣafadī's *maqāma* references the neighboring genre of "relief after hardship" to encourage reflection on features of the *maqāma* genre in a period that witnessed changes to its form. I propose that al-Ṣafadī's *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* can be understood as one author's attempt to locate his own literary work within the changing literary context of his age.

1 *Al-Maqāmāt al-Jalāliyya*: A *Maqāma* Collection from the Eighth/Fourteenth Century

The *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* is the final *maqāma* in *al-Maqāmāt al-Jalāliyya*. This collection of thirty *maqāmāt*, was composed in the early eighth/fourteenth century by the minor historian and colloquial poet, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Abī Muḥammad al-Ṣafadī al-Barīdī. The work is preserved in two manuscripts: MS Laleli no. 1929, copied in 727/1327 and Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Taymūr (*adab*) no. 293, copied in 1097/1685–1686.[10] Oskar Rescher

8 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 126.

9 Stewart, "The *Maqāma*," 158.

10 Oskar Rescher, "Über arabische manuscripte der Lālelī-moschee," *Le Monde oriental* 7 (1913): 104; see Brockelmann, *GAL*, S 2 208; see *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid (Cairo: Maʿhad Iḥyāʾ al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya, 1954), 1: 530; see also Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 385. For the Dār al-Kutub manuscript, see *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara fī Dār al-Kutub*, ed. ʿI. al-Shanṭī (Cairo: Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya, 1996), 1: 75–76. The second manuscript, copied in Aleppo, appears to have been transcribed from

first described the collection in 1913. Its contents, however, have not been discussed in any study relating to the history of the *maqāma* genre.[11]

In addition to the *MJ*, al-Ṣafadī composed a short chronicle of Egypt completed during the reign of the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (d. 741/1341) entitled *Nuzhat al-mālik wa-l-mamlūk* as well as a volume of political advice entitled *al-Āthār al-uwal fī tartīb al-duwal*.[12] Little is known of al-Ṣafadī's life, save that he worked for some time in the Mamlūk bureaucracy. He describes at one point in his history, *Nuzhat al-mālik*, a mission he undertook on behalf of the Mamlūk vizier Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUmar b. al-Khalīl al-Dārī in the year 694/1294–1295.[13] As his title, the postal official (al-*barīdī*), and other indications in the *MJ* suggest, al-Ṣafadī, (like al-Ḥarīrī) was employed in the Mamlūk post.[14] Biographical sources of the Mamlūk period do not mention al-Ṣafadī, thus his dates of birth and death are unknown.

Al-Ṣafadī reports that he first became acquainted with the *maqāma* genre as a young man growing up in the city of Ṣafad in the Galilee. There, he met the Sufi scholar and *adīb*, Ḥusām al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār and studied his *maqāma*s.[15] When al-Ṣafadī left Ṣafad for Cairo, he fell out of contact with his teacher Ibn ʿAṭṭār. Ibn ʿAṭṭār's *maqāmāt*, however, appear to have made a great impression on him. Al-Ṣafadī states that he kept hoping to find a copy of Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār's *Maqāmāt*, until finally he came across one more than thirty years after his departure from Ṣafad at the home of the author's nephew in Gaza.[16] The work of Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār that al-Ṣafadī found, entitled *al-Maqāmāt al-Qurashiyya*, extant in the *unicum* manuscript, Istanbul, MS Aya Sofya 4297, was subsequently copied in al-Ṣafadī's own hand in Cairo in 721/1321.[17] Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār's collection is closely modeled on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. Forty-nine of the fifty *maqāmāt*, are

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the Laleli manuscript. For a more detailed description of this, see Maurice A. Pomerantz, "A *Maqāma* Collection by a Mamlūk Historian: *al-Maqāmāt al-Ǧalāliyya* by al-Ḥasan b. Abī Muḥammad al-Ṣafadī (fl. First Quarter of the 8th/14th c.)" *Arabica* 61 (2014): 631–663.

11 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 385 refers to the existence of the collection.

12 Al-Ṣafadī, *Nuzhat al-mālik wa-l-mamlūk fī mukhtaṣar man waliya Miṣr min al-mulūk*, ed. ʿU. al-Tadmurī (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, 2003); idem, *Āthār al-uwal fī tartīb al-duwal*, ed. ʿA. ʿUmayra (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1989).

13 Al-Ṣafadī, *Nuzhat al-mālik*, 179.

14 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Maqāmāt al-Jalāliyya*, f. 3a (references, unless otherwise noted, are to MS Laleli 1929). Adam J. Silverstein, *Postal Systems in the Pre-Modern Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 115, describes how al-Ḥarīrī and his descendants had been *ṣāḥib al-khabar* in Baṣra, which meant that he had a role in intelligence gathering.

15 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Maqāmāt al-Jalāliyya*, f. 1b.

16 Ibid., f. 2a.

17 Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, *al-Maqāmāt al-Qurashiyya*, MS Aya Sofya, 4297, f. 1b and f. 219b.

identified by the scribe as written in imitation (*muqābala*) of the language and meaning of particular *maqāma*s of al-Ḥarīrī.[18]

Al-Ṣafadī states that having copied this collection of fifty *maqāmāt*, he noticed that the first two *maqāma*s from *al-Maqāmāt al-Qurashiyya* were missing from this manuscript, two other *maqāmāt* having taken their place. Al-Ṣafadī states that he was filled with remorse for the loss of these works that he had remembered studying in Ṣafad, and attempted to compose his own *maqāma*s to replace them, "following the path of Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār." Composing the first two *maqāma*s in his collection on the same theme as Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār's *maqāmāt*, al-Ṣafadī continued to write until he had composed the thirty *maqāmāt* in the *MJ* manuscript in addition to twenty-five other *maqāmāt* that do not appear to be extant.[19]

Al-Ṣafadī's account of his route toward the authorship of *maqāmāt* as a product of learning and creative adaptation is reflected in basic features of his collection. The outward form of the *maqāmāt* that al-Ṣafadī composes reveals the importance that the traditional models of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* and the collection of his teacher Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār held for his artistic consciousness. Yet at the same time, there is much that is unusual in the contents of these *maqāmāt* that merits the attention of scholars.

Following the path of many other *maqāma* writers, al-Ṣafadī chose names for his characters that deliberately reference those of al-Ḥarīrī and al-Hamadhānī. For example, al-Ṣafadī selected the name Thāmir b. Zammām for the *rāwī* of this collection which in rhyme and meaning stands in opposition to the name of Ḥārith b. Hammām.[20] The name of the trickster Abū Fayd al-Lujūjī's (a rhyme with Ḥarīrī's Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī) similarly evokes both his recalcitrance (*lujūjih*) as well as a connection to a natural spring (*nabʿ al-Lujūj*) in the vicinity of Baʿlabakk.[21]

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18 Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, *al-Maqāmāt al-Qurashiyya*, f. 219b. Marginal notes in the manuscript identify the particular *maqāmāt* of Ḥarīrī to which each of the *maqāmāt* of Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār are written. For the specific term *muqābala*, see al-ʿAskarī, *Kitāb al-Ṣināʿatayn*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī and Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya, 1952), 337.

19 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Maqāmāt al-Jalāliyya*, f. 3a.

20 Al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī* (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Thaqāfiyya, n.d.), 1: 27, suggests that al-Ḥarīrī chose the names of Ḥārith and Hammām because according to a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, they were thought to be the "most truthful" of names. He explains that every man tills the earth (*yaḥrith*) in search of acquiring wealth and worries on account of fulfilling his needs (*yahumm bi-ḥājatih*); see Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 154–155.

21 Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. F. Sezgin (Frankfurt:

The structure of the individual *maqāmāt* in the collection also resembles the prototype of al-Ḥarīrī. Twenty-nine of al-Ṣafadī's thirty *maqāmāt* feature the same general form of al-Ḥarīrī's *maqāma* in which the hero and protagonist play a central role:[22]

1. chain of transmission (*isnād*)
2. general introduction
—link
3. episode
4. recognition scene
5. *envoi*
6. finale

The rhyming patterns in al-Ṣafadī's prose *maqāmāt* evoke al-Ḥarīrī's *maqāmāt* as well. Like al-Ḥarīrī, the general rhyme pattern of al-Ṣafadī follows regular doubled end-rhymes (A-A; B-B; C-C) with occasional examples of triples (A-A-A) and "doubled" doubles (A-A-A-A).[23]

Al-Ṣafadī's *MJ* departs decidedly from al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* in the author's choice of themes for individual *maqāmāt* and his extensive use of popular poetic forms.[24] For instance, *Maqāma* no. 16, *al-Miyāhiyya*, describes how the narrator first observed the various weights of bodies of water in Mamlūk Egypt and then learned of the magical properties of various water sources in ways that suggestively juxtapose the act of scientific observation to the contemplation of the wondrous and strange (*ʿajāʾib*). Similarly, *Maqāma* no. 7, *al-Taʿbīriyya al-Dumyāṭiyya*, treats the topic of dream interpretation. Throughout the collection, "dialectical" poetry figures prominently in many of the *maqāmāt*. Indeed, one *maqāma* in the collection, no. 28, *al-Qūṣiyya*, includes a long discussion on the types of poetry which refers to *rajaz*, *mawwāliyya*, *dūbayt*, *kān wa-kān*, and *ḥammāq*, as well as providing examples of each form.[25]

There is little information on the contemporary context in which the *MJ* was read or performed. Notes in the Laleli manuscript state that the *MJ* was first read aloud in the guest house (*mihmānkhāna*) and a mosque in Tripoli

Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, 1988), 3: 267 notes the location of this spring near Baʿlabakk.

22 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 152.

23 Ibid., 156–158, on al-Ḥarīrī's use of rhymed prose.

24 For al-Ḥarīrī's use of poetry and songs, see Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 267.

25 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Maqāmāt al-Jalāliyya*, f. 167a–172b.

in 727/1327 in the presence of the author, al-Ṣafadī.[26] From various indications in several *maqāmāt*, it appears that al-Ṣafadī dedicated the *MJ* to the famed historian and geographer Abū l-Fidāʾ (672–732 /1273–1332) who was the ruler of the "kingdom of Hama" in Syria and a close ally of the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. There is, however, no evidence that this famed scholar ever received the work.[27]

2 The *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-Shidda*

The main subject of this essay is the last *maqāma* in the *MJ* collection, the *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda*.[28] The *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* is related by the narrator of the collection, Thāmir b. Zammām, who describes how, once, he was wandering directionless through the desert and encountered a lion in his path. Fearing for his life, he flees to a cave opening for safety.[29] Believing himself rescued by the narrow cave entrance, he turns away from the lion and moves into the cave. When he turns to face the interior of the cave, he sees two snakes (*thuʿbānān*) which are "as large as the forearms of an elephant or slightly larger" coming out of the other side of the cave. Moreover, they carry a hydra (*shujāʿ*) on their heads. The hydra then wraps itself around the narrator. Rather than attacking him, the hydra turns and strikes the lion waiting outside the cave entrance, killing it. In a blink of an eye, the hydra mounts the two snakes and disappears into a hole in the cave.[30]

Terrified, the narrator collapses from exhaustion. When he awakes, he resumes his wanderings and, after a long journey, arrives at the outskirts of a city. It is nightfall and he is unable to enter the city's gates. Walking among the ruins of the city, he sees a youth who has been beaten and left to die. When he approaches him, some of the youth's blood accidentally splatters on his clothing. Frightened, the narrator attempts to flee, but stumbles. No sooner does he leave the scene than he is arrested for the murder of the youth by an official and some of his guards. He embraces this turn of affairs willingly, and

26 Ibid., f. 22a; See Rescher, "Manuscripte der Lālelī-moschee," 104.

27 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Maqāmāt al-Jalāliyya*. The twentieth, *al-Maqāma al-Muʾayyadiyya* (f. 117b–125b), describes a series of Abū Fayd's fictional panegyrics and his reward. Abū l-Fidāʾ is similarly mentioned as a judge of literary merit in the first *maqāma* in the collection, *al-Ḥimṣiyya* (f. 2a–22a).

28 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Maqāmāt al-Jalāliyya*, f. 176b–178b.

29 Ibid., f. 176b.

30 Ibid., f. 177a.

surrenders to members of the night watch on the charge of having murdered the youth.[31]

The following morning, the narrator is led out to be executed. After the hangman reminds the narrator of his religious obligations to God, the narrator says aloud, "I have witnessed greater than this and God has provided me with relief after hardship." This statement is not understood by the hangman. Believing the narrator to be insane, the hangman begins to mock him. The government official (*wālī*) asks why the narrator has not been killed. In the meantime, the king having already arranged the cloak of honor for the government official who apprehended the murderer, becomes curious about the delay of execution. The king desires to proceed with the execution, but the hangman and the official assert that the narrator is mad. The king chooses to hear exactly what the narrator has to say.[32]

The narrator then recites a poem describing the events that led to his arrest for murder. Hearing the poem, the king is amazed at the narrator's speech and orders his release, the burial of the dead man, and satisfaction of all of the narrator's needs for food, money, clothing. It is at this point that the wandering of the main character ends, and he is now able to return to his home in possession of wealth.[33]

3 The *Maqāma* and the Literature of Relief after Hardship

The *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* references the theme of "Relief After Hardship" (*al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda*) common from a very early period in Arabic literature. Al-Madāʾinī (d. 228/843–844), Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (d. 281/894) and Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Anbārī (d. 328/939) all compiled collections featuring the anecdotes about "relief after hardship."[34] Al-Muḥassin b. ʿAlī al-Tanūkhī (327–384/938–995), however, was instrumental in popularizing this genre of stories in his large compendium of anecdotes entitled *al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda*.[35]

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31 Ibid., f. 177b.

32 Ibid., f. 177b–178a.

33 Ibid., f. 178b.

34 For al-Tanūkhī's reliance upon prior works of the theme of *al-faraj baʿd al-shidda*, see Alfred Weiner, "Die *Faraǧ baʿd aš-Šidda-Literatur*. Von Madāʾinī († 225 H) bis Tanūḫī († 384 H). Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte," *Der Islam* 4 (1913): 270–298 and 387–420.

35 The standard edition of this work is al-Muḥassin b. ʿAlī al-Tanūkhī, *Kitāb al-faraj baʿd al-shidda* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1978). On the generic features of the *Faraj*-anecdote as defined

Anecdotes and stories of *al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* remained a popular theme in Arabic literature in the centuries after al-Tanūkhī. As Alfred Weiner noted in his study of the "Relief after Hardship" genre, al-Tanūkhī's *Faraj* was so widely known that it supplanted the title of later works written on the related theme.[36]

In alluding to the tradition of *Faraj*-anecdote, al-Ṣafadī evoked a long history of associations between this genre and the *maqāma*. Modern scholars have often noted similarities between anecdotes from al-Tanūkhī's *Faraj* and the plots of *Maqāmāt*. Beeston suggests that certain *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī such as *al-Asadiyya* "could easily have figured in al-Tanūkhī's *Faraj* in ch. 9 (encounters with wild beasts) and ch. 11 (encounters with robbers)."[37] Julia Ashtiany has also pointed to similarities between several stories found in al-Tanūkhī's *Faraj* and *al-Maqāma al-Maḍīriyya* of al-Hamadhānī.[38] She contends that certain "narrative models" were held in common between the stories from the *Faraj* and the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī. Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, too, posits that the "weaver of words" tale found in the *Faraj* (and other works) in which an unknown eloquent beggar demonstrates the inadequacy of a vizier's knowledge may also have influenced al-Hamadhānī's composition of *maqāmāt*.[39]

Later authors of *maqāmāt* such as Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) drew explicit and conscious parallels between the *Faraj*-anecdote and the *maqāma*.[40] In his *Maqāma* 26, entitled *al-Raqṭāʾ*, the telling of a *Faraj*-anecdote figures prominently.[41] The narrator, al-Ḥārith b. Hammām, having left al-Ahwāz is suffering from poverty when he comes across a tent pitched in the middle

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by al-Tanūkhī, see: Hakan Özkan, *Narrativität im Kitāb al-Faraǧ baʿda š-šidda des Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin at-Tanūḫī* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2008); Daniel Beaumont, "In the Second Degree: Fictional Technique in al-Tanūkhī's *al-Faraj baʿd al-Shidda*," *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* 1.2 (1998): 125–139; Nouha Khalifa, *Hardship and Deliverance in the Islamic Tradition*: *Theology and Spirituality in the Works of al-Tanūkhī* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010).

36 Wiener, "Die *Faraǧ baʿd aš-Šidda-Literatur*," 271, notes that al-Subkī (d. 769/1368) refers to the *al-Qaṣīda al-Munfarija* of Ibn al-Naḥwī (d. 505/1111 or 513/1119) as *Qaṣīdat al-faraj baʿd al-shidda*, while several manuscripts refer to the work of Qaḍīb al-Bān (d. 1096/1684–1685) entitled *Ḥall al-ʿiqāl* as *al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* as a result of the popularity of al-Tanūkhī's work.

37 A.F.L. Beeston, "The Genesis of the *Maqāmāt* Genre," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 2 (1971):1–12.

38 Ashtiany, "Al-Tanūkhī's *al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* as a Literary Source," 108–115.

39 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 80–82.

40 Ibid., 161.

41 Al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1965), 219–226.

of the desert. There he meets an eloquent *shaykh* whom he soon recognizes to be the trickster, Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī. Abū Zayd informs al-Ḥārith that he has just returned from Ṭūs where he gained a great fortune. Curious about the origins of his wealth, al-Ḥārith asks Abū Zayd to relate the story to him. Abū Zayd feigns reluctance at first, stating that the reason for his wealth was the authorship of an eloquent letter. Though the two men travel together for more than a month, he delays reporting the story until al-Ḥārith insists that Abū Zayd tell him, as he will be leaving the next day.[42] In introducing his story, Abū Zayd instructs al-Ḥārith to add his tale to the stories (*akhbār*) of "relief after hardship" (*al-faraj baʿd al-shidda*) highlighting the latter's role as the literary narrator of his exploits. The narrative that Abū Zayd relates to al-Ḥārith plays upon the conventions of stories of *al-faraj baʿd al-shidda* in describing his successful escape from a creditor and his subsequent enrichment by a local ruler.[43]

4 Motifs Drawn from *Faraj*-Anecdotes in the *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda*

The *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* draws on motifs from *al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* of al-Tanūkhī. The first episode of the *Maqāmat al-faraj baʿd al-shidda* detailing confrontation between the narrator, the lion, and hydra conforms to a popular sub-genre of *faraj* anecdote: the man vs. ferocious beast found in chapter 9 of the *Faraj*.[44] Shared plot elements and storytelling motifs can readily be located between the *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* and the tales of encounters with ferocious animals in al-Tanūkhī's *Kitāb al-Faraj*: in one anecdote from the *Faraj*, a man confronts a lion in his path and miraculously escapes;[45] in another story a man is trapped in a small ditch with a snake for several days;[46] still another tale in the collection combines the attack of a lion and a snake.[47] Several of the tales of Tanūkhī's *Kitāb al-Faraj* highlight the anxiety and loss

42 Al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*, 219–220.

43 Al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*, 220–221.

44 Al-Tanūkhī, *al-Faraj*, 4: 129–191; the chapter title is "One who comes close to death having seen a deadly animal and God prevents it by his grace and saves him" (*man shāraf al-mawt bi-ḥayawān muhlik rāʾah fa-kaff Allāh dhālik bi-lutfih wa-najjāh*); it contains 23 stories concerning ferocious animals.

45 Ibid., 4: 136.

46 Ibid., 4: 162.

47 Ibid., 4: 185.

of mind resulting from confrontations with wild beasts,[48] while other anecdotes relate the responses of those who listen to the tale of the narrator's narrow escape from wild beasts.[49]

The second episode of the *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* involving the unlawful arrest of the narrator and his last minute salvation from execution and reward at the hands of the ruler is also common in Tanūkhī's *compendium*. Similar tales of escape from arrest and certain execution are found throughout many sections of *al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda*.[50] Chapter Three of the work specifically concerns those saved through utterance, prayer, or supplication. It includes several stories of earnest words (similar to the statement of the narrator of the *maqāma* to the hangman) that unexpectedly reach the ears of the ruler and result in the prisoner's release.[51]

5 Structural Features in the *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda*

The *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* resembles other *maqāmāt* in the collection in its consistency of rhyme and word choice. The narrative form of the *Maqāmat al-Faraj* is also similar to the prior *maqāmāt* in the collection. The *Maqāmat al-Faraj* begins with an *isnād*, followed by a general introduction in which the narrator describes his wandering through the desert. This is followed by two distinct episodes: the first, features the narrator's confrontation with the lion and the snakes; the second, involves the narrator's encounter with the young man and his subsequent arrest and near execution. The *denouement* of the narrative occurs when the narrator relates his poem to the ruler, and the narrator receives a reward and returns to his home.

There is, however, one main divergence in the narrative form that makes this *maqāma* differ noticeably from the rest of the *maqāmāt* in al-Ṣafadī's collection. Of the thirty *maqāmāt* in the collection of al-Ṣafadī, this is the only *maqāma* in which the trickster Abū Fayd al-Lajūjī is absent.

48 Ibid., 4: 143.

49 Ibid., 4: 133.

50 E.g., ibid., 3: 403 and following features a miraculous last-minute stay of execution.

51 E.g., ibid., 1: 186–188, describes how the *kātib* Sulaymān b. Wahb was in the prison of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt. When his brother wrote to him poetic verses encouraging his hope for release, he was inspired and wrote elegant lines of his own on the same theme. These accidentally ended up being seen by the Caliph al-Wāthiq, who was so moved by the verses, he released Sulaymān from prison.

If there is no trickster figure in this tale, then when, where, or for whom does the moment of recognition (*anagnorisis*) occur in this *maqāma*?[52] The first possibility for recognition in this *maqāma* is the change that occurs within the narrator as he finally learns that his affairs are entirely beholden to God's will. For in the *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda*, the narrator recognizes his mortality in the course of his various narrow brushes with death. Signs of his gradual awareness are revealed through his statement of internal reactions to the terrifying scenes he witnesses. For instance, when the narrator speaks of his first encounter with the lion in his path, he states that it awoke him "from the slumber of thought" (*sinat al-iftikār*). Similarly when he recounts the moment he sees the snakes and the hydra emerge from the other side of the cave, he states, "I became like a blood clot from fright, and I died in my skin out of terror."[53]

As the narrative progresses, the narrator's report of his internal state becomes ever more elaborate. For instance, after witnessing the manner in which the hydra kills the lion, the narrator reports that he had the following dialogue with himself, "So I said to myself (*qultu li-nafsī*) if that was what he could do to this mighty creature, what would he do to my weak body! Oh what a pity! Oh what a death!" When he is arrested for the murder of the boy, he reports that he confessed openly (*bil-taṣrīḥ*) "so as to obtain rest." Standing underneath the hangman's noose, he relates that at this moment he entrusted his affairs to God (*taḥassabtu bi-man khalaq al-insān min ʿalaqih*). Facing his final moments at peace with himself and unafraid, he makes the first verbal statement of his new creed, "I have seen worse than this, and God has granted me release."[54]

The narrator's journey from ignorance to knowledge in the *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* bears only slim resemblance to the classical *maqāma* form in which the narrator's moment of anagnorisis relates his discovery of the identity of another protagonist as the trickster.[55] Moreover, this verbal act is the first catalyst of the narrator's eventual release, for it is the confusion that it creates in the mind of the hangman, then the official and finally the king that results from the first delay of the execution. And while it may be seen as the narrator's

52 For the important role of anagnorisis in the *maqāma* narrative, see Philip F. Kennedy, "Islamic Recognitions: An Overview," in *Recognition: The Poetics of Narrative: Interdisciplinary Studies on Anagnorisis*, ed. Philip F. Kennedy and Marilyn Lawrence (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 40–41.

53 See translation, p. 475.

54 See translation, p. 476.

55 See Kennedy, "Islamic Recognitions," 40–41.

"recognition" of a deeper truth, its efficacy relies on the statement's misrecognition by others.

The second possibility for a moment of recognition in the course of the *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* must be the king's statement concerning the character of the narrator. The king's recognition of the narrator comes about in stages. As noted above, the initial cause for the king's recognition is the narrator's statement that he makes when in the hangman's noose that he has "seen" worse than this. The statement is first *misrecognized* as the ravings of a madman causing the execution to be delayed.

The king's recognition of the narrator begins with his curiosity about the "madman's" ravings. Like the narrator's curiosity in the classical *maqāma* form to uncover the identity of the trickster figure, in this particular *maqāma*, it is the king who wishes to know the story of the madman that he is on the verge of executing.

The long narrative poem that the narrator recites before the ruler is thus the mode by which he obtains his actual release. By hearing the narrative of his salvation, the literary work of the poem provides the narrator with the space to speak the entire story of his ordeals and for the king to understand and recognize them. *Prosimetrum*, the alternation between poetry and prose is here evocative of both *Faraj* anecdotes and *maqāmāt* narratives which often employ poetry in moments in which protagonists seek salvation and reward.[56]

This observation leads to a third possible level of recognition in the *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda*—the reader's recognition of the literary codes of the work. As noted above, the *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* is a work born from the genres of the *maqāma* and the *Faraj* anecdote that were long in conversation with one another. The *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* seems less a case of cross-fertilization between genres, than the writing of a *pastiche* or, as the critic Gérard Genette terms it, a literary transposition. For the author has consciously brought together elements of the narrative style of the *Faraj baʿd al-shidda* tales and assembled them into a form that playfully comments on the narrative texts of the *Faraj baʿd al-shidda* genre, but transposes them into the form of a *maqāma*.[57]

56 Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 249.

57 Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. C. Newman and C. Doubinsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 212, refers to the transposition as a "serious" transformation that is particularly productive, along the lines of *Faust* or *Ulysses*. The particular meaning of literary transposition in non-Western literary cultures and particularly pre-modern Arabic literature, however, is worthy of further study.

6 Genres at Play: The *Maqāma* in a Period of Change

Over the course of the seventh/fourteenth century the *maqāma* genre seems to have undergone a period of change that altered both the definition of the style of works which might be included in the genre and the meaning of the term. These changes to the form of the *maqāma*, as Hämeen-Anttila and Stewart have variously described, progressed in two directions. In the first place there was a change in the content of the *maqāma*, that is, a *maqāma* might be written on a topic that went beyond the picaresque or philological bounds of the "Classical *maqāma*" of al-Ḥarīrī. Second, the term *maqāma* appears to have been applied to texts that were prose letters (*rasā'il*) that formerly would not have been considered *maqāmāt*.

Within this context of these broader changes in literary culture, *al-Maqāmāt al-Jalāliyya* might appear at first to be a collection of mainly conservative examples of the Ḥarīrian models of the Classical *maqāma*. Twenty-nine of its thirty *maqāmāt* evoke the picaresque form of the *maqāma* with the inclusion of the trickster Abū Fayd al-Lujūjī, and the contents of many of the *maqāmāt* are philological and/or didactic. In this sense, we might consider the collection and its author to be an important continuator of the heritage of the classical *maqāma* of al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī.

Yet composing a transposition or pastiche of *al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* at the end of his collection, al-Ṣafadī might also be seen as encouraging his readership to reflect on the literary nature of the *maqāma* as a form, and its similarity and proximity to other inherited forms of the literary tradition. The full import of al-Ṣafadī's generic play is only accessible to an audience familiar with the codes of the *Faraj baʿd al-shidda* literature. The *Maqāmat al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* thus becomes a delightful game that can be understood by participants who already knew its rules. In an age in which the *maqāma* genre was changing, al-Ṣafadī showed the delight that could be found in transforming and reshaping the literary heritage of the past in new ways.

7 Translation

Thāmir b. Zammām said:

I traveled on a day when the heat was extreme, and the way through the land was blocked. Its hot winds blazed, and its bridled lead horse kicked up the dirt. All the while, I was traversing deserts and wastelands, confused by the seriousness of my hunger and poverty. I became weakened in life and the clarity of my livelihood turned cloudy. When I walked in the narrows of valleys, fearing

the impediments of debts, I entered the group of those that traverse by foot and wander in the wastes after night has fallen.

When all of a sudden, a savage lion confronted me and woke me from the slumber of thought, as if he were waiting for me. So I spied a high round cave in the mountain and I propelled myself towards it. I went seeking the high place, I fortified myself in it and availed myself of its cover. The lion sat in front of me, spreading out its paws before me. He placed his snout between his paws and extended his tail and straightened his shoulders. He bared his incisors, displayed his claws, and stared at me with both eyes. Then he pounced at me. But he was not able to reach me. So he returned to his place, as if he were a trained beast, and he extended himself on the ground, lying on his chest.

So I turned to the middle of the cave and I saw between those rocks two snakes, the size of the forearms of an elephant or a bit larger. They both raised their heads and lifted up their eyes. They were carrying an elegant hydra snake upon their foreheads, and it crowned them like a ring. I became like a blood clot from fright, and died in my skin out of terror. And I said, "there are no spells that will save me from their bite!" So I prostrated myself towards the *qibla* and I made myself ready for the final journey, while I said, there is no reliance except for God.

The snakes approached me, and the hydra descended upon me and circled around the entirety of my body. I was saying the *shahāda* and I surrendered my affair entirely to God. But then it left and went toward the lion, all the while my patience had vanished. It struck the lion on the forearm and severed the flesh from bone and skin.

Then I said to myself, "if that was what it could do to this mighty creature, what would it do to my weak body! Oh what a pity! Oh what a death!" It went down and showed me what it would do to me and how it would extinguish my life.

Leaving the lion it came up to me and twisted around. But then it jumped upon the head of the two vipers and they took it, and entered the cave faster than a blink of an eye. So I cast my body rolling towards the ground and I extended it lengthwise and widthwise. When I arose again, I left, knowing neither aim nor end.

After two days of fatigue, hunger, and pain had passed and exhaustion had nearly destroyed me, I arrived at the night's end at a large city, and its many ruins. I headed to some of its destroyed homes, possessing not even a "carob bean" (*kharūba*), so I might find rest there and take care of my needs.

Whereupon I found a young man who was beaten and in his own blood, about to die. I came closer to him, so that I might look at him. Then his blood

splattered over me, and I attempted to flee, and tripped upon his leg, and left out of fright and in terror. Then the guard and watch surrounded me.

So I was taken, without any cause for doubt, when they saw the blood on my clothes. And they said, "You are the murderer of this young man. This is a witness against you and the spattering of his blood is upon your hands." So the world narrowed upon me out of poverty, want and punishment, for which I had no power. I confessed openly so that I would die and finally rest. So they fastened my fetters and attached them to my shoulders.

When morning came, they apprised the king, releasing a great cry, and they informed him of the situation, and apprised him insofar as they were able of the absurd talk. Then he commanded them to hang me and did not rule in favor of my release. When they placed me underneath the hangman's noose, I put my affairs in the one "who created man from a bloodclot." [Q 96:2] So the hangman said to me, "Remember God!" So I made a remembrance of him in my heart. I said, "I've seen worse (*aʿẓam*) things than this, and God has granted me release."

When he heard my speech, he turned away from me and began to blame me. He then asked the government official about my affair, while my life had not yet run out; all the while the king was gazing at us from the citadel, for he had prepared the cloak of honor for his government official. So he [the king] asked him about my speech. They answered, "This is a possessed man, as if he were someone from Baḥsīthā [a section of Aleppo][58] speaking in the speech of those who are mad. His thirst is like those driven insane by love-sickness." The king said, "Delay him [i.e., his execution] and bring him before me." So when I was presented before him I began by greeting him and he returned my greeting. And then he asked me to speak and I told him what had happened to me, and the events that had befallen to me, and my story from beginning to end, both the interior and the exterior, and I recited:

Oh King! whose generosity has spread wide,
listen to the story of a man who has stumbled!
Indeed I have been vanquished by time and its treachery
and the vicissitudes of fortune and fate.
For I found a lion in my path, by accident
so I fled from him, in fear of what was written [i.e., foretold].
Then I sought refuge in a high cave,
at the foot of a mountain that looked like a wall.

58 See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* s.v. "Bāsīthā" for this location in Syria.

Above it stood a tall mountain that appeared
to be a fortress for every scared and oppressed man.
Then I turned in the cave and its inside
and saw within it that which removed my joy.
Snakes who had joined one another,
like the head of a mandolin.
On their crowns a hydra was perched,
who had no rival.[59]
And I saw that animal below me, lying
in wait for my destruction and the eclipse of my moons
So I destroyed the essence of my patience
And I emptied the concept of my life from the present existence
With all certainty, I despaired of life,
perhaps the grace of the Generous Lord will see to my affairs.
These two snakes came toward me gently
and that hydra reared itself up and sprang like a gazelle.
He went across my body and twisted his entire body about me
and drew himself out toward the wayward lion.
And so he bit him and tore flesh from bone
and came to the one who had been excused.
So he went over my body, twisting as he appeared,
and then he swept down towards the two snakes with no delay.
So I threw myself down to a low area, when I arose
my fear raced like a champion steed.
Until I reached your location fleeing from
that which happened to me and laid bare the lines of my destiny.
So I found in a part of the ruins, one cast to the ground,
foaming like the slaughtered tiller of the field.
So I looked at him and he sprayed me with his blood spurting
and then the Amīr al-Nūrī met me.
I mean the watchman of the night with his patrols
they rushed upon me and fastened a collar around my neck.
So I despaired for myself and said I am the one
who meets death before my appearance.

59 Here the poet may be playing on the expression, *lā yuṣṭalā bi-nārihi*, for someone "invincible" but instead references the more hyperbolic description of the "roar of a fire at noontime" (*zafīrihi l-hayjūrī*).

Thus I chose my death and despised my life
out of the extremity of my poverty and the disturbance of my affairs.
This is my speech and what happened to me,
It was for this reason that I said take control of my affairs!
I witnessed that which was as extreme as I saw,
and relief has come from my Master without failing me.
The narrator said:

> So the king became amazed at his speech and for his thirst. He said, "Break his chains and let him go! Be generous to him and bury the one he killed." Then he rewarded me, clothed me and killed my hunger. He made me wealthy from that which he gave me. And I headed to my country after the emptiness of my hands, clear-eyed with gold.

المقامة الثّلاثون[1] تُعرف بالفَرج بعد الشِّدّة:

روى ثامر بن زمّام قال:

ترحّلت في يوم اشتدّ حرّه واستدّ برّه وأوهج سُمومُهُ وأرهج مزمومُهُ سائراً في البراري والقِفارِ حائراً من شدّة السَغَب والافتقارِ قد انكسرتُ في معيشتي وتكدّرتْ صَفْو عِيشتي

فَبَينا أنا ماشياً في مَضائقِ الأوديةِ خاشياً مِن عوائقِ الأرديةِ قد ولجتُ الرَّجليّةِ ودلجْتُ في البريّة لم أشعرْ إلاّ وقد عارضَني أسدٌ ضاري[2] فأيْقَظَني[3] من سِنةِ افتكاري كأنّه كانَ في انتظاري فَرأيْتُ في الجبل مَغارةً عاليةً مستدارةً فهمزْتُ إليها فصِرتُ مستشرفاً[4] عليها وتحصّنتُ فيها وتحصّلتُ بِمخافيها فجلس الأسد قُدّامي وَمَدَّ ذراعَيهِ أمامي وخطّ خُرطُومَهُ بين ذراعَيه ومدّ ذَنَبَه وأسبل باعَيه قد كشّر عنْ أنيابهِ وقشّر قَوادم مِخْلابهِ[5] وحَمْلَقَ بِحدقتيهِ إليّ ووثب فلمْ يقدرْ عليّ فردّ إلى مكانه رائِضاً وتمدّد على الأرض رابِضاً

فالتَفَتُّ إلى صدر المغارةِ فرأيتُ بين تلك الحجارةِ ثُعبانَينِ كَزِنْدَي الفيلِ أو أكبر منهما بِقليلِ[6] وقد رفعا رأسَيهِما وتطلّعا بِعَينَيْهِما وهما حامِلان شُجاعاً لطيف[7] على جبهتَيْهِما خفيف[8] وهو مطوَّقٌ كالحَلَقَة فصِرتُ

[1]I: الثلثون، C: ثلاثون. [2]كذا في I و C وصوابه ضارٍ. [3]I و C: أيقضني. [4]سقطت من I. [5]كذا في I و C وصوابه مخاليب. [6]كذا فيI و C وصوابه قليلٍ. [7]كذا في I و C وصوابه لطيفاً. [8]كذا في I و C وصوابه خفيفاً.

مِن خوفي كالعَلَقة فُمتُّ في جِلْدي فَرَقًا[1] وَقُلْتُ ما لِلدَّعَنهم مِن رُقى فتمدّدتُ إلى القِبْلة واستسبلتُ للرِحلةِ وأنا أَقولُ لا مُستعانَ إلا بالله فتقرّبا الثّعبانان إليّ ونزل الشُجاعُ عليَّ ودارَ على جسدي كلّه وأنا أتشهّدُ وأسلمتُ أمْري لله ثم تركني ونزل إلى الأسد وقد ذهب مِنّي الجَلَدُ فضَرَبَهُ في زِنْده فانْهَرَأ لَحْمُهُ عنْ عَظْمه وجِلْده فقلتُ في نَفْسي إذا كان هذا فِعْلُهُ في هذا المخلوق الكثيف فكيف يَكُنْ في جَسَدي الضّعيفِ واحسرتاه وامَوتَتَاه ونزل يُرِيْني كَيْفَ يَفعَلُ بي ويُطْفِئني فَتركهُ وصعد إليّ ودارَ عليّ وطفر على رأس الأفعايين فأخذاه وُدخلا أسرع مِن طَرْفَة عَيْن فألْقَيتُ نَفْسي مُتَدَحْرَجاً إلى الأرض وتمَدّدْتُ بالطُول والعَرْضِ فلمَّا أفَقْتُ سِرْتُ في حالي لا أدري إلى أَينَ تَوَجُّهي وَمآلي فَلَمَّا كانَ بعد يَومِين وأنا من التَّعَب والسَّغب والجَزَع قد أودى بي الحَين فوصلْتُ آخِر اللّيل الى مدينةٍ كبيرةٍ وأفنيتُهاالدّاثرة كثيرة[2] فعبرتُ إلى بعض الأُدُر المخروبة وأنا لا أملِكُ خَرُوبة لعلّي أستريح فيها ورُبَّ حاجةٍ أقضيها فَوَجَدْتُ شاباً يتخبّط في دمهِ وقد أشرف على عدمهِ فتقدّمتُ إليه لأتفرّج عليهِ فطرشني[3] بِدمهِ فانهزمتُ فعثرتُ في قَدَمِهِ فَخَرَجْتُ مَرعوباً من الخَوْف فأَحْتاطَ بي الوالي ومَنْ معَهُ مِنَ الطَّوْفِ فَمَسِكْتُ بلا ارْتِيابٌ لمّا رأوا الدمّ على الثّيابِ وقالوا أَنْتَ قاتلُ هذا الشّابِ وهذا شاهدٌ عليك وطراطيشُ دمِهِ على يَدَيكَ فَمِمّا ضَاقَتْ عليّ الدُنيا مِن الفَقْرِ والفَاقةِ والعقوبةِ التّي ما لي عليها طاقةٌ اعترفتُ بالتّصْرِيحِ لأموتُ واسْتريحُ فأَوثقوا كِتافي وتعلّقوا في أكتافي فلمّا أصْبح الصّباح َطالعُوا المَلِكَ وَأَطْلقُوا الصّياح وعرّفوه بصُورةِ الحال وأَنْهوا له ما قَدِرُوا مِنَ المُحال فأَمَرَ بِشَنْقي وَلَم يَرْ بِعِتْقي فَلَمَّا أَحْضَرُوْنِي تحت المشنقة تحسّبتُ بِمَن خَلَقَ الإنسانِ مِن عَلَقهِ فَقالَ لي الشتّاقُ اذكر الله فَذَكَرْتُ في نَفْسي وقُلْتُ رَأَيْتُ أعْظم مِن هذا وَفَرَّجَ الله فلمّا سَمِعَ كَلامي أَعرض عنّي وأخذ في مَلامي فسأل َالوالي عن أمري ولَمْ يَكُنْ نَفَدَ عُمْري والمَلِكُ يَنْظِرُ إلينا مِن القَلْعِةِ وقد عَبّأَ للوالي خِلْعَةً فسَأَلَ عَنْ حديثي فَقالوا هذا مجنونٌ وَكَأَنَّهُ باحسيثي[4] يتكلّمُ بكلامِ المَجانين وأُوامه أُوام المولّهين فَقال المَلِكُ أَخْرِوهُ وإلى بين يديّ أَحضِروهُ فلمّا مُثِلْتُ بين يَديهِ بَدَأتُ بالسّلامِ عليهِ فَرَدَّ سلامي واستَنْطَقَ كلامي فَعَرّفتُهُ ما جَرا لي والأمرُ الذي طرأ لي وقِصّتِي مِنْ أوّلِها إلى آخِرِها وَباطنها وَظاهرها وأنشَدْتُهُ: [الكامل]

يا أَيُّها المَلِكُ الذي إحْسانُهُ ... قَدْ عَمَّ إسْمَعْ قِصَّةَ المَعْثورِ
إنِّي انْهَزَمْتُ مِنَ الزَّمانِ وَغَدْرِهِ ... وَنَوَائِبِ الحَدَثانِ وَالمَقْدورِ

[1]كذا فيI و C وصوابه فرقاً. [2]كذا فيI و C ولعلّ صوابه الكثيرة. [3]كذا في I و Cولعلّ صوابه طرطشني. [4]ياقوت، معجم البلدان، ١:٣١٦ : باحسيثا: محلة كبيرة من محال حلب في شماليها، ينسب إليها قوم وأهلها على مذهب السنة.

فَوَجَدْتُ لَيْثاً في طَرِيقي صُدْفَةً فَهَرَبْتُ مِنْهُ مَخافَةَ الَمسْطورِ
ثُمَّ الْتَجَأْتُ إلى مَغارٍ عالي في لِحْفِ تَلٍّ مُشْبِهٍ بالسورِ
مِنْ فَوْقِهِ جَبَلٌ عَظيمٌ قَدْ غَدا حِصْناً لكلِّ مُرَوَّعٍ مَقْهورِ
ثُمَّ الْتَفَتُّ إلى المَغارِ وَصَدْرِها فَرَأَيْتُ فِيْها ما أَزالَ سُروري
ثُعْبَانُ مَعْ ثُعْبَانِ قَدْ جَمَعَا مَعاً رَأْسَيْهِما كَمَدارَةِ الطَّنْبورِ
وعلى رُؤُوسِهِما شُجاعٌ راقِدٌ ما يُصْطَلا بِزفيرِهِ الهَيجور
وَرَأَيتُ ذاكَ السَّبْعَ تَحْتِي رابِضاً مُسْتَنْظِراً تَلَفي وَخَسْفَ بُدوري
فَعَدِمْتُ نَفْسَ تَصَبُّرِي وَفَرَغْتُ عَنْ مَعْنَىْ حَيَاتِي مَعْ وُجُوْدِ حُضوري
حَتْماً وَأَيْأَسْتُ الحَياةَ وَرُبَّمَا لُطْفَ الكَرِيْمِ مُدَبِّراً لأُموري
فَتَقَدَّما نَحْوي بِرِفْقٍ واسْتَوى ذاكَ الشُجَاعُ وَنَطَّ كالبَعْفورِ
يَمْشِيْ عَلَى جَسَدِي وَدارَ جَمِيْعَهُ وَانْسَلَّ نَحْوَ الضَيْغَمِ المَغْرورِ
فَأَذاقَهُ نَهْشاً فَأَهْرَأَ لَحْمَهُ عَنْ عَظْمِهِ وأتى إلى المَعْذورِ
فَغَدا عَلَى جَسَدي يَدُوْرُ كَما بَدا وَانْقَضَّ نَحْوَهُما بِغَيْرِ فُتورِ
فَرَمَيْتُ نَفْسِي لِلْوَطَاْةِ وَقُمْتُ مِنْ خَوْفِي شَبِيْهُ السَّابِقِ البَيْحورِ
حَتَّى أَتَيْتَ إلي مَحَلَّكَ هارِباً مِمَّا عَليّ جَرَا وَشَرَّحَ سُطوري
فَوَجَدْتُ في بَعْضِ الخَرابِ مُجَنْدَلاً يرْغِي شَبِيه الحارِثِ المَنْحُورِ
فَنَظَرْتُ فيهِ فَرَشَتْنِي بِدِماءِهِ بَغْاً وَصادَفَني الأَميرُ النُّوري
أَعْني بِوالي اللَّيْلِ مَعَ أَطْوَافِهِ فَعَدَوا عَلَيَّ وَأَوثَقُوا ساجوري
فَزَهَقْتُ مِنْ نَفْسي وَقُلْتُ أنا الّذي أَلْحَقْتُهُ بالحَتْفِ قَبْلُ ظُهُوْري
واخْتَرْتُ مَوْتِيْ والحَياةُ كَرِهْتُها مِنْ عُظْمِ فَقْرِي واضْطِرابِ أُمُوري
هذا حَدِيثِي وَالّذي قَد تَمَّ لي فَلِأَجْلِ هذا قُلْتُ خُذْ تَأموري
فَرَأَيْتُ أَعظَمَ مَا رَأَيتُ وَجاءَنِي فَرَجٌ مِنَ المَولى بِغَير قُصوري

قالَ الرّاوي فتعجّب الملك من كلامهِ ورثا لأوامهِ وَقالَ فُكُّوا أكتافه وخَلّوا سبيلهُ وأحْسِنوا إليه وادفِنوا قتيلَه ثمّ زوّدني وأكساني وقتل فاقتي وأغناني وأشبعني ممّا أعطاني وتوجّهتُ إلى بلدي بعد صِفْر يدي مقرور العين بالوَرِقِ

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CHAPTER 20

What's in a Mamluk Picture? The Hall of Portraiture at the Cairo Citadel Remembered

Li Guo

The Mamluk *sulṭān* al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl b. Qalāwūn (r. 689–693/1290–1293) is perhaps best remembered for his triumph at Acre, the last Crusader outpost in the Near East. He was also one of the few rulers of Egypt and Syria in the pre-Ottoman era to have commissioned portraits for public display. Given the scarcity of references to figural representations in medieval Islam, the account of Khalīl's Hall of Portraiture (*īwān*) at the Cairo Citadel deserves closer scrutiny. However, as the structure is no longer extant, historians must rely on textual evidence to re-imagine its illustrious past, even though it is very thin. Surviving accounts culled from chronicles amount to no more than a few sentences that differ from one another. In this article I introduce a new piece of textual evidence, a poem by the *sulṭān*'s panegyrist-*cum*-court-jester Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310), that describes the Hall in detail. After summarizing the poem, I discuss related issues pertaining to the use of *adab* material for historical inquiry. This article is dedicated to Professor Wadad Kadi whose scholarship, teaching, and friendship remain a source of admiration and inspiration for many of us.

1 The Poem

The poem consists of nineteen lines (for a full translation, see the Appendix below).[1] Lines 1–2, the preamble, draw parallels between Khalīl's Hall and the famous Great Hall of Chosroes (*īwān Kisrā*) in ancient Ctesiphon, and make further references to the fantastic city of "Iram of the pillars," built by the legendary Arabian king Shaddād of ʿĀd.[2] Architectural specificity and divine

1 Ibn Dāniyāl, *al-Mukhtār min shiʿr Ibn Dāniyāl, ikhtiyār Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī*, ed. M.N. al-Dulaymī (Mosul: Maktabat Bassām, 1979), 144–146.

2 "Hast thou not seen how thy Lord did with Ad, Iram of the pillars (*dhāt al-ʿimād*), the like of which was never created in the land …" (Q 89:7). The reference became a common epithet

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revelation intermingle in pairing the two *īwān*s with the *ʿumud* (sing. *ʿimād*), "lofty columns," a metaphorical reference in the Qurʾān.[3]

Lines 3–15, the core of the poem, describe the Hall, especially the paintings adorning its walls: the portraits of the *sulṭān* and his troops, the sense of awe and solemnity they evoke, and the postures of the *amīr*s and soldiers on horseback (lines 3–8). The poem then shifts focus to illustrate the effects of the portraiture through depictions of visitors, chief among them foreign emissaries (*rusul al-mulūk*), who are awe-struck by the larger-than-life images of the Mamluks (line 9). The portraits are so vivid that it appears as if the figures are about to leap off the wall (lines 11–12). This segment concludes with a description of the adjacent domed hall, the *qubba*, replete with the clichés usually reserved for lofty monuments, a juxtaposition of stock astrological references: the spheres, the sky, the sun, and shooting stars (lines 13–15).

The sun and shooting-star motif paves the way to the *madḥ*-panegyric section, which praises the *sulṭān* as a shining sun, and then puns on the superlative adjective *ashraf*, "the most noble," in his title *al-Ashraf* (line 16). This is followed by a poetic and spatial "exit" which describes the "splendorous hallway (*dihlīz*)," covered with colorful brocades (line 17), that then leads the viewer out to the public square where the real-life extravaganza of the Mamluk riding exercises takes place (line 18). The *qabaq* scenes evoke the "tender and gentle" side of the military regalia, while the theme of war and peace strikes a visual balance between the heroic paintings in the Hall and the celebratory peaceful reality shown in the public square.[4] A verbal balance is achieved in the poem as well, as it progresses from an awe-filled, bombastic beginning to a joyous, cheerful end. The last line strikes the "bottom-line" trope, evincing the ritualistic function and the practical incentive of a panegyric. Having displayed their

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for remarkable landscapes. For its symbolic significance in Persian "heroic narratives," see John Renard, *Islam and the Heroic Image: Themes in Literature and the Visual arts* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1999), 166–171, 179–180, 225. In Arabic sources, the city of Damascus, for example, was frequently referred to as "Iram of the pillars;" see Zayde Antrim, "Place and Belonging in Medieval Syria, 6th/12th to 8th/14th Centuries" (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2004), 88, 146, 305–306.

3 The *Īwān Kisrā* was a favorite topic for the poets, writing in Arabic and Persian; see Stefan Sperl and Christopher Shackle, eds., *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 2: 389–411; Samer Ali, "Reinterpreting al-Buḥturī's Īwān Kisrā Ode: Tears of Affection for the Cycles of History," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 37.1 (2006): 46–67.

4 *Qabaq* (Turkish) is the wooden target used for a royal archery game of the same name, which was a favorite pastime among the Mamluks.

magnificent formations, the *amīr*s are now ready to receive their rewards. So is the poet: after presenting his homage to the *sulṭān*'s magnificent Hall, he waits to be paid, handsomely.

What insights can this poem reveal to a historian? I propose three questions one might ask in light of the descriptions afforded herein: Where was this portraiture? What were its physical features? What was the possible motivation behind, and justification for, the use of figural presentation in a public space?

2 Portraiture Described

There are two recent accounts, to my knowledge, of the construction and function of Khalīl's Hall of Portraiture. They differ in several key details.

Doris Behrens-Abouseif writes: "Al-Ashraf … built an elevated pavilion with a view of the city, Giza and the pyramids. Curiously, this pavilion had wall paintings of various amirs and their private guards, and a richly decorated dome on columns."[5] This is in fact a paraphrase of al-Maqrīzī's (d. 845/1442) and al-ʿAynī's (d. 874/1451) accounts, both of which refer to the *rafraf*, a pavilion whose open-roofed motifs resemble the wings of birds, and to the ornamented *qubba*-dome.[6] Nasser Rabbat, on the other hand, thinks there were actually two different structures in question: one the Ẓāhirī (*sulṭān* Baybars') *rafraf* and the other the Ashrafī (namely Khalīl's) *īwān*. If so, al-ʿAynī's and al-Maqrīzī's reports may have been copied from an earlier source. Rather, Rabbat suggests that al-ʿAynī and al-Maqrīzī, both of whom lived too late to see this Hall, which was destroyed in 711/1311 by al-Malik al-Nāṣir, the younger brother of Khalīl, "are conflating the two structures, and describing the Īwān al-Ashrafī under the heading 'rafraf'." Citing the contemporary historian Ibn al-Dawādārī (fl. 709–734/1309–1335), Rabbat assures that the key component, namely the figural representation, was in the *īwān*, not the adjacent *rafraf*.[7]

From where, then, did this *rafraf* reference derive? Further investigation suggests that al-Maqrīzī's and al-ʿAynī's source might well have been Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 725/1325), who is not to be confused with *sulṭān* Baybars, an oft-cited chronicler of the period. Baybars al-Manṣūrī's description states:

5 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 82.

6 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London: al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2002), 3: 686.

7 Nasser Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 169–180 (for quote, see 170).

> In this year [690/1291], he [Khalīl] issued orders that the Ẓāhirī *rafraf* at the Citadel be renovated (*amar bi-ʿimāra*), with expansion (*tawsīʿ*), elevation (*rafʿ sumuk*), and decoration (*tazyīn*). It was then expanded … and painted in white and richly decorated (*buyyiḍ wa-zukhrif*). It had portraits (*ṣuwwirat fīh*) of the *amīrs* and their guardsmen, and is to be completed with (*wa-ʿuqid lah*) a dome on columns.[8]

While this description was transcribed nearly verbatim by al-ʿAynī,[9] al-Maqrīzī is known to have taken a few editorial liberties, for one changing the passive verbs to the active (*ʿammar*, *bayyaḍ*, *ṣawwar*, *ʿaqad*, *zakhraf*). Then, he adjusted the syntax a bit, so that "the dome on columns" in his version was described as "richly decorated," whereas in Baybars al-Manṣūrī's original, the "white paint" and "decoration" applied only to the *rafraf*.[10] Also worth noting is that in this al-Manṣūrī/al-Maqrīzī/al-ʿAynī account, the portraits were confined to the *amīr*s and their guardsmen.

Now we turn to Ibn Dāniyāl's poem, and begin with the caption by al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), a contemporary bibliophile and the editor of the anthology that contains the poem to be discussed. Ibn Dāniyāl "composed a panegyric to honor al-Ashraf," al-Ṣafadī writes, "describing the *īwān* built by the *sulṭān*, where portraits of the *amīr*s and al-Ashraf were presented (*ṣawwar fīh*)." The poem opens with praise:

> No rulers in Islam are like you, on account of such an *īwān*,
> not even the Great Hall of Chosroes could match it.

The poem then proceeds to describe the Hall and its surroundings: the *qubba*-dome, the *dihlīz*-hallways, the public square (*cum* polo playground), but never mentions a *rafraf* pavilion.

The silence on the *rafraf*, in both Ibn Dāniyāl's poem and al-Ṣafadī's caption, confirms what we learn from Ibn al-Dawādārī (for more on his account see below), that the place for a portrait of the *sulṭān* to hang, or to be carved, was

8 Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra fī tārīkh al-hijra*, ed. D.S. Richards (Beirut: United Distributing Co., 1998), 284.

9 Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān fī taʾrīkh ahl al-zamān*, ed. Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo: al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma lil-Kitāb, 1990), 3: 78–80.

10 Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 3: 686; al-Maqrīzī also adds a new element, a tower (*burj*) that was erected, under the order of the *sulṭān*, "next to the *rafraf*." For more detail on the *burj al-rafraf*, see 3: 686, note 2. According to Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, the remains of the *burj* can still be seen today.

the *īwān*, the audience hall, not the *rafraf*. Had there been anything special about the *rafraf*, it would have been highly unlikely for it to have skipped the attention of our fastidious panegyrist, whose authority as a source on this matter is indisputable: having served as Khalīl's panegyrist and court jester, he must have actually seen, even performed in, the Hall.[11] In this regard, his is perhaps the only eyewitness account, versus all other extant sources. The vivid description of the paintings, poetic exaggeration notwithstanding, makes it difficult to fathom that a poet would have conjured the description from his imagination, as usually would have been the case for poets describing great edifices. It is also telling that the three—Ibn Dāniyāl, Ibn al-Dawādārī, and al-Ṣafadī—are known to have had personal contact and to have exchanged poetry, anecdotes, and witticisms with each other. It comes as no surprise then that Ibn Dāniyāl/al-Ṣafadī's account corroborates that of Ibn al-Dawādārī's of Khalīl's Hall of Portraiture.

The portraiture of the *sulṭān* and his entourage had its genesis in an early Mamluk motif, in which the legendary *sulṭān* Baybars and his retinue were reportedly depicted in full regalia as if riding in a procession around the *qubba*-dome.[12] Baybars' *qubba* was demolished by Khalīl's father, Qalāwūn, who ordered a new one built on its site. Gone were the paintings. However, Baybars' royal riding procession must have provided a model for Khalīl's visualization of the new *īwān*, as has already been suggested in a recent study.[13]

Does this mean that Khalīl's figural representation was merely a replica of Baybars' themes and motifs? The poem suggests answers, particularly the following lines, which are remarkable in this regard:

> Tirelessly mounted, charging against
> the enemy in an instant. Nothing could distract their attention.
> line 5
>
> Their swords are covered with the dripping blood of the infidels.
> Everyone is thirsty for battle.

11 For Ibn Dāniyāl's career at Khalīl's court, see Li Guo, *The Performing Arts in Medieval Islam: Shadow Play and Popular Poetry in Ibn Dāniyāl's Mamluk Cairo* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 50–61 (a discussion of the poem in question can be found on pages 56–59).

12 Rabbat, *Citadel*, 125–131, 170–171; see also, Rabbat, "Mamluk Throne Halls: Qubba or Īwān," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 201–218.

13 Rabbat, *Citadel*, 176–177.

Amidst the jungle of lancers,
under the banner, they are like houris and boys of paradise.
lines 7–8

It is as if the figures in the paintings were climbing up the fortifications,
straight up the wall, horsemen and infantry.
If it were not for the guards, their horses would have trampled us;
and the eagles on the wall would have snatched us alive!
lines 11–12

Scanning this text, one quickly notices a few elements that were not furnished by Ibn al-Dawādārī's description of a seemingly stately riding procession. First, the "battle" scene: although the words "battle" (*al-hayjāʾ*) and "enemy" are used without citing specifics, one cannot rule out the possibility that some elements of fighting scenes, large or small, were depicted as well. Lines such as "their swords covered in dripping blood" and their "being thirsty for battle," or "climbing fortifications" certainly underscore such an assumption, as does the mention of "horsemen, infantry and lancers." Next, the "castle/fortress" prototype: the mention of the fortifications (*al-maʿāqil*), likely in the background of the portraiture, makes an unmistaken Syrian reference. Reminiscent of the Ayyubid Syrian castle prototype,[14] it links the battle scenes described above to the *sulṭān*'s triumphs on the Syrio-Palestinian coast. And finally, the "hunting" scene: the description of "horses and eagles," staples in Arabic hunting-themed poetry, alludes to hunting scenes in peacetime. However, it is difficult to discern if elements of the hunting motif were inserted to enrich the battle-themed portraiture.

So what stereotyped scenes can be catalogued, or synthesized, given this account of Khalīl's wall paintings as described by his panegyrist: Hunting? Procession? Battle? Or, all of the above? This is perhaps a question best left for art historians to ponder. What concerns me here is the context within which the portraiture was produced. If a picture tells a story, then what is the tale being told?

14 Cf. Rabbat, *Citadel*, 170–171.

3 Portraiture Explained

Other than the details regarding the location and composition of Khalīl's portraiture, sources offer little information regarding the catalysts that prompted the young *sulṭān* to take such an audacious approach to propaganda, by permitting "royal" portraiture to be placed (so vividly) on public display. As cited above, Baybars al-Manṣūrī dated Khalīl's commission of the portraiture, along with the expansion of the *rafraf*, to 690/1291, the beginning of his reign. Another major source for the *īwān*, Ibn al-Dawādārī's account, while vague on dates, makes interesting reading regarding the circumstances under which the portraiture was produced. Curiously, this account is embedded in the lengthy chapter titled "The martyrdom of the *sulṭān* al-Malik al-Ashraf," which depicts his assassination:

> On the 3rd day, the month of Muḥarram, the year of 693 (December 4, 1293), he [the *sulṭān*] and his riding entourage left the Protected Citadel on the Hill [the Cairo Citadel], heading for the province of Alexandria, on a hunting trip. In the company were all the *amīr*s and lieutenants of the victorious *ḥalqa*-regiment …. Prior to that, once the *amīr* ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Shujāʿī finished [the renovation of] the Ashrafī *īwān*, he had the figures of all the *amīr*s illustrated (*ṣawwar*) in it, each *amīr* with his title (i.e. *rank*) [marked] above his head. [The *sulṭān*] would sit in the Hall, open up the treasury, and spend lavishly on gifts, awards, and presents. He did this with sheer joy and great pleasure. [However,] the hearts of most of his *amīr*s had been rent (literally, "broken into little pieces"; *tataqaṭṭaʿ min*) with hatred. The matter with them regarding this rubbish (*al-fusāla*) is complicated … and our lord, the *sulṭān*, was not aware that he would have fallen as a martyr at their hands.[15]

From this point forward, the historian begins his elaborate storytelling of the *sulṭān*'s gruesome murder by a group of rival *amīr*s during the course of this hunting excursion. This murder narrative is itself a highly-stylized affair: relying on *maqāma*-like rhymed prose and sensational wording, it offers a strongly opinionated comment on this tragic event. More to our interest, the seemingly irrelevant trivia about the portrait of *all* the *amīr*s inscribed (or painted) must have been inserted for a narrative purpose, namely to provide background clues

15 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmiʿ al-ghurar*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann, vol. 8 (Cairo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1971), 345–346.

to the "sudden" murder of the *sulṭān*. Bear in mind that the commission and installation of the paintings had occurred "prior to" the hunting trip, the only reason the paintings are mentioned here seems to be an attempt, on the part of the historian, at illustrating the *sulṭān*'s ultimately failed attempt to win the *amīr*s' hearts and minds. In the historian's telling, the paintings (confirming each *amīr*'s status) were meant to be a tool for appeasement, alongside other usual means (gifts, awards, monies), all of which proved to be in vain. Thus, a simple picture was invested with a complex context.

Ibn Dāniyāl the panegyrist, on the other hand, seemed to aim at a different interpretation of the circumstances underlying the installation of portraits at the Citadel:

> When you are away, it is still filled with your presence (*shakhṣ min-ka*),
> with an air of awe, scaring away men and jinn.
> You commissioned the portraits (*ṣawwarta*) of your troops, in their
> normal posture, on the wall,
> as if they were residing there, on horseback, permanently.
> lines 3–4

The curious phrase "your presence" places the *sulṭān*'s figure in the picture, literally. And this is very important, for the patron and the panegyrist. The ensuing description of the Mamluk horsemen and infantry is cliché-ridden; but with the pointed reference to "enemy" and "infidels," it alludes to its historical backdrop, namely the battles the *sulṭān* fought and won on the coast of Palestine. The dramatized depiction that follows, of the humbled and mesmerized foreign ambassadors in front of a spectacle created by the Muslim host, may have stemmed from a literary *topos*,[16] but here it has, again, gained considerable historical currency. In the culminating declaration "you-are-King-Solomon" (line 16), the ideology of the genre works in synergy with the political context. To compare a patron to Solomon was a time-honored staple of Arabic panegyric, the earliest examples of which go all the way back to pre-Islamic Arabian odes (al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, for example).[17] Added here by our Mamluk poet is a reference to the Solomonic iconography, which might provide a key to

16 See, for example, Zayde Antrim, "Ibn 'Asakir's Representations of Syria and Damascus in the Introduction to the *Ta'rikh madinat Dimashq*," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38.1 (2006): 118.

17 Suzanne Stetkevych, *The Mantle Odes: Arabic Praise Poems to the Prophet Muḥammad* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 13, 17.

unraveling the motivation behind Khalīl's unusual commission of portraiture in what would otherwise be just another royal audience hall.

The parallelism between Solomon and Khalīl strikes a chord with regard to Mamluk royal ideology in general. Islamic legends have long ranked Alexander the Great and Solomon as the two great world rulers who were "believers."[18] The two are always paired in popular literature and folklore with a given Muslim ruler. In this case, Solomon is paired with Khalīl. Similarly, the allusion to Solomon as a "builder" is obvious: Islamic legend at various periods identified Solomon as the builder of religious structures.[19] Here our Mamluk panegyrist is audacious enough to link a Turkic *sulṭān* and a secular building under his patronage to the Biblical King and his Temple. Even some details, such as Solomon outwitting demons/jinn in the endeavor, were judiciously used by him. Of course, the phrase *al-ins wa-l-jānn* (line 3) is a stock idiom, which signifies "all creatures;" but the context allows the text to perform on yet another level. The parallelism between Solomon's Temple and Khalīl's *īwān* underlines the significance of the decorations, including portraiture, in the respective edifices. The Solomon analogue thus supplies an ideological, and visual, footnote to Khalīl's Hall of Portraiture. As a court poet at this point of his career, Ibn Dāniyāl might not have given much consideration to Mamluk politics. His panegyric heralding the opening of the *sulṭān*'s new, and unconventional, Hall would naturally evoke a more grandiose, even romantic, tone, in sharp contrast to the historian Ibn al-Dawādārī's dark, scathing tale of greed and betrayal.

4 Concluding Remarks: Poetry, Art, and the Writing of History

Using poetry as a supplementary source for historical inquiry can be a rewarding enterprise. Given the deep-rooted indifference of Arabic historical sources

18 Cf. J. Walker, "Sulaymān b. Dāwūd," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.; Joseph Sadan, "Hārūn al-Rashīd and the Brewer," in *Studies in Canonical and Popular Arabic Literature*, ed. S. Ballas and R. Snir (Toronto: York Press, 1998), 14, note 36; Renard, *Heroic Image*, 100–102, 201–202, 225. For the installment of statues (of Solomon and various figures, animals) and other devices and marvels at royal palaces for the purpose of impressing the envoys, see T.M.P. Duggan, "Diplomatic Shock and Awe: Moving, Sometimes Speaking, Islamic Sculptures," *al-Masāq* 21.3 (2009): 229–267, especially 235–240.

19 Priscilla Soucek, "The Temple of Solomon in Islamic Legend and Art," in *The Temple of Solomon: Archaeological Fact and Medieval Tradition in Christian, Islamic and Jewish Art*, ed. Joseph Gutmann (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976), 83.

to certain topics—particularly the arts, in any form—the historian may turn to other sources of information. The surviving textual testimony of a visual past in the Islamic Near East is so thin that every shred of evidence counts. However, the less-trekked route can often prove, understandably, more challenging and treacherous.

A case in point, relevant to this inquiry, is the attempt at reconstructing the figural representation at Baybars' *qubba*, which served, as discussed above, as the model for that of Khalīl's *īwān*. Baybars' domed hall was the most monumental of his structures at the Cairo Citadel, as noted in all the sources. But of all, only the Hall had been described by a contemporary, Ibn Shaddād (d. 684/1285), who had apparently not seen the *qubba* for himself. When describing the figures on its walls, his account consists of only one sentence stating that the *sulṭān* and his *amīr*s were portrayed in a scene representing a *mawkib* procession. The chronicler, a Syrian, then goes on to quote a poem, by another Syrian, Ibn Ḥayyūs (d. 473/1081), written two centuries earlier, that describes hunting scenes instead.[20] It is hard to tell whether the Mamluk historian used a Saljuq poet's depiction more as a literary convention or as an alternate source to bring to life the details that had eluded him.

For Khalīl's *īwān*, analysis rests perhaps on more solid ground: not only was Ibn Dāniyāl's poem tailor-made for the occasion (although it contains its share of poetic conventions), it was also most likely constructed from an eye-witness account. So, what have we learned?

First, the vivid, even gripping, figures—depicted in formations that include horsemen and infantry—suggest some sort of movement beyond that of a static riding procession. Rather, these figures were either preparing for battle, or, more likely, engaged in one (as evidenced by the poem's references to swords dripping with blood, lances, a banner, an enemy). In the background are elements that hint at hunting scenes (eagles) as well as a Syrian landscape (castles and fortresses). As already noted by Rabbat, Khalīl's figural representations confirm the continuity of the Mamluk iconography along the lines of "austerity," championed by Baybars and featuring hunting and horseback riding exercises instead of images depicting drinking and entertainment typical of the thematic Ayyubid and Fatimid prototypes.[21] Ibn Dāniyāl's poem alluded that there might be something more than meets the eye in the composition of this "austerity" theme.

20 Rabbat, *Citadel*, 125–131.

21 Rabbat, *Citadel*, 170–171, 173–177.

Second, with a view toward the historiography involved in documenting medieval Islamic visual arts, there are several additions to our knowledge. Sources confirm that al-Ashraf Khalīl was among the few Mamluk *sulṭān*s to have commissioned figural representations in royal buildings, but offer conflicting accounts as to where these representations were installed, and whose images were portrayed. The most famous account, via al-Maqrīzī, the doyen of Cairene architecture, is perhaps inaccurate. Relying on an earlier source (perhaps, as this study has suggested, that of Baybars al-Manṣūrī), it places the portraiture in a *rafraf*-pavilion at the Citadel and fails to mention the *sulṭān*'s figural representation, whereas the accounts of Ibn Dāniyāl—and al-Ṣafadī by proxy—corroborate the historian Ibn al-Dawādārī's narrative that the audience hall (*īwān*) displayed the paintings. If we entertain the idea that commissioning figural portraits of the Mamluk troops was a project cherished and pursued by the young *sulṭān* Khalīl throughout his short reign, that perhaps several structures in the Cairo Citadel were chosen as the location for such an enterprise, it is reasonable to suggest that Khalīl may have been on a par with, if not surpassed, his role model Baybars when it came to using visual art for the purposes of propaganda.[22]

Finally, perhaps the most valuable insight gained from reading the poem is what conventional sources cannot offer: an illustration, exaggerated perhaps, of the effect portraits can have on their audience. What motivated a Mamluk ruler, or any ruler for that matter, to commission royal portraiture must have been the desire or, impulse, to document and celebrate military victories—as those etched in stone—on grand royal edifices. In this regard, the poem suggests that al-Ashraf Khalīl's project was twofold: to promote the Mamluk state ideology of its "world rulers," linking Khalīl to the great kings/builders in human history—the Persian Chosroes, the Arabian Shaddād of ʿĀd, and the Biblical King Solomon—as well as to engage the viewers, the *sulṭān*'s admirers and opponents, visually, mentally, and emotionally.

In sum, from this poem one gains insight into the mentality surrounding its commission, as well as that of its patron, the young, ambitious but vulnerable, *sulṭān*. The poem provides a rare opportunity to contemplate the "image" of Sulṭān Khalīl, while the portraiture encourages a fresh perspective into its lost content.

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22 Even Baybars did not generate significant visual interpretations. There was the famous "mascot" of Baybars, in the form of a lion (*baybars*, his namesake), on some monuments, but no visual representation of the *sulṭān* as a person is known to have survived; see Renard, *Heroic Image*, 45.

Translation

(meter: *basīṭ*)

No rulers in Islam are like you, on account of such an *īwān*,
not even the Great Hall of Chosroes could match it.
With lofty columns standing around it,
the Doorkeeper to Paradise would be satisfied.
When you are away, it is still filled with your presence,
with an air of awe, scaring away men and jinn.
You commissioned the portraits of your troops, in their normal posture,
on the wall,
as if they were residing there, on horseback, permanently.
Tirelessly mounted, charging against
the enemy in an instant. Nothing could distract their attention.
Their eyes are so focused on following the command
that their eyelids never blink.
Their swords are covered with the dripping blood of the infidels.
Everyone is thirsty for battle.
Amidst the jungle of lancers,
under the banner, they are like houris and boys of paradise.
You had their images painted[23] so the emissaries of foreign rulers
would be enchanted upon seeing the magnificent beauty.
They would bow down and declare, "Stop here! Kneel down!
Today the wall can hear.[24]
"It is as if the figures in the paintings were climbing up the fortifications,
straight up the wall, horsemen and infantry.
"If it were not for the guards, their horses would have trampled us;
and the eagles on the wall would have snatched us alive!"
The dome, it ranks tenth in the celestial sphere,
Saturn is beneath it in altitude.
As if it were the elevated universe, guarded
by the kings. Satan is incapable of reaching its vicinity.
It rises high, its orbits glorified by the stars,
and honored by the meteors. Its foundation is as solid as the earth.
O Ashraf, the most noble! You are the sun.

23 The edition has *ṣawwartu-hum*, "I painted them …"; read: *ṣawwarta-hum*.

24 Literally, "the wall has ears."

You are the shooting star, rising high. In my eyes, you are King Solomon!
The splendorous hallway of your palace is covered with brocade of all kinds of color desired by one's soul.
The victorious shooting games have enamored all the heedless admirers, with their bows becoming tender and gentle.
What a spectacular display on a parade day: when they show off in marching formations, expecting bountiful rewards!

قال يمدحُ الملك الأشرف ويصفُ الايوان الذي بناه وصوّر فيه الأمراء ونفسه: [من البسيط]:

ما كانَ مِثلَكَ في الإسلامِ سُلطانُ ولا لكسرى كذا الإيوان إيوانُ
ذاتُ العِمادِ تبدَّت في جَوانبهِ بَلْ جَنّة الخُلْدِ والبوّابُ رضوانُ
إنْ غبتَ عنهُ فشخصٌ منكَ يملأُهُ مهابةً يتّقيها الإنسُ والجانُ
صوَّرتَ جَيْشَكَ فيهِ مثلَ عادَتهِ كأنّهم في ظهورِ الخيلِ سكانُ
لا يسأمونَ ركوبَ الخيلِ في طَلَب ال أعداءِ يوماً ولا يُلهيهمُ شأنُ
قد حَدَّقَتْ لامتثالِ الأمرِ أعيُنُهم فَلَيسَ تُطْبِقُ مِنْهُمُ قَطُّ أَجفانُ
سُيوفُهم بِدماءِ الكفر قد رُوِيَتْ سَفْكاً وكُلٌّ إلى الهيجاءِ عَطْشانُ
كأَنّهُم في غِياضٍ في رِماحِهمُ تحتَ البنودِ وَهُم حورٌ ووِلدانُ
صَوَّرتُهم فإذا رُسْلُ الملوكِ رأوا جَمالَهَم فُتنوا والحسنُ فتّانُ
وأطرقوا ثمَّ قالوا خفِّضوا وَقفوا منها هُنا اليوم للحيطانِ آذانُ
مثالُ ذا صَعدوا تلكَ المعاقلَ من حيطانها وَهُم رجلٌ وفُرسانُ
لولا الأمانُ لَداسَتْنا خُيُولهُمُ واستَخطَفتْنا منَ الحيطان عُقبانُ
كأنها العالَمُ العُلويُّ تحرُسُها ال أملاكُ لَم يدنُ منها ثمَّ شَيْطانُ
عَلَتْ فأفلاكُها الأفلاك في شَرَفٍ وتبرُها الشُّهبُ الأركانُ أركانُ
وأنتَ يا أشرفَ الأَملاك شمسُ علًا شهابُها وعلى ظَنّي سُلَيمانُ
وَتَحْتَ دِهليزِكَ الزَاهي بزركشةٍ من كلِّ ما تَتمَنى النّفسُ ألوانُ
والجيشُ بالقَبقِ المنصورِ قد وَلعوا بكُلِّ طائشة والقَوس مرنانُ
كأَنّها العَرضُ يومَ العرض إذ عُرضوا عليه صفّاً وللاعطاء ميزانُ

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CHAPTER 21

In Defense of the Use of Qurʾān in *Adab*: Ibn Abī l-Luṭf's *Rafʿ al-iltibās ʿan munkir al-iqtibās*

Bilal Orfali

1 *Iqtibās* in Arabic Literature and Literary Criticism

Incorporating Qurʾānic quotations in prose and poetry was a common practice as early as the lifetime of the Prophet, as attested by the statements and poetry of the Prophet's companions.[1] In describing this practice scholars employed several terms, such as *ikhtilās* (misappropriation), *nazʿ*/*intizāʿ* (pulling out), *sariqa* (theft), *taḍmīn* (insertion), *ʿaqd* (knotting), *istishhād* (citation), *talwīḥ*/*talmīḥ* (allusion), *ishāra* (reference), *istiʿāra* (borrowing), *istinbāṭ*/*istikhrāj* (extraction), or the most common term, *iqtibās* (quotation).[2] The honoree of this volume, Wadad Kadi, has investigated within the course of several studies the use and influence of the Qurʾān on Arabic and Islamic literature.[3] This article builds on these efforts taking as its main subject an unpublished treatise titled *Rafʿ al-iltibās ʿan munkir al-iqtibās* (Removing the doubt from the denier of *iqtibās*) by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Luṭf (fl. 992/1584).

1 Ibtisām Marhūn al-Ṣaffār, *Athar al-Qurʾān fī l-adab al-ʿarabī fī l-qarn al-awwal al-hijrī* (Amman: Juhayna, 2005); Wadād al-Qāḍī and Mustansir Mir, "Literature and the Qurʾān," in *The Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 3:215.

2 For a general treatment of the topic, see Wadād al-Qāḍī and Mustansir Mir, "Literature and the Qurʾān," 3:205–227; D.B. Macdonald and S.A. Bonebakker, "Iḳtibās," in *EI*^{2}, 3:1091b–1092a; and Amidu Sanni, *The Arabic Theory of Prosification and Versification* (Beirut: In Kommission bei F. Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1998), 135–153; Bilal Orfali and Maurice Pomerantz, "'I See a Distant Fire': Al-Thaʿālibī's *Kitāb al-Iqtibās min al-Qurʾān al-Karīm*," in *Qurʾan and Adab*, ed. Nuha Shaar (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

3 Wadād al-Qāḍī, "The Impact of the Qurʾān on the Epistolography of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd," in *Approaches to the Qurʾān*, ed. G.R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader A. Shareef (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 285–313; eadem, "The Limitations of Qurʾānic Usage in Early Arabic Poetry: The Example of A Khārijite Poem," in *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Wolfhart Heinrichs and Gregor Schoeler (Beirut: In Kommission bei F. Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1994), 162–181; eadem, *Bishr ibn Abī Kubār al-Balawī: namūdhaj min al-nathr al-fannī al-mubakkir fī l-Yaman* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1985); Wadād al-Qāḍī and Mustansir Mir, "Literature and the Qurʾān," 3:205–227.

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Muslim scholars often sought to determine the origin of striking expressions. For this reason topics, such as *sariqa*, were important for early literary critical discourse. Terms like *sariqa* and *intizāʿ* which were used in literary contexts, were also applied to Qur'ānic borrowings. Thus, as in *sariqa*, which can occur in *lafẓ* and in *maʿnā*, the understanding of the concept of *iqtibās* was either in the sense of borrowing Qur'ānic verses, expressions, and imagery, or in the sense of alluding to their meaning.

The Qur'ān is a sacred text that has been celebrated as a religious guide and a source of eloquence that possesses miraculous attributes.[4] Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib states that the main motivation for Qur'ānic borrowing is seeking divine blessing.[5] Others, such as secretaries, adorned their prose letters with Qur'ānic references to prove their talent and skill in appropriating Qur'ānic language and themes. A reference to or quotation from the Qur'ān, the memorized text *par excellence*, had the advantage of being immediately recognizable to others and easily appreciated by a wide audience. The practice of incorporating verses from poetry, Qur'ān, and proverbs (*amthāl*) developed into an artistic technique, an acceptable touchstone by which to test the competence and status of a *kātib*, whose professional requirements and standards were codified in the *adab al-kātib* literature.[6] The renowned Umayyad secretary ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 132/750) identifies the Qur'ān as the first item in the required list of studies for state secretaries.[7] Similarly, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir al-Shaybānī (d. 298/911) in his *al-Risāla al-ʿadhrā'* counsels that secretaries learn to be efficient in extracting appropriate verses of the Qur'ān and proverbial citations from their sources (*nazʿ āy al-Qur'ān fī mawāḍiʿihā wa-jtilāb al-amthāl fī amākinihā*).[8] Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023), in a statement preserved in *Thamarāt al-awrāq* of Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī (d. 838/1434), notes that

4 For a discussion of the miraculous nature (*iʿjāz*) of the Qur'ān, see Sophia Vasalou, "The Miraculous Eloquence of the Qur'an: General Trajectories and Individual Approaches," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 4 (2002): 23–53 and the sources listed therein.

5 Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*, ed. Ḥātim Ṣāliḥ al-Ḍāmin (Damascus: Dār al-Bashā'ir, 2003), 44–45.

6 See also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sā'ir fī adab al-kātib wa-l-shāʿir*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥūfī and Badawī Ṭabāna (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 1962), 1:101. Even a non-Muslim such as Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābī allegedly memorized the Qur'ān and used to quote its verses in his letters (*yuṣarrif āyātih fī rasā'ilih*), see al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-ʿaṣr*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿāda, 1956), 2:242–243.

7 See al-Qāḍī, "The Impact of the Qur'ān," 287.

8 Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir al-Shaybānī, *al-Risāla al-ʿadhrā'*, ed. Zakī Mubārak (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1931), 7.

the *kātib* ought to have memorized the Qurʾān in order to extract (*li-yantaziʿa*) from its verses.[9]

Quoting the Qurʾān could also serve to parody or to ridicule the concepts and themes of the Qurʾān, such as in the *mujūn* poetry of Bashshār b. Burd (d. 168/784) and Abū Nuwās (d. ca. 200/815). In some works, the Qurʾān is employed in a humorous context. A good example would be the stories of party crashers (*ṭufayliyyūn*) and misers (*bukhalāʾ*), where the religious text is used to protect or produce food sometimes through sexual reference or innuendo. In such narratives, the sacred text moves from a world of authority to a world of play or parody as Fedwa Malti-Douglas, Geert Jan van Gelder, and Ulrich Marzolph have noted in recent studies.[10] Van Gelder explains that when poets, and by extension the *udabāʾ*, are being frivolous, they intend to shock their audience, an effect that can be achieved by using Qurʾānic references.[11]

Appreciating the eloquence of the Qurʾān, *littérateurs* also employ Qurʾānic verses to raise the stylistic register of the literary piece, whether in prose or poetry. Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1030) in his *al-Iqtibās min al-Qurʾān* emphasizes that the practice of quoting the Qurʾān is a conscious decision of the writer. He alludes to earlier attempts to challenge the literary preeminence of the Qurʾān, the so-called *muʿāraḍāt al-Qurʾān*. He declares that poets and prose writers since the beginning of Islam have failed to imitate or compete with the sacred text and their utmost capacity is to incorporate and quote from its utterances and themes to adorn their speech (*kalām*) and add to it splendor (*rawnaq*), beauty (*ḥusn*), grace (*ṭalāwa*), majesty and nobility (*jalāla wa-fakhāma*).[12] In this early period, a *kātib* could prove his talent by imitating the Qurʾān just as a poet might demonstrate his mastery by emulating a famous ode. After the *iʿjāz* dogma began to take shape with al-Naẓẓām (d. after 220/835), *littérateurs* became more wary of Qurʾānic imitation.[13]

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9 See Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī, *Thamarāt al-awrāq*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, 2005), 260.

10 See Geert Jan van Gelder, "Forbidden Firebrands: Frivolous *Iqtibās* (Quotation from the Qurʾān) According to Medieval Arab Critics," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 20–21 (2002–2003): 3–16; Ulrich Marzolph, "The Qoran and Jocular Literature," *Arabica* 47 (2000): 478–487; and Fedwa Malti-Douglas, "Playing with the Sacred: Religious Intertext in *Adab* Discourse," in *Humanism, Culture and Language in the Near East*, ed. Asma Afsaruddin and A.H. Mathias Zahniser (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 51–59.

11 See Geert Jan van Gelder, "Forbidden Firebrands," 4.

12 Al-Thaʿālibī, *al-Iqtibās min al-Qurʾān al-karīm*, ed. Ibtisām Marhūn al-Ṣaffār (Baghdad: Dār al-Wafāʾ, 1992), 1:37–38. For similar opinions see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1922), 1:191; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, 1:5, 101; 3:200.

13 It is likely that in mentioning those who failed to compete with the Qurʾān al-Thaʿālibī

The earliest known work on *iqtibās* is Muḥammad Ibn Kunāsa's (d. 207/822) *Sariqāt al-Kumayt min al-Qur'ān*, which, unfortunately, has not survived.[14] Its title suggests, though, that this scholar understood the practice of quoting the Qur'ān in poetry as a *sariqa*, a term which need not necessarily be understood in a pejorative sense.[15] Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣbahānī (d. 297/909) devotes the ninety-third chapter of his *Kitāb al-Zahra* to the topic: *Dhikr mā istaʿārathu l-shuʿarā' min al-Qur'ān wa-mā naqalathu ilā ashʿārihā min sā'ir al-maʿānī* (A discussion of what poets borrowed from the Qur'ān and what they incorporated into their poetry of common motifs).[16] Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (d. 360/970) dedicated a chapter to Abū Nuwās' use of Qur'ānic expressions and ideas in poetry.[17]

The earliest extant comprehensive book on *iqtibās* as an independent subject is al-Thaʿālibī's literary anthology, *al-Iqtibās min al-Qur'ān al-karīm*. The term employed by al-Thaʿālibī, *iqtibās*, became the conventional referent for the quotation and use of the Qur'ān in literary texts. *Iqtibās*, literally 'taking a live coal or a firebrand (*qabas*) from a fire' denotes a quotation or borrowing from the Qur'ān or *ḥadīth* with or without explicit acknowledgement. Al-Thaʿālibī's notion of *iqtibās* addresses a wide range of different topics that he had arranged following what appear to be several broad themes.

The *Kitāb Intizāʿāt* [*min*] *al-Qur'ān*, a lost work attributed to a contemporary of al-Thaʿālibī, Abū Saʿd al-ʿAmīdī (d. 433/1042) is likely to have been devoted

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is referring to the famous accusations of *muʿāraḍat al-Qur'ān* by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. ca. 139/756) examined by Josef van Ess. As van Ess explains, the surviving fragments of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's *muʿāraḍa* are experimental rather than polemical, given that the doctrine of *iʿjāz* had yet to be formulated. See Josef van Ess, "Some Fragments of the *Muʿāraḍat al-Qur'ān* Attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ," in *Studia Arabica et Islamica*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1981), 160.

14 Ibn Rashīq, *Qurāḍat al-dhahab*, ed. Chedly Bouyahia (Tunis: al-Sharika al-Tūnisiyya lil-Tawzīʿ, 1972), 99 (as quoted in Sanni, *The Arabic Theory of Prosification and Versification*, 139).

15 Wolfhart Heinrichs explains that for Arab critics "there is a stable and limited pool of motifs or poetical themes (*maʿānī*) that is worthy to be expressed in poetry," thus, *sariqa* became "a way of life for later poets." Therefore, judgment on a particular *sariqa* depends on how elegantly a poet employed the borrowed meaning and whether he introduced a change or improvement in structure (*lafẓ*), content (*maʿnā*), or context (e.g., use in a different genre). See Wolfhart Heinrichs, "An Evaluation of *Sariqa*," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 5–6 (1987–1988): 358–360.

16 Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Zahra*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrā'ī (Amman: Maktabat al-Manār, 1985), 2:815–820.

17 Sanni, *The Arabic Theory of Prosification and Versification*, 137.

to the issue of borrowings from the Qurʾān.[18] A similar title, *Kitāb Intizāʿāt al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm* by the Fāṭimid secretary Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 542/1147) survives in manuscript form. The work lists the Qurʾānic verses that could be used by the state's secretaries in the presentation of a variety of topics.[19] Discussions of the practice of *iqtibās* later became a common topic in *adab* and rhetorical works.[20]

2 Legitimacy of *iqtibās*

Quotations from the Qurʾān in literature have generally prompted little objection from the *littérateurs*. Nevertheless, there were some scholars who disapproved of *iqtibās* before al-Thaʿālibī composed his extensive work on the subject. Significantly, most legal scholars were in favor of *iqtibās*. The first critical voice was allegedly al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) whose opinion survives in al-Qalqashandī's (d. 821/1418) encyclopedia of chancellery practice *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*.[21] Some authorities in theology, such as Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), condemn *iqtibās* if it occurs in poetry rather than prose,[22] an opinion that finds approval in later works.[23] Others deemed the practice permissible only if the writer openly acknowledges the borrowing. Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239) reports that some hold this opinion but that he himself disagrees.[24] Some further opine that Qurʾānic materials may be used in prose only in the form of direct quotation arguing that allusion or paraphrase of the Qurʾān is not permissible.[25] Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib (d. 5th/11th century) suggests that poetry which

18 See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, ed. D.S. Margoliouth (London, 1923–1935), 6:328 (as quoted in Sanni, *The Arabic Theory of Prosification and Versification*, 142). Sanni mentions that this work may be taken as the third part of al-ʿAmīdī's trilogy on the subject of textual borrowings, if we take into consideration his two other works: *al-Irshād ilā ḥall al-manẓūm* and *al-Hidāya ilā naẓm al-manthūr*.

19 See Wadād al-Qāḍī and Mustansir Mir, "Literature and the Qurʾān," 216.

20 See Sanni, *The Arabic Theory of Prosification and Versification*, 143 ff.

21 Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, 1:190–191.

22 Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī, *al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* (Cairo: Maktabat Dār al-Turāth, n.d.), 1:483.

23 Al-Suyūṭī attributes this same opinion to Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277–1278) and Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 763/1361). See al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ ʿuqūd al-jumān* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, n.d.), 168; idem, "Rafʿ al-bās wa-kashf al-iltibās fī ḍarb al-mathal min al-Qurʾān wa-l-iqtibās," in *al-Ḥāwī lil-fatāwī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1352/[1933]), 1:278.

24 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, 3:200.

25 See al-Suyūṭī, "Rafʿ al-bās," 1:259.

incorporates the Qur'ān is always inferior to the Qur'ān in terms of *balāgha*, thus arguing in favor of quotational borrowing.[26] Mālikī scholars were in general more critical of *iqtibās* and some condemned all *iqtibās* and considered it an act of *kufr*.[27]

In the eighth/fourteenth century the discussion on the legitimacy of *iqtibās* becomes more elaborate. The Shādhilī scholar Dāwūd b. ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Bākhilī (d. ca. 730/1329) addresses the issue in detail in his *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya bi-sharḥ duʿāʾ al-shādhiliyya*, raising questions as to whether a quotation in verse can be employed to indicate a meaning different from the original Qur'ānic meaning and whether one can change the word order or the wording of the verse. The author seems to be in favor of allowing these two practices and quotes several statements in support of his assertions. This is followed by examples of various types of *iqtibās* written up to the author's time.[28]

Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī (d. 838/1434), following Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 750/1349), divides *iqtibās* into three categories: acceptable or recommended (*maqbūl*), such as in sermons and letters of investiture (*ʿuhūd*); permissible (*mubāḥ*), such as in *ghazal*, letters and stories; and, objectionable (*mardūd*) such as quoting the Qur'ān in a frivolous manner.[29] Even a strong supporter of *iqtibās* such as al-Thaʿālibī dedicates a few pages in his book to censuring reprehensible *iqtibās* (*iqtibās makrūh*).[30]

Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) also favors the practice of *iqtibās* and compiled an anthology on the subject: *Aḥāsin al-iqtinās fī maḥāsin al-iqtibās*.[31] In this work, al-Suyūṭī arranges his poetic verses containing examples of *iqtibās* in alphabetical order according to rhyme letter. In the Introduction to the work, he states

26 Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*, 44–45.

27 Al-Suyūṭī attributes this opinion to his *ḥijāzī* contemporary *qāḍī al-quḍāt* Muḥyī al-Dīn b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī, see al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ ʿuqūd al-jumān*, 168; in *Rafʿ al-bās*, however, the strict prohibition seems to result from the use of *iqtibās* in poetry, see idem, "Rafʿ al-bās," 1:278.

28 See Dāwūd b. ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Bākhilī, *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya bi-sharḥ duʿāʾ al-shādhiliyya*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir Naṣṣār (Cairo: Dār al-Karz, 2011), 148–165.

29 See Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī, *Khizānat al-adab wa-ghāyat al-arab* (Cairo: Būlāq, 1882), 539. See also al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* (Saudi Arabia: Wizārat al-Shuʾūn al-Islāmiyya, n.d.), 721; Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya al-badīʿiyya*, ed. Nasīb Nashāwī (Damascus: Majmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya, 1982), 326.

30 See al-Thaʿālibī, *al-Iqtibās min al-Qurʾān al-karīm*, 2:57–58.

31 See al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1967), 1:344; idem, *Aḥāsin al-iqtinās fī maḥāsin al-iqtibās*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (Damascus: Dār al-Anwār, 1996).

that he has not used *iqtibās* in a frivolous way and notes his disapproval of this practice. He addresses the topic of *iqtibās* in his other works such as *al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān*, *Sharḥ ʿuqūd al-jumān*, *Rafʿ al-bās wa-kashf al-iltibās fī ḍarb al-mathal min al-Qurʾān wa-l-iqtibās*, and his *Maqāmāt*, quoting various legal opinions on the legitimacy of the practice and offering numerous examples of different kinds of *iqtibās*.[32] In his *fatwā*-treatise *Rafʿ al-bās*, for instance, he addresses questions such as the use of *iqtibās* in prayer (generally prohibited), or in cases of ritual impurity (generally accepted), or changing the wording of the Qurʾān in *iqtibās* (generally accepted), or changing the context or meaning of the verse (generally accepted), or employing *iqtibās* in poetry (generally accepted).

3 *K. Rafʿ al-iltibās ʿan munkir al-iqtibās*

The Shāfiʿī *muftī* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Luṭf (d. 993/1585) composed a *fatwā*-treatise titled *Rafʿ al-iltibās ʿan munkir al-iqtibās*. The work is divided into two chapters (*bāb*s), the first is entitled: *fī bayān jawāz al-iqtibās balāghatan wa-sharʿan* (The permissibility of *iqtibās* in rhetoric and according to religious law), and the second, *fī bayān al-adilla ʿalā l-jawāz* (On proving the permissibility of *iqtibās*). Ibn Abī l-Luṭf mentions that he has been informed that someone has unduly denied the practice of *iqtibās* which he has employed in his welcome of the Grand Admiral (Kapudan-ı Derya) Suleiman Pasha upon his arrival to Damascus in 992/1516. This denial prompted the author to answer the verdict by composing this work.

In the first chapter, Ibn Abī l-Luṭf argues that most religious scholars approve of the practice of *iqtibās* and have used it in their writings. This includes the use of Qurʾān in poetry, even if it changes the wording of the Qurʾānic verse or the verse is employed to indicate a meaning different from the Qurʾānic intent. The author quotes al-Suyūṭī who argues that the Prophet, his companions, the successors, and the religious scholars have used *iqtibās* in their speech and their writings. Al-Suyūṭī questions the prohibition of *iqtibās* in the Mālikī legal school arguing that, in addition to various Mālikī scholars, Imām Mālik b. Anas himself has used it. Al-Suyūṭī also denies the prohibition of *iqtibās* in the Ḥanafī legal school citing its employment in *Sharḥ Majmaʿ al-baḥrayn* of Ibn al-Sāʿātī

32 See al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān*, 719–727; idem, *Sharḥ maqāmāt Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, ed. Samīr Maḥmūd al-Durūbī (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1989), 1:725–729; idem, *Sharḥ ʿuqūd al-jumān*, 165–170; idem, "Rafʿ al-bās," 1:259–284.

(d. 694/1295).[33] The author then gives examples of prominent scholars who used *iqtibās* such as al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286), al-Ṭībī (d. 743/1342), al-Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390), Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201), and concludes that the use of *iqtibās* is a matter of consensus (*ijmāʿ*).

In the second chapter, Ibn Abī l-Luṭf provides actual examples of *iqtibās* to support his claims in the first chapter and hence prove the permissibility of *iqtibās*. The first section of this chapter deals with prose and begins with examples from *ḥadīth*, followed by examples from the sayings of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and Ibn ʿUmar. Then follows a set of examples from the artistic prose tradition, particularly the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) and *Aṭbāq al-dhahab* of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Iṣfahānī (d. ca. 600/1204), and the sermons of Ibn Nubāta (d. 867/1366). Ibn Abī l-Luṭf then quotes a long section of one of his sermons given at the Aqṣā mosque and states that he uses *iqtibās* in all his compositions (*inshāʾ*). He then quotes a lost *maqāma* of his grandfather titled *Gharībat al-awṭān fī mufākharat qubbatay al-sulṭān*.

The second set of examples are verse illustrations by Abū l-Qāsim al-Rāfiʿī (d. 623/1226) from his *Amālī*, Abū l-Faḍl al-Sukkarī (d. before 429/1037) quoted in al-Bayhaqī's (d. 458/1066) *Shuʿab al-īmān*, and al-Taftāzānī from his *al-Muṭawwal*. The following sets of verses are quoted without specifying a source, these are lines by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), Ibn al-Raffāʾ al-Ḥamawī (d. 662/1264), and al-Suyūṭī. The last group consists of lines composed by the author himself.

4 The Author of *K. Rafʿ al-iltibās ʿan munkir al-iqtibās*

The Abū l-Luṭf family was very influential in Jerusalem and greater Syria with a long tradition of scholarship and learning. Shaykh al-Islām Abū l-Luṭf Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Manṣūr b. Zayn al-ʿArab al-Ḥaṣkafī (d. 859/1454), the son of a wealthy merchant, *adīb*, and poet is considered the great-grandfather of the family.[34] Many members of the family acquired their education in Jerusalem and Egypt and worked as *imām*s and *khaṭīb*s in the *ḥaram* of Jerusalem or as

33 Al-Suyūṭī's quotation is from *Nawāhid al-abkār wa-shawārid al-afkār*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥājj Muḥammad ʿUthmān et al. (Saudi Arabia: Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurā, 2005), 1:22–24.

34 See, for further discussion on him al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1353–1355), 8:220–221; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ and Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ (Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1993), 10:222; al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Wahbiyya, 1866), 2:525.

Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī *qāḍī*s and *muftī*s. A number of them have the same name and title as the author of *Rafʿ al-iltibās*, most notably Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Luṭf (d. 928/1522), a grammarian and philologist,[35] his son Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Luṭf (d. 971/1564), a *faqīh*,[36] and his grandson Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Abī l-Luṭf (d. Ṣafar 993/February 1585), who is the author of *Rafʿ al-iltibās*.[37]

Little is known about the life and career of Ibn Abī l-Luṭf. He was born in 940 or 941/1533–1535. He studied like many other members of his family in Cairo and Damascus, and took over the post of Shāfiʿī *muftī* upon his father's death in Rajab 971/February–March 1564, a position which he held for life.[38] This is attested in the Princeton and Celebi Abdullah manuscripts of *Rafʿ al-iltibās* where the author is described as *Muftī l-Shāfiʿiyya fī l-diyār al-qudsiyya*. In the introduction, the author states that he composed the work after the Grand Admiral (Kapudan-ı Derya) Suleiman Pasha visited Damascus in 992/1516. Ibn Abī l-Luṭf met with Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1030/1621) and issued him an *ijāza* during his visit to Jerusalem in Jumādā I 992/May–June 1584.[39] Ibn Abī l-Luṭf is also known to have mastered Arabic (*kāna lahu yad ṭūlā fī l-ʿarabiyya*) and composed poetry. He quotes his own poetry in the *Rafʿ al-iltibās*.

35 He is the son of Shaykh al-Islām Abū l-Luṭf mentioned above. For further discussion on him see al-Sakhāwī, 9:164; Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, ed. Khalīl Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1997), 1:16; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 10:222.

36 See al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, 3:9–10; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 10:524–535.

37 See al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, 3:10–11; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 10:630–632.

38 See al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, 3:10–11; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 10:630–632.

39 The *ijāza* is preserved in Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī's (d. 1111/1699) *Biḥār al-anwār al-jāmiʿa li-durar akhbār al-aʾimma al-aṭhār* and is analyzed in detail in Devin Stuart, "*Taqiyyah* as Performance: The Travels of Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī in the Ottomon Empire (991–93/1583–85)," in *Law and Society in Islam*, ed. Devin Stewart et al. (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996), 40–45.

5 Manuscripts of *K. Rafʿ al-iltibās ʿan munkir al-iqtibās*

This treatise survives in several manuscripts. The following manuscripts were consulted in the preparation of the critical edition:[40]

1. Harvard University هـ
   Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. MS Arab 337, fol. 176–183. It was completed at the end of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 993 [April 1585], apparently from the author's copy.

2. Cairo ق
   Dār al-Kutub, majāmīʿ Muṣṭafā Fāḍil 130, fol. 34–42. This manuscript was mentioned by Brockelmann.[41] It was copied by Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī at the end of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 1087 [July 1676].

3. Princeton ب
   Garret collection, Princeton University. MS Yahuda 832, fol. 390a–395a. The manuscript is undated.

4. Celebi Abdullah 384 ش
   An undated manuscript copied by ʿAlī Ibn al-Amīr Pīr Muḥammad.

Ms. Harvard (هـ) is the oldest and most accurate manuscript and presents a text which has the least number of errors, therefore the reading of هـ is often preferred in cases of disagreement between manuscripts. None of these manuscripts seems to be copied from another. Cairo (ق) comes second in importance with several original readings that are not in هـ. Princeton (ب) appears to be a later manuscript with numerous errors but occasionally offers original readings that are not in (هـ) and (ق). Celebi Abdullah is a later manuscript that does not offer any original readings and is thus not included in the apparatus of this critical edition.

40 A copy of the work is known to exist in al-Madīna al-Munawwara, al-Masjid al-Nabawī 1/5294.

41 See Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden: Brill, 1937–1949), 2:367 and Supplement, 2:394.

رفع الالتباس عن منكر الاقتباس
تأليف شمس الدّين محمّد بن أبي اللّطف حفظه الله تعالى

بسم الله الرّحمن الرّحيم

حمدًا لمَن لا تُقتبس أنوار المعارف إلاّ مِن مشكاة كتابه المنير، ولا تُلتمسُ أسرار اللّطائف إلّا مِن روض بيانه النّضير، ولا تُقتطف[1] أزهار البدائع[2] إلاّ من بديع برهانه الذي عدم النّظير، ولا تجتمع الآداب إلّا لمن جمعهم على الهدى وَهُوَ عَلَى جَمْعِهِمْ إِذَا يَشَاءُ قَدِيرٌ [الشّورى: 29]؛ وصلاةً على مَن مُنح من أسرار اللّطائف ولطائف الأسرار، وفُتح له من أنوار المعارف ومعارف الأنوار، ما أقام به على المنكر الجاهل براهين الاحتجاج، وأوضح به من طُرق الشّريعة الغرّاء أقوم مِنهاج، وعلى آله وصحبه الذين كشفوا بحسن البيان ظلمات الالتباس، وشفوا[3] صدور قومٍ جهلوا بأنوار الاستعارة والاقتباس، وحذفوا بهممهم الجازمة حروف العلّة من كلّ معلول، وحسموا[4] بمواضيهم الحاسمة[5] أدواء الجهالة عن كلّ جهول، وعلى مَن تبعهم بإحسان، في رهان هذا البيان، وَالَّذِينَ جَاءُوا مِنْ بَعْدِهِمْ يَقُولُونَ رَبَّنَا اغْفِرْ لَنَا وَلِإِخْوَانِنَا الَّذِينَ سَبَقُونَا بِالْإِيمَانِ [الحشر: 10].

وبعدُ، فلمّا جرت الأقلام الإراديّة، بثبوت الأقدام المراديّة، خُلّدت خلافتها العظمى، بسرير المسرّة الأسمى، وتخت السّلطنة الأحمى، وتسابق إلى تدوين ذلك أقدام الأقلام، وتلاحق في مضماره المؤرّخون الأعلام، يقدمهم البطل المقدام، مصلّي نافلة ذلك المضمار، وتالي آية التّقدّم والافتخار، المعدود بالنّجدة والفتوّة إذا اصطفّت الكماة في طول يوم العرض، والممدود بعزائم القوّة إذا تُلي وَلِلَّهِ جُنُودُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ [الفتح: 4، 7]، السّابق بالمفاخر في أَفْيَح برهان[6]، والباسق بالمآثر في أسبق[7] أفنان، أمير الأمراء الكرام مولانا سليمان باشا بن القبطان[8]، أسبغ الله عليه نعمه باطنةً وظاهرة، وكتب له في هذه الدنيا حسنةً وفي الآخرة، فأبدع مِن التّواريخ[9] ما جرت أقلام الأعلام بقَبوله، وحكمت حكّام[10] العربيّة بأفعل تفضيله، وأشار إليّ بنظمه في سِمطِ الالتئام، وربطه في سلك الانسجام. فنظمتُ تلك الجواهر الزّواهر، والدّرر البواهر، بسمط عبارات تنطف[11] غمائمُها بالحكمة

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[1]تُقتطف ه، تُقطف ق ب. [2]البدائع ه ب، البديع ق. [3]وشفوا ه ق، وتشفّوا ب. [4]وحسموا ه ب، وحموا ق. [5]الحاسمة ه ب، الجاسمة ق. [6]أَفْيَح برهان ه، أفيح رهان ق، أفسح ريّان ب. [7]أسبق ه ب، السّابق ق. [8]رمضان ه ق ب، تولّى دمشق سنة 1516/992؛ انظر ولاة دمشق في العهد العثماني 19. وفي الأغلب "بن القبطان" تحريف لمنصب Kapudan-ı Derya. [9]التّواريخ ه ب، هذا التّواريخ ق. [10]حكّام ه ب، حوامّ ق. [11]تنطف ه ب، تنطق ق.

وفصل الخطاب، وتنطق حمائمها بما أعرب عن أفنان الفنون باللّحن المستطاب، وتكشف تراجمها عن فرائد نفائس تقف عندها الأنفس وتنقطع دونها الأنفاس، وخرائد عرائس أعيذها بالإخلاص لربّ الفلق مِنْ شَرِّ الْوَسْوَاسِ الْخَنَّاسِ [النّاس: 4]، بتوشيح جَرت به أقدام[1] الاستعارة والجناس، وتنويع رقمته أقلام التّورية والاقتباس، ومناسبة أوجبت لها الاطّراد ولحاسدها الانعكاس، تحدّق إليها أحداق الطّاعنين[2] من كلّ حسود، فتَحْسَبُهُمْ أَيْقَاظًا وَهُمْ رُقُودٌ [الكهف: 18]. وكان مِن بديع ما أشرقت أقطار الأدب بنور اقتباسه، واستضاءت أبصار الأدب[3] بأضواء نبراسه، وكرعت ظماة الرّواة[4] في رحيق كأسه، ما اتّفق من الاقتباس النّفيس في براعة[5] استهلالها، ووقع فيه من المناسبة التي لم يُنسج على منوالها، بمنطق أنتج في زواياها أشكال البلاغة والبراعة، وأرتج بقضاياها أبواب القياس على مَن مدّ للمعارضة ذراعَه، بحيث لو رآه ابن مماتة[6] للقي شدّة الممات، أو ذاقه ابن نباتة[7] لقال هذا هو السّكّر النّبات، أو سمعه فارس البلاغة لتلا مَا يَسْتَوِي الْأَعْمَى وَالْبَصِيرُ، وَلَا الظُّلُمَاتُ وَلَا النُّورُ، وَلَا الظِّلُّ وَلَا الْحَرُورُ، وَمَا يَسْتَوِي الْأَحْيَاءُ وَلَا الْأَمْوَاتُ [فاطر: 19-22].

ومبدأ[8] تواريخ هذا الأمير الكريم: بسم الله الرّحمن الرّحيم، جاء ابن سليم، فقلت في تفصيل براعته المجملة، بعد التّبرّك بالبسملة، اللّهم تيمّنًا بذكرك، وتديّنًا بشكرك، على ما أسلتَ من شآبيب آلائك، وأسبلت من جلابيب عطائك، وأسبغت من جلائل النّعم، على كافّة العرب والعجم، ببسط بساط الخلافة لسلطان البسيطة غربًا وشرقًا، وتمهيد مهاد الولاية للآخذ من الشّرع القويم بالعروة الوثقى، في تاريخٍ قالت ملكة الفطنة لمجتلى دُرّه النّظيم: إِنِّي أُلْقِيَ إِلَيَّ كِتَابٌ كَرِيمٌ إِنَّهُ مِنْ سُلَيْمَانَ وَإِنَّهُ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ [النّمل: 29-30]. جاء ابن سليم، فبلغني أنّ بعض مَن في قلبه مرض، أنكر[9] جواز ذلك واعترض، وقابل الجوهر بالعرض، وتنكّب عن طريق الإنصاف، ووقع في مهامه الخلاف. ولا يُنكر جواز هذه المقالة، إلاّ مَن لبس مِن أثواب الجهالة، ما خيط بخيوط الرّعالة، ولم يقتبس من

[1]أقدام ه ق، أقلام ب. [2]الطّاعنين ه ب، الظّاعنين ق. [3]الأدب ه ق، الآداب ب. [4]وكرعت ظماة الرّواة ه ب، وكرعته ضمات الرّداة ق. [5]براعة ه ب، بلاغة ق. [6]مماتة ه ق، مماراته ب. [7]عبد العزيز بن عمر بن محمّد بن نباتة السّعدي (ت 1015/405)، من شعراء سيف الدّولة الحمداني، اتّصل بابن العميد ومدحه، توفّي ببغداد وله ديوان شعر وديوان خطب، الأعلام 4: 24. وقد تكون الإشارة إلى ابن نباتة المصري، جمال الدّين محمّد بن محمّد بن محمّد بن الحسن الجذامي الفارقي (ت 1366/768)، شاعر عصره، وأحد الكتّاب المترسّلين العلماء بالأدب. أصله من ميافارقين ومولده ووفاته في القاهرة، وله العديد من المؤلّفات. انظر الأعلام 7: 38؛ *EI*[2] 3:900a–901a. [8]ومبدأ ه ب، ومبتدا ق. [9]بعض زائدة في ق.

قبس الأدب أنوارًا، ولا آنس من جانب طور المعارف نارًا،[1] مثله كَمَثَلِ الْحِمَارِ يَحْمِلُ أَسْفَارًا [الجمعة: 5]. قد صار بهذه الخرافة التي تسنّحت من ظلال اعتباره فيئًا[2]، كَسَرَابٍ بِقِيعَةٍ يَحْسَبُهُ الظَّمْآنُ مَاءً حَتَّى إِذَا جَاءَهُ لَمْ يَجِدْهُ شَيْئًا [النّور: 39]. واندرج في سلك الغبيّين، ودرج في غير عشّه، حيث أخرج ميّتَ القول[3] من فيه على نعشه، ولم يخشَ صولةَ لسان القلم وشدّة بطشه. ولو علم الجَذِل[4] صولةَ النّجّار، وعضّة المِنشار، لما تطاول شبرًا، ولا تخايل كبرًا. لكنّ حياض الحقّ تجلّ أن تكون مشرعًا لكلّ وارد، بل لا يطّلع عليها إلاّ واحد بعد واحد. فلو عقل هذا الجهول الذي لا يعرف، والتّكرة الذي لا تتعرّف، لقبّل سدّة القرطاس وقدم القلم، واستضاء بأشعّة المعارف من أقمار تلك الحكم. لكنْ حمله على كاهل هذه الخرافة كاذبُ وهمِه، وأمطاه غاربَ هذه الجهالة عدمُ فهمه، وألقاه في هوّة هذه الضّلالة إبليسُ زعمه، بَلْ كَذَّبُوا بِمَا لَمْ يُحِيطُوا بِعِلْمِهِ [يونس: 39]. [من الكامل]

لو يعلم الجهّالُ عند كلامِهم ... أنّ الجوابَ بمُسكناتٍ قاطعَه
لم ينطقوا[5] هَجْمًا كفعلِ أولي النُّهى ... والحزمُ بالحِكَم السّداد الرّائعَه

والجواز[6] في هذا الباب، معلوم لأولي الألباب، على ما سيُتلى عليك من آياته، ويُملى لديك من دلالاته. وأمّا مَن لم يقتبس مِن أنوار الاقتباس، ولم يستضئ بضوء هذا التّبراس، فلا مبالاة بشذوذه، ولا التفات إلى خروجه عن طريق الحقّ وصدوده. ولئن سام برذَون فهمه المسابقة في مضمار المناظرة، ورام المساجلة في رهان المجادلة والمحاورة، قال له لسان جواد العلم[7] الوارد من بحار البلاغة نظمًا ونثرًا: إِنَّكَ لَنْ تَسْتَطِيعَ مَعِيَ صَبْرًا، وَكَيْفَ تَصْبِرُ عَلَى مَا لَمْ تُحِطْ بِهِ خُبْرًا [الكهف: 68]. وليس الحامل له على هذا الخروج، والإعراض عن تلك التربى[8] والمروج، إلاّ أحدُ أمرَين أمرَّين، وداءَين مضرَّين، يوجبان المقتَ والشّين، وهما الجهل المركّب البسيط[9] على مديد الأهواء، وداء الحسد الذي هو أعضل الأدواء. قيل[10] [من السريع]:

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[1]إشارة إلى قوله تعالى: لَمَّا قَضَى مُوسَى الْأَجَلَ وَسَارَ بِأَهْلِهِ آنَسَ مِنْ جَانِبِ الطُّورِ نَارًا قَالَ لِأَهْلِهِ امْكُثُوا إِنِّي آنَسْتُ نَارًا لَعَلِّي آتِيكُمْ مِنْهَا بِخَبَرٍ أَوْ جَذْوَةٍ مِنَ النَّارِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَصْطَلُونَ (القصص: 29)، ويشير في الوقت نفسه إلى المعنى اللّغوي للاقتباس، فالقَبَس: الشّعلة من النّار. انظر لسان العرب (مادّة ق، ب، س). [2]اعتباره فيئًا ه ق، اعتبار فياء ب. [3]القول تكررت في ق. [4]الجذل ه، الجدل ق ب. [5]ينطقوا ه ق، ينصتوا ب. [6]والجواز ه ق، والجواب ب. [7]العلم ه، القلم ق ب. [8]تلك التربى ه، تلك الرياض ق، الرياض ب. [9]البسيط ه ب، والبسيط ق. [10]قيل ه ب، قال بعضهم ولقد أجاد إلى الغاية ق.

أَشكرُ فضلَ الله سبحانَه إذ صيّرَ الحاسدَ لي يخدمُ
يجهدُ في رفع مقامي وفي نشرِ علومي وهْوَ لا يعلمُ

ثمّ مقصودُ هذه البطاقة، ينحصر في بابين ليس للمنكر بهما طاقة.

الباب الأوّل

في بيان جواز الاقتباس بلاغةً وشرعًا، وما يترتّب على إنكار[1] ذلك زجرًا وردعًا

اعلم أنّ العلماء الأعلام، وأئمّة أهل الإسلام، قد نصّوا على جواز الاقتباس، ولبسوا منه في مؤلّفاتهم التّفسيريّة وغيرها أفخر لباس، فقالوا عليهم الرّضوان والرّحمة، إنّ الحقَّ جوازُهُ، ولو في شعر جائز، وإن غُيّر نظمه، ومِن ثَمّ اقتضى كلام صاحب البيان وغيره من فقهائنا الأئمّة، أنّه لا محظور[2] في أن يُراد بالقرآن غيره؛ كـادْخُلُوهَا بِسَلَامٍ آمِنِينَ [الحجر: 46]، إذا قال ذلك لِمَن[3] استأذن[4] مِن الدّاخلين. بل حكى السّيوطي الحافظ[5] المعتبر، خائض بحار الأثر، الإجماع على جواز ذلك لمن نَثَر. قال: وقد استعمله العلماء قاطبة في خطبهم وإنشاءاتهم. ذكر ذلك في حاشيته على تفسير القاضي البيضاوي.[6] ثمّ قال بعد ذكره: فإن قُلتَ نرى في هذا الزّمان[7] قومًا يستنكرون ذلك ويقولون ألفاظ القرآن لا تُستعمل في غيره، قلتُ: إنّما استنكره هؤلاء جهلاً منهم بالنّصوص والنّقول؛ فقد استعمله النّبيّ عليه السلام في غيرما حديث، والصّحابة والتّابعون والعلماء قديمًا وحديثًا، ونصّوا في كتب الفقه على جوازه. فإن قلتَ: لعلّ متأخّري[8] المالكيّة يُشدّدون في ذلك ما لا يشدّده أهل مذهبهم، قلتُ: قد استعمله إمامهم الإمام مالك بن أنس، ونصّ على جوازه غير واحد منهم: ابن عبد البرّ[9]، والقاضي

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[1]إنكار ه ب، منكر ق. [2]أنّه لا محظور ه ب، أن لا محضور ق. [3]لمن ه ق، من ب. [4]مَن استأذن، زائدة ق. [5]السّيوطي الحافظ ه ب، الحافظ ق. وهو عبد الرحمن بن أبي بكر جلال الدّين السّيوطي، الإمام الحافظ المؤرّخ الأديب المشهور؛ له نحو 600 مصنّف، توفّي سنة 505/911. انظر الأعلام 3: 301–302؛ *EI*[2] 9: 913a–916a. [6]عبد الله بن عمر بن محمّد بن علي الشّيرازي ناصر الدين البيضاوي، قاضٍ مفسّر، ولد في المدينة البيضاء بفارس وولي قضاء شيراز مدّة وتوفّي في تبريز، له عدّة مؤلّفات منها أنوار التّنزيل وأسرار التّأويل وهو الكتاب الذي وضع السّيوطي حاشيةً عليه؛ توفّي 685/1286. انظر الأعلام 4: 110؛ *EI*[2] 1: 1129a. أمّا حاشية السّيوطي هذه فتُعرف باسم نواهد الأبكار وشوارد الأفكار. [7]هذا الزّمان ق ب، الزّمان ه. [8]متأخّري ه ب، تأخّر ق. [9]يوسف بن عبد الله بن محمد أبو عمر النّمري القرطبي المالكي (ت 1071/463)، فقيه حافظ أديب، عالم بالقراءات وبالخلاف وبعلوم الحديث والرّجال، يميل في الفقه إلى أقوال الشّافعي، ولد بقرطبة وتوفّي بشاطبة وله العديد من المؤلّفات. انظر الأعلام 8: 240.

عياض[1] واستعمله في خطبة الشّفا[2]، وابن المنيّر[3] واستعمله في الانتصاف[4] وفي خطبه المنبريّة[5]، ونصّ الشيّخ داود الباخِلي[6] في تأليف له على أنّ المالكيّة والشّافعيّة اتّفقوا على جوازه.[7] فإن قلتَ: سمعنا الإنكار ممّن زعم[8] أنّه متمذهب بمذهب أبي حنيفة، قلتُ: هو غيرُ عالمٍ بمذهبه، فلو رأى شرح مجمع البحرين لابن السّاعاتي[9] خصوصًا في باب الاستسقاء لظلّت عنقه لجوازه خاضعة، ولاعترف بجهله حيث أنكر ما قامت عليه الأدلّة السّاطعة. ولأجل ذلك ألّفتُ في المسألة كتابًا حافلاً فيه جمل من النّصوص والنّقول،[10] فليطلبه من أراد تحقيق ذلك. انتهى كلام السّيوطي بحروفه.[11]

وهذا المؤلَّف الّذي أشار إليه، لم يتيسّرْ لي الوقوف عليه، وكلامه هنا وإن وقع في شرح منظومته البيانيّة ما قد يُشعر بمخالفة بعضه،[12] هو الحقيق[13] بالاعتماد، الخليق برفع العماد؛ لِما قد تقرّر في محلّه مِن أنّ المُثبِت مُقدَّم على النّافي، وأنّ الأصل في الأشياء الإباحة، مع ما ستحيط به في[14] الباب الثّاني خُبرا.[15]

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[1]عياض بن موسى بن عياض أبو الفضل اليحصبي السّبتي (ت 544/1149)، وُلد في سُبتة وتوفّي بمراكش مسمومًا. كان إمام وقته في الحديث وعلومه عالمًا بالتّفسير، فقيهًا أصوليًّا، عالما بالنّحو واللّغة وكلام العرب وأيّامهم وأنسابهم، له إكمال المعلّم في شرح صحيح مسلم، والشّفا بتعريف حقوق المصطفى. انظر الأعلام 5: 99؛ *EI*[2] 4: 289b–290b. [2]الشّفا بتعريف حقوق المصطفى ولشهاب الدّين أحمد بن محمّد المقري التّلمساني كتاب أزهار الرّياض في أخبار عياض، في خمس مجلّدات. انظر الإتقان في علوم القرآن 720. [3]ناصر الدين أحمد بن محمّد بن منصور ابن المنيّر السّكندري (ت 683/1284)، من علماء الإسكندريّة وأدبائها، ولي قضاءها وخطابتها مرّتين، له تصانيف، منها تيسير العجيب في تفسير الغريب، والمتواري على أبواب البخاري، وديوان خطب، والانتصاف من الكشّاف. انظر الأعلام 1: 220؛ الوافي بالوفيات 8: 128–130؛ شذرات الذّهب 7: 666. [4]طُبع الانتصاف عدّة طبعات أغلبها على هامش الكشّاف. [5]خطبه المنبريّة ق؛ خطبة المنبريّة ه، خطبة المنبريّة ب. انظر أمثلة من هذه الخطب في اللّطيفة المرضيّة 162–164. [6]أبو سليمان داود بن ماخلا الإسكندريّ الشّاذليّ (ت نحو 730/1329)، من أئمّة الشّاذليّة، من كتبه: عيون الحقائق، واللّطيفة المرضيّة في شرح دعاء الشّاذليّة، وشرح على حزب البرّ وآخر على حزب البحر؛ انظر طبقات الشّاذليّة الكبرى، 111–112؛ بغية الوعاة 1: 562؛ الكواكب الدّرّيّة 2: 410–413. [7]وذلك في رسالته اللّطيفة المرضيّة في شرح دعاء الشّاذليّة، 153؛ وانظر شرح مقامات السّيوطي 2: 728. [8]زعم ه، يزعم ق ب. [9]أحمد بن عليّ بن تغلب مظفّر الدّين المعروف بابن السّاعاتي، كان علّامة بارعًا، له: البديع في أصول الفقه، ومجمع البحرين، وشرحه في مجلّدين، توفّي سنة 695/1295. انظر الأعلام 1: 175. [10]يقصد كتابه رفع الباس وكشف الالتباس في ضرب المثل من القرآن والاقتباس. طُبع ضمن الحاوي للفتاوي 1: 259–284. [11]انظر نواهد الأبكار وشوارد الأفكار 1: 22–24. [12]يورد السّيوطي في شرح عقود الجمان في علم المعاني والبيان رأيًا للمالكيّة يحرّم الاقتباس، وحُكمًا للشيّخ قاضي القضاة المالكيّ في بيتي شعرٍ تضمّنا اقتباسًا يعتبر الاقتباس كفرًا، انظر شرح عقود الجمان 168؛ وترد مناقشة السّيوطي للاقتباس في هذا الشّرح ضمن فصل يُعنى بالسّرقات، انظر شرح عقود الجمان 165–171. [13]الحقيق ه ب، الحقّ ق. [14]ستحيط به في ه ب، سيحيط به ق. [15]إشارة إلى قوله تعالى: وَكَيْفَ تَصْبِرُ عَلَى مَا لَمْ تُحِطْ بِهِ خُبْرًا (الكهف: 68).

وقد اشتملت ديباجة تفسير البيضاوي[1] على جميع أنواع الاقتباس،[2] ولم ينكر ذلك أحدٌ من النّاس، مع اشتهاره في المشارق والمغارب، وأخذه من الحظوة والقبول بالسّهم الصّارب. ولمثل ذلك ركب الطّيبي[3] والتّفتازاني[4] في حاشيتيهما على الكشّاف جوادًا مُملجًا، فافتتحا بقوله تعالى: الحَمْدُ للهِ الّذي أَنْزَلَ عَلى عَبْدِهِ الكِتابَ وَلَمْ يَجْعَلْ لَهُ عِوَجا [الكهف: 1].[5] ومَن تتبّع كلام الأخيار كابن الجوزي[6] في مواعظه وخطبه، حصل من معرفة الجواز على أربه. وقد عُلم من كون الجواز مُجمَعًا عليه في هذا الباب، أنّ المنكِر المرتاب الصّابئ عن الصّواب، قد دخل بخروجه عن دائرة الإجماع، في ربقة الوعيد الشّديد مِن غير نزاع، على ما يشير إليه قوله جلّ[7] وعلا عُلُوًّا كَبِيرًا [الإسراء: 4، 43]، ومن يَتَّبِعْ غَيْرَ سَبِيلِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ نُوَلِّهِ مَا تَوَلَّى وَنُصْلِهِ جَهَنَّمَ وَسَاءَتْ مَصِيرًا [النّساء: 115]. فعليه التّوبة والنّدم، والاستغفار من هذه الجرم، والرّجوع إلى سلوك سبيل المؤمنين، عسى أن يكون وَجِيهًا في الدُّنْيا وَالآخِرَةِ وَمِنَ الْمُقَرَّبِينَ [آل عِمران: 45].

الباب الثّاني

في بيان الأدلّة على الجواز وما جاء من سلوك العلماء الأعلام لحقيقة ذلك المجاز

اعلم أنّ أوّل مَن فتح هذا الباب، ونصب هذا المحراب، ورفع علمه فانخفضت أدلّة المرتاب، هو حامل راية التّشريع، وناقل آية التّأصيل والتّفريع[8]، المؤيَّد بالعصمة، المخصوص بالبيان والحكمة، نبيّنا أهدى الله شرائف صلواته إليه، وضاعف لطائف تحيّاته عليه، فسلك من بديع الاقتباس قُنّته[9]، وأظهر لمن يؤمن بالجواز غُنّته، وأتاح[10] أبواب الورود إلى ذروة مكانه، وأباح طيورَ[11] القلوب السّجعَ على أفنانه.

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[1]البيضاوي ه ق، القاضي البيضاوي ب. [2]انظر تفسير البيضاوي 1: 5–6. [3]الحسين بن محمّد بن عبد الله شرف الدّين الطّيبيّ (ت 743/1342)، من علماء الحديث والتّفسير والبيان، من أهل توريز، من كتبه: التّبيان في المعاني والبيان، والخلاصة في معرفة الحديث، شرح الكشّاف المسمّى فتوح الغيب في الكشف عن قناع الرّيب، انظر الأعلام 2: 256. [4]سعد الدّين مسعود بن عمر بن عبد الله التّفتازاني، من أئمّة العربيّة والبيان والمنطق، وُلد بتفتازان وأقام بسرخس وتوفّي بسمرقند (792/1390)، من كتبه: تهذيب المنطق، المطول، مختصر شرح تلخيص المفتاح، مقاصد الطّالبين، شرح الشّمسيّة، وحاشية الكشّاف، وشرح الأربعين نوويّة، انظر الأعلام 7: 219؛ *EI*², al-Taftāzānī, 10: 88b–89b. [5]فتوح الغيب في الكشف عن قناع الرّيب 1:1؛ حاشية التّفتازاني على الكشّاف، Beinecke Arabic MSS suppl. 463، الورقة 1. [6]عبد الرّحمن ابن عليّ بن محمّد الجوزي القرشي البغدادي (ت 597/1201)، علاّمة عصره في التّاريخ والحديث، مولده ووفاته ببغداد، تصانيفه كثيرة ومنها: الأذكياء وأخبارهم، والمدهش، تلبيس إبليس، والمنتظم في تاريخ الملوك والأمم، والحمقى والمغفّلين، انظر الأعلام، 3: 316–317؛ *EI*², Ibn al-Djawzī 3: 751a–752a. [7]جلّ ه ق، عزّ وجلّ ب. [8]التّأصيل والتّفريع ه ب، التّآصيل والتّفاريع ق. [9]قنّته ه ب، فنتة ق. [10]وأتاح ه ب، وأباح ق. [11]طيور ه ب، لطيور ق.

والدّليل لذلك على ما أشار إليه شيخ الإسلام العزّ بن عبد السّلام[1]، ما رواه مسلم في صحيحه، واتّفق أئمّة الحديث على تصحيحه، مِن قوله صلّى الله عليه وسلّم في دعاء الافتتاح، ومقدّمة الفلاح: وَجَّهْتُ وَجْهِيَ لِلَّذِي فَطَرَ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ حَنِيفًا وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ [الأنعام: 79]، إِنَّ صَلَاتِي وَنُسُكِي وَمَحْيَايَ وَمَمَاتِي لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ، لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ وَبِذَلِكَ أُمِرْتُ وَأَنَا [الأنعام: 162-163] مِنَ المسلمين. وفي روايةٍ: وَأَنَا أَوَّلُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ[2] [الأنعام: 163].[3] وقوله صلّى اللهُ عليه وسلّم:[4] اللهمّ فالقَ الإصباحِ وجاعلَ اللَّيْلَ سَكَنًا وَالشَّمْسَ وَالْقَمَرَ حُسْبَانًا [الأنعام: 96] اقضِ عنّي الدّين، وأغنني من الفقر.[5] ومَن تتبّع مواقع الأحاديث النّبويّة، ومظانّ الحكم المحمّديّة، اجتنى بدائع مِن ثمار هذا الفنن، واجتلى روائع من كلّ وجهٍ حسن.

وقد سلك أبو بكرٍ الصّدّيق رضي الله عنه هذه الجادّة، واستمدّ مِن تلك المادّة، فوقع في سياق كلام له رواه الصّادقون: وَسَيَعْلَمُ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا أَيَّ مُنْقَلَبٍ يَنْقَلِبُونَ [الشّعراء: 227].[6] ووقع في آخر حديث لابن عمر رواه عنه الثّقة وحسّنه: لَقَدْ كَانَ لَكُمْ فِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ أُسْوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ [الأحزاب: 21].

وقد استعمل هذا النّوع الأئمّة الكبار، والأخيار من الأحبار، في مؤلّفاتهم العليّة، ومقالاتهم الجدّيّة والهزليّة، فزيّنوا المنظوم منها والمنثور، ببديع آيات الكتاب المسطور، وجروا على ذلك جيلاً[7] بعد جيل، من غير جريان قال ولا قيل. فما وقع من ذلك في النّثر على اختلاف أنواعه، وتشعّبه واتّساعه، يتعذّر[8] الوقوف على كنه نثاره، وتعسر الإحاطة بعشر معشاره؛ كقول الحريري[9] في مقاماته: فلم يكُ إِلَّا كَلَمْحِ الْبَصَرِ أَوْ هُوَ أَقْرَبُ [النّحل: 77]، حتّى أنشد وأغرب.[10] وقوله: طوبى

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[1]عبد العزيز بن عبد السّلام بن أبي القاسم بن الحسن السّلمي الدّمشقي عزّ الدين الملقّب بسلطان العلماء، فقيه شافعي وُلد ونشأ في دمشق وتوفّي في القاهرة. من كتبه: التفسير الكبير، والإلمام في أدلّة الأحكام، وقواعد الشّريعة، والفوائد، ومقاصد الرّعاية؛ انظر الأعلام 4: 21. [2]مِنَ المسلمين وفي روايةٍ وَأَنَا أَوَّلُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ ه، من المسلمين ق، من أوّل المسلمين ب. [3]صحيح مسلم #1762؛ صحيح ابن حبّان #1282، 1283، 1284، 1285؛ سنن الدّارمي #1240؛ سنن التّرمذي #3552، 3553، 3554؛ سنن أبي داود #760، 2796؛ سنن ابن ماجه #3196؛ سنن النّسائي الكبرى #973؛ السّنن الكبرى للبيهقي #2379؛ مسند أحمد #731، 805، 14727. وانظر الإتقان في علوم القرآن 719. [4]صلّى اللهُ عليه وسلّم ه ق، عليه الصّلاة والسّلام ب. [5]الموطّأ #495 (كتاب القرآن، #8). وانظر الإتقان في علوم القرآن، 719. [6]رُوي في عهد أبي بكر لعمر: بسم الله الرّحمن الرّحيم، هذا ما عهد أبو بكر خليفة رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلّم آخر عهده بالدّنيا وأوّل عهده بالآخرة ... إلى أن قال: والخير أردت لكم فكلّ امْرِئٍ مِنْهُمْ مَا اكْتَسَبَ مِنَ الْإِثْمِ، وَسَيَعْلَمُ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا أَيَّ مُنْقَلَبٍ يَنْقَلِبُونَ. انظر الكامل في اللّغة والأدب 8، تاريخ الخلفاء 67–68. [7]وجروا على ذلك جيلاً ه، ورجى على ذلك جيل ق، وجروا على ذلك جيل ب. [8]يتعذّر ه ق ب. [9]أبو محمّد القاسم بن عليّ بن محمّد الحريري البصري (ت 516/1122)، الأديب المشهور، من كتبه: المقامات، ودرّة الغوّاص في أوهام الخواصّ، وملحة الإعراب. انظر الأعلام 5: 177، *EI*[2] 3: 221a–221a. [10]مقامات الحريري (المقامة الحلوانيّة) 30.

لِمَن سمع ووعى[1]، وحقّق ما ادّعى[2]، وَنَهَى النَّفْسَ عَنِ الْهَوَى [النّازعات: 40]، وعلم أنّ الفائز مَن ارعوى[3]، وَأَنْ لَيْسَ لِلْإِنْسَانِ إِلَّا مَا سَعَى، وَأَنَّ سَعْيَهُ سَوْفَ يُرَى [النّجم: 39-40].[4]

وقول عبد المؤمن الأصفهاني[5] في أطباق الذّهب:[6] فَمن عاين تلوّن اللّيل والنّهار لا يغترّ بدهره، ومَن علم أنّ الثّرى مضجعه لا يمرح على ظهره، فيا قوم لا تركضوا خيل الخيلاء في ميدان العرض، أَأَمِنْتُمْ مَنْ فِي السَّمَاءِ أَنْ يَخْسِفَ بِكُمُ الْأَرْضَ [الملك: 16].[7] وقوله: ربّ طاوٍ يتشبّع، ورُبّ أتلع يتقبّع، وربّ أعزل مقدام، وربّ جائعٍ مطعام، وربّ حسناء مردودة، وربّ خرقاء محسودة. أخلاقٌ متعاكسة، وشركاء متشاكسة، وأقسام متباعدة، وَمَا أَمْرُنَا إِلَّا وَاحِدَةٌ [القمر: 50].[8] وقوله:[9] اغتنم فَوْدَك[10] الفاحم قبل أن يبيضّ، فإنّما الدّنيا جِدار يُرِيدُ أَنْ يَنْقَضَّ [الكهف: 77]. فلا يَغرّنّك قطفها النّضيج، وزهرها البهيج، فهو غيثٌ أَعْجَبَ الْكُفَّارَ نَبَاتُهُ ثُمَّ يَهِيجُ [الحديد: 20].[11] وقوله:[12] أصدق الأرواح روحان يمتزجان، وأخلص القلوب قلبان يزدوجان. يتصاحبون قِيامًا وَقُعودًا وَعَلى جُنوبِهِم [آل عِمران: 191]، وآخرون يَقُولُونَ بِأَلْسِنَتِهِمْ مَا لَيْسَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ [الفتح: 11].[13] وقوله:[14] أليس من الخسران جزّار يأكل الميت، ومكّيّ لا يزور البيت، فلا تكن كالجمل الطّليح[15] يتجشّم[16] لغيره أسفارا[17]، ولا تكن كَمَثَلِ الْحِمَارِ يَحْمِلُ أَسْفَارًا [الجمعة: 5].[18]

وكقول ابن نباتة في خطبة: فيا أيّها[19] الغفلة المطرقون، أما أنتم لهذا الحديث مصدّقون، ما لكم لا تُشفقون، فَوَرَبِّ السَّمَاءِ وَالْأَرْضِ إِنَّهُ لَحَقٌّ مِثْلَ مَا أَنَّكُمْ تَنْطِقُونَ [الذّاريات: 23].

ومِن بديع ما جمع الاقتباس من المواعظ، ووقف عن معارضته كلّ بليغ وواعظ، ما انتُظم في سلك خُطَبي[20] بالمسجد[21] الأقصى، المخصوص من الفضائل بما لا يُحصى، وهو: أريحوا القلوب بذكر المنون من كمد[22] الأفكار، وانضحوا[23] العيون بماء الشّؤونِ من نظر الأغيار، وداووا التفوس بذكر مصارع

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[1]ووعى ه ق، وأوعى ب. [2]ما ادّعى ه ب، وادّعى ق. [3]ارعوى ه ق، أوعى ب. [4]مقامات الحريري (المقامة الرازيّة) 201–202. [5]عبد المؤمن بن هبة الله شرف الدّين الأصفهاني (ت نحو 1204/600)، أديب من الكتّاب، صنّف أطباق الذّهب في المواعظ والخطب على نسق أطواق الذّهب للزّمخشري؛ الأعلام 4: 170. [6]يتألّف الكتاب من مائة مقالة يختم الكاتب كلاً منها بآية قرآنيّة، انظر أطباق الذّهب 5. [7]أطباق الذّهب 7–8. [8]لم ترد هذه العبارة في المطبوع. [9]وقوله: سقطت من ب. [10]فودك ه ب، فؤادك ق. [11]أطباق الذّهب 33. [12]وقوله: سقطت من ب. [13]أطباق الذّهب 44. [14]وقوله: سقطت من ب. [15]الطّليح ه ق ، الطّرح ب. [16]يتجشّم ه، ينحشم ق، يتجم ب. [17]أسفارًا ه ب، أسعارًا ق. [18]أطباق الذّهب 72. [19]فيا أيّها ه ق، فيا أيّها ب. [20]خطبي ه ق، خطب المصنّف الكهف الأحمى ب. [21]بالمسجد ه ق ، بالمسجد المشرّف ب. [22]كمد ه ب، كمه ق. [23]وانضحوا ه ب، وانضجوا ق.

القرون من علل الإصرار[1]، واضربوا حجارة القلوب بعصا الاستغفار، فإنّ مِنَ الْحِجَارَةِ لَمَا يَتَفَجَّرُ مِنْهُ الْأَنْهَارُ [البقرة: 74]. عارضوا التّفوس العصيّةَ بمزاولة يوم العرض، وناهضوا القلوبَ القسيّة بمنازلة السّنن والفرض، ولاحظوا الأفعال المنسيّة قبل شهادة بعض الجسد على بعض، وَسَارِعُوا إِلَى مَغْفِرَةٍ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ وَجَنَّةٍ عَرْضُهَا السَّمَوَاتُ وَالْأَرْضُ [آل عِمران: 133]. حرّكوا سلاسل القدر بالأدعية في الأسحار، وشاركوا محافل السّحَر فهي أندية[2] الأبرار، وأدركوا قوافل السّهر في أوّل قطار، وأسّسوا[3] بالتّقوى لمن اقتدر مشيد بناء الأعمار، أَفَمَنْ أَسَّسَ بُنْيَانَهُ عَلَى تَقْوَى مِنَ اللَّهِ وَرِضْوَانٍ خَيْرٌ أَمْ مَنْ أَسَّسَ بُنْيَانَهُ عَلَى شَفَا جُرُفٍ هَارٍ فَانْهَار [التّوبة: 109]. روّضوا[4] برياض الإخلاص نفوسكم وداووا عللَها، واكبحوها بلجام الاستقامة وسدّدوا خَلَلَها، وأجيلوا في ميدان الإحسان فرسانَها ورسلَها، واصرفوها[5] بزمام العرفان عمّن لها ولها، إِنْ أَحْسَنْتُمْ أَحْسَنْتُمْ لِأَنْفُسِكُمْ وَإِنْ أَسَأْتُمْ فَلَهَا [الإسراء: 7]. وتجهّزوا رحمكم الله للقيامة أحسنَ الجهاز، واستوفزوا[6] من الإقامة فإنّكم على أوفاز، وتحرّزوا من النّدامة قبل فوت الإحراز، فَمَنْ زُحْزِحَ عَنِ النَّارِ وَأُدْخِلَ الْجَنَّةَ فَقَدْ فَازَ [آل عِمران: 185]. تحلّوا مِن المظالم فعذاب القبر أليم، وتحيّلوا في التّخلّص[7] من المآثم فشجرة الزَّقّومِ طَعَامُ الأَثِيمِ [الدّخان: 43-44]، وانزلوا عن العظائم حياءً ممّن هو بكلّ شيءٍ عليم، يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ اتَّقُوا رَبَّكُمْ إِنَّ زَلْزَلَةَ السَّاعَةِ شَيْءٌ عَظِيمٌ [الحجّ: 1]. يا لها ساعةً تعجز عن وصفها الألسنة، وواقعةً يحكم فيها مَن لا يأخذه نومٌ ولا سِنَة، ومقامًا يفتقر فيه المحسن إلى زيادة حسنة، ويومًا[8] كَانَ مِقْدَارُهُ خَمْسِينَ أَلْفَ سَنَةٍ [المعارج: 4]، يجتمع فيه العالم في صعيد[9]، ويخشع لهوله الشّقيّ والسّعيد، وتجيء جهنّم فيُسمع لها تغيّظ مِنْ مَكَانٍ بَعِيدٍ [الفرقان: 12]، يَوْمَ تَرَوْنَهَا تَذْهَلُ كُلُّ مُرْضِعَةٍ عَمَّا أَرْضَعَتْ وَتَضَعُ كُلُّ ذاتِ حَمْلٍ حَمْلَها وَتَرَى النّاسَ سُكارى وَما هُم بِسُكارى وَلكِنَّ عَذابَ اللهِ شَديدٌ [الحجّ: 2]. فيومئذٍ ينصب الله ميزان القسط لإقامة الحجّة على العباد شفاهًا، وينشر الدّواوين فيقتالون[10] جرائم ضبطها الكاتب الكريم واستوفاها، وينال أهل الشّقوة من المشقّة[11] أدناها وأقصاها، ويقولون: يَا وَيْلَتَنا مَا لِهذا الكِتابِ لا يُغادِرُ صَغِيرةً وَلا كَبِيرَةً إلاّ أحْصَاها [الكهف: 49]، فيعتريهم[12] مِن هول ذلك الهول حيرةٌ[13] ووله، وتَجِدُ كُلُّ نَفْسٍ مَا عَمِلَتْ [آل عِمران: 30] ويُحاسب كلٌّ بما عليه وله. ويقتصّ الحكم العَدل للذَّرّة مِن الذَّرّة ويبسط بساط المعدلة، فَلا تُظْلَمُ نَفْسٌ شَيْئًا وَإِنْ كانَ مِثْقَالَ حَبَّةٍ مِنْ خَرْدَلَة [الأنبياء: 47].

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[1]الإصرار ه، الأضرار ق ب. [2]أندية ه ب، أبدية ق. [3]وأسّسوا ه ب، واستنسوا ق. [4]روّضوا ه ق، رضوا ب. [5]واصرفوها ه ب، واصرفوا ق. [6]واستوفزوا ه ب، واستوفروا ق. [7]التّخلّص ه ق ، التّخليص ب. [8]ويومًا ه، يومًا ق، في يوم ب. [9]صعيد ه ب، صعيد واحد ق. [10]فيقتالون ه ق، فيلقَوْن ب. [11]من المشقّة سقطت من ق. [12]فيعتريهم ه ب، فيقربهم ق. [13]حيرة ه ب، حسرة ق.

ولي من الاقتباسات البديعة[1] من الخطب وغيرها ما هو أبلغ من ذلك، وهذه البطاقة عن إيراد بعضه ضيّقة المسالك. ولقد حُبّب[2] إليّ الاقتباس وأنا رضيع ثدي التّحصيل، وضجيع مهد التّفريع والتّأصيل، فلا ترى لي إنشاءً إلّا وهو مرصّع بجواهره، مشتمل على نفائسه وذخائره.

ولقد أحسن شيخ الإسلام أبو اللّطف[3] الجدّ[4]، أمدّه الله مِن الرّضوان بالمدد الأمدّ، في قوله[5] في مقامته المسمّاة بغريبة الأوطان في مفاخرة قبّتي السّلطان، وهما قبّتان بالمسجد الأقصى إحداهما تُعرف بالتّحويّة، على جناح صحن الصّخرة العليّة: لحاكِ اللهُ[6] يا قاذفة المحصَنات، يا قبيحة الأفعال والصّفات، أتُقذف الأبكار، بما توجّهين عليهنّ من الأنكار، وإنّما هو صفة يحمدنا بها السّامعون، وَتِلْكَ الأَمْثالُ نَضْرِبُها لِلنّاسِ وَما يَعْقِلُها إِلّا العالِمُونَ [العنكبوت: 43]، أتريدين أن تعيدي كساد سوقك إلى نفاق، يا ذات الأوجه والألسن يا متّصفةً بصفة التّفاق، يا من تساوت عندها صفات المدح والذّمّ لفهمها الرّائع، وصار الجهل من لوازمها[7] لأنّه من أفعال الطّبائع، أتظنّين أنّك مدحت نفسك بالصّفات الّتي قلتها، أين أنت من الحديث الّذي معناه: لا يكون ذو الوجهَين عند الله وجيهًا.

ومنها: فنظرت إلى السّلطانيّة فإذا هي من الامتلاء والفيض، تَكادُ تَمَيَّزُ مِنَ الغَيْظِ [الملك: 8]، ثمّ حسرتْ عن ساعد الجدال، واشتطّتْ في المقال، وقالت: يا أضيق مِن قبر العاقّ، وأظلم مِن قلوب ذوي التّفاق، إنّك ممّن يدّعون العلم ولا يعلمون[8]، وَيَحْسَبُونَ أَنَّهُمْ عَلَى شَيْءٍ أَلَا إِنَّهُمْ هُمُ الْكَاذِبُونَ [المجادلة: 18]. ومنها: فلا تجعلنا في درجة التّعادل سوا، واحكم بَيْنَ النّاسِ بِالحَقِّ وَلا تَتَّبِعِ الهَوَى [ص: 26]، وَلا تَكُنْ لِلخائِنِينَ خَصِيمًا، وَاسْتَغْفِرِ اللهَ إِنَّ اللهَ كانَ غَفُورًا رَحِيمًا [النّساء: 106].

وأمّا ما جاء مِن ذلك نظمًا، فهو أسنى مِن أن يحصرَ وأسمى. وقد استعمله الأئمّة الأعلام، وسلك جادّته موضحو الحلال والحرام. فوقع في كلام إمام الدّين أبي القاسم الرّافعي[9]، وهو الحجّة مِن أئمّة أصحاب الشّافعي[10]، فقال[11] وأنشده[12] في أماليه، رضوان الله تعالى يواليه[13] [من الكامل]:

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[1]البديعة ه ق، البديعيّة ب. [2]حُبّب ه ب، حبّت ق. [3]شيخ الإسلام أبو اللّطف ه ق، أبو اللّطف شيخ الإسلام ب. [4]شيخ الإسلام شمس الدين أبو اللّطف محمّد بن عليّ بن منصور بن زين العرب الحصكفيّ المقدسيّ (ت 1454/859) والد محمّد بن أبي اللّطف (ت 1522/928)، كان أديبًا شاعرًا، انظر الأعلام 6: 288؛ الأنس الجليل 2: 525؛ الضوء اللامع 8: 220؛ شذرات الذّهب 10: 222. [5]في قوله: سقطت من ب. [6]لحاكِ اللهُ ه ق، تحاكما إليه ب. [7]لوازمها ه ق، ملازمها ب. [8]يعلمون ه ق، يعملون ب. [9]عبد الكريم بن محمّد بن عبد الكريم أبو القاسم الرّافعي القزويني (ت 1226/623)، فقيه من كبار الشّافعيّة، كان له مجلس بقزوين للتّفسير والحديث، وتولّى فيها. من كتبه: التّدوين في أخبار قزوين، والإيجاز في أخطار الحجاز. انظر الأعلام 4: 55. [10]الشّافعي ه ب، الإمام الشّافعي ق. [11]فقال: سقطت من ب. [12]وأنشده ه ب، وأنشد ق. [13]يواليه ه ق، لواليه ب؛ وقد أنصف وأجاد إلى الغاية: زائدة في ق.

المُلكُ لله الّذي عَنَتِ الوُجو ... هُ [طه: 111] له وذَلّتْ عِندَهُ الأرقابُ
متفرّدٌ بالمُلك والسُّلطان قد ... خَسِرَ الّذين تجاذَبوه وخابوا
دَعْهم وزِعْمَ المُلك يومَ غرورِهم ... فسَيَعْلَمونَ غَدًا مَنِ الكَذّابُ [القمر: 26][1]

وروى البيهقي[2] في شعب الإيمان، عن شيخه السّلمي أبي عبد الرّحمن[3]، أنار الله بالرّضوان ساحة رمسه، قال أنشدنا أحمد بن محمّد بن زيد[4] لنفسه [من المتقارب]:

سَلِ اللهَ مِن فضلِه واتّقِهْ ... فإنّ التُّقى خيرُ ما تكتسبْ
وَمَنْ يتّقِ اللهَ يَجْعَلْ لَهُ ... وَيَرْزُقْهُ مِنْ حَيْثُ لا يَحْتَسِب [الطّلاق: 2-3][5]

وأنشد التّفتازاني[6] في المطوّل[7] اقتباسه في صبيحٍ دخل الحمّام فحلق رأسه [من الطويل]:

تجرّدَ في الحمّام[8] عن قشرِ لؤلؤٍ ... وأُلبسَ مِن ثوبِ الملاحةِ ملبوسا
وقد جُرّدَ الموسى لتزيينِ رأسِهِ ... فقلتُ: لقَدْ أُوتِيتَ سُؤْلَكَ يَا مُوسَى [طه: 36][9]

ومِن أحسن ما وقع في هذا الباب من الاقتباس المعبِّر[10]، قول الحافظ شيخ الإسلام الشّهاب بن حجر[11] [من الكامل]:

خاض العواذل في حديث مدامعي ... لمّا جرى كالبحرِ سُرعةَ سيرِهِ

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[1]انظر طبقات الشّافعيّة الكبرى 8: 288–289؛ الاتقان في علوم القرآن 723؛ أحاسن الاقتناس 56. [2]أحمد بن الحسين بن عليّ البيهقي (ت 458/1066)، من أئمّة الحديث، نشأ في بيهق ورحل إلى بغداد فالكوفة ومكّة ونيسابور، وغيرها، مصنّفاته كثيرة منها: السّنن الكبرى، والسّنن الصّغرى، والمعارف، ودلائل النّبوّة، وشعب الإيمان؛ انظر الأعلام 1: 116؛ *EI*[2] 1:1130a–1130b [3]أبو عبد الرحمن محمّد بن الحسين بن محمّد بن موسى الأزدي السّلمي النّيسابوري (ت 412/1021)، من علماء المتصوّفة، كثير التّصنيفات، ومنها: تاريخ الصوفيّة، وطبقات الصوفيّة، وحقائق التّفسير. انظر الأعلام 6: 99؛ *EI*[2] 9:811b–812b [4]بن زيد ق ب، يزيد ه. وهو أبو الفضل السّكّري المروزي أحمد بن محمّد بن زيد، انظر يتيمة الدّهر 4: 87–91. [5]شعب الإيمان 2: 113؛ الاتقان في علوم القرآن 723؛ أحاسن الاقتناس 60. [6]سبقت التّرجمة له. [7]المطوّل: سقطت من ه. [8]في الحمّام ه، للحمّام ق ب. [9]لم أجدها في المطوّل، وهما في أنوار الرّبيع في أنواع البديع 2: 244. [10]المعبّر ه، المعتبر ق ب. [11]الحافظ شيخ الإسلام الشّهاب بن حجر ه ق، شيخ الإسلام بن حجر ب. هو أبو الفضل شهاب الدّين أحمد بن عليّ بن محمّد الكنانيّ العسقلاني (852/1449)، من أئمّة العلم والتّاريخ. أصله من عسقلان ومولده ووفاته بالقاهرة. تصانيفه كثيرة، منها: الدّرر الكامنة في أعيان المائة الثّامنة، لسان الميزان، الإصابة في تمييز أسماء الصحابة، وتهذيب التّهذيب؛ انظر الأعلام 1: 178–179؛ *EI*[2] 3: 776a–778b.

فحبستُه لأصونَ سرَّ هواكُ حَتّى يَخوضوا في حَديثٍ غَيْرِهِ [النّساء: 140][1]

ومثله في الحُسن قول شيخ الشيّوخ[2] بحماه رحمه الله تعالى ورضي عنه[3] [من البسيط]:

يا نظرةً ما جَلَتْ لي حُسنَ طلعَتِهِ حتّى انقضتْ وأدامَتْني على وَجَلِ
عاتَبتُ إنسانَ عَيْني في تسرّعِهِ فقال لي خُلِقَ الإنْسانُ مِنْ عَجَل [الأنبياء: 37][4]

ومِمّا يُدانيه في حسنه، ويساجله في بديع فنّه، قول العلّامة الحافظ[5] الجلال السّيوطي [من الخفيف]:

عابَ إملائيَ الحديثَ رجالٌ قد سَعَوا في الضّلالِ سعيًا حثيثا
إنّما يُنكر الأماليَ قومٌ لا يَكادون يَفْقَهونَ حَديثا [النّساء: 78][6]

وقوله [من مجزوء الرمل]:

أيُّها السّائل قومًا ما لهم في الخيرِ مذهبْ
اتركِ النّاسَ جميعًا وَإلى رَبّكَ فَارْغَبْ [الشّرح: 8][7]

وقوله[8] [من الطويل]:

إذا كان عند المرْءِ منّا أمانةٌ وهَمَّ بجهلٍ أن يجاوزَ صحبَهُ
فلا يَتْبَعِ النّفسَ الخبيثةَ ولْيُعِدْ أَمانَتَهُ وَلْيَتَّقِ اللهَ رَبَّهُ [البقرة: 283][9]

وقوله [من المتقارب]:

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[1]البيتان لابن حجر في معاهد التّنصيص 4: 143، وهما بدون نسبة في المستطرف 2: 25. [2]ابن الرّفّاء عبد العزيز بن محمّد ابن عبد المحسن بن محمّد بن منصور بن خلف الحموي الشّافعي ابن قاضي حماة (ت 1264/662)، أديب شاعر فقيه، له مجلّد كبير في لزوم ما لا يلزم وديوان شعر، انظر الأعلام 4: 25–26. [3]بحماه رحمه الله تعالى ورضي عنه: زائدة في ق. [4]تزيين الأسواق 2: 244–245؛ معاهد التّنصيص 4: 142؛ الوافي بالوفيات 18: 554. [5]الحافظ: سقطت من ق. [6]شرح عقود الجمان 166؛ أحاسن الاقتناس 63؛ شذرات الذّهب 10: 78؛ الكواكب السّائرة 1: 230–231. [7]شرح عقود الجمان 166؛ أحاسن الاقتناس 60؛ شذرات الذّهب 10: 78؛ الكواكب السّائرة 1: 230. [8]رحمه الله ورضي عنه: زائدة في ه. [9]شرح عقود الجمان 167، وفيه: يُخاونَ صحبه.

إذا قُمتَ لله في أمرهِ ولم ترعَ خِلاًّ وَمَلكًا مجيزا
أُثِبْتَ عليه ثوابًا جزيلاً وَيَنْصُرَكَ اللهُ نَصْرًا عزيزا [الفتح: 3][1]

وما ألطف قولي في هذا المقام، مع[2] الاكتفاء[3] والانسجام [من مجزوء الرجز]:

بنو الزّمان حالُهم من فرطِ جَهلٍ وعمى
تنهاهُمُ عن منكرٍ ثُمَّ يَعودونَ لِما [المجادلة: 8][4]

وقولي[5] [من مجزوء الرمل]:

لا تقلْ شرًّا فتهلكْ فمقال الشّرِّ سمُّ
واجتنبْ ظنًّا كثيرًا إنّ بَعْضَ الظَّنّ إثْمُ [الحجرات: 12][6]

وقولي[7] [من مخلّع البسيط]:

اعدلْ إذا ما[8] وُلّيت أمرًا واعملْ ترى رابحَ التّجاره
واخشَ بحُسنِ السّلوك نارًا وَقودُها النّاسُ والحِجاره [البقرة: 24؛ التّحريم: 6]

وقولي[9] المزيَّن من البلاغة بأفخر لباس، في باب التّورية والاكتفاء والاقتباس [من الرجز]:

قالوا وُعظتَ باثنتين فاتّئدْ[10] في هذه العظةِ يا ابنَ زائده
الشّيبُ والموتُ وهذا قد كفى قُلْ إنَّما أَعِظُكُمْ بِواحِده [سبأ: 46]

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[1]شرح عقود الجمان 166. [2]قولي في هذا المقام مع ه ق، ما وقع وانتظم في هذا النوع وارتسم علّامة زماننا ومفتي عصرنا وأواننا بليغ البلغاء فصيح الفصحاء شيخ الإسلام والتحرير الهمام مولانا شمس التّين ابن أبي اللّطف القدسي الشّافعي أدام الله بقاءه مع تضمّن ب. [3]الاكتفاء بابٌ من أبواب البلاغة وحدّه: أن يدخل موجود الكلام على محذوفه، انظر الشّفاء في بديع الاكتفاء 23. [4]لم أجدهما في المصادر. [5]وقولي ه ق، وقوله ب. [6]لم أجدهما في المصادر. [7]وقولي ه ق، وقوله ب. [8]ما: سقطت من ق. [9]وقولي ه ق، وقوله ب. [10]فاتّئد ه ب، فاتبته ق.

ومثله قولي[1] حكايةً لما أوريته[2] في المنام، مِن حال والدي[3] العلّامة شيخ الإسلام، أعلى الله نزله[4] في دار السّلام، بمحمّد عليه أفضل الصّلاة والسّلام[5] [من البسيط]:

أُريتُ حالَ أبي بعدَ الوفاةِ وقد ... رؤاه مولاهُ مِن ماءِ الرّضى كَرَما
فقلتُ قومُك محزونونَ في أسَفٍ ... فَقَالَ يا لَيْتَ قَوْمي يَعْلَمونَ بما [يس: 26-27][6]

وما ألطف ما كتبتُه إلى أخي[7] شيخ الإسلام السّراجي عمر، شيّد الله ربوعَ المعالي ببقائه وعَمّر، وأنا مريض في أوائل سنة تسعين وتسعمائة، وفيه الاكتفاء في البيت الأول والاقتباس في الأخير، فقلت[8] [من المجتثّ]:

سراجَ أُفْقِ المعالي ... بدرَ الموالي وإنْ هُمْ
ذا أنجمٍ في حماه ... تُروى المكارمُ عنهمْ
إن لم تَزُرْني بفضلٍ ... فَأْذَنْ لِمَنْ شِئْتَ مِنْهُمْ [النّور: 62][9]

فأجاب بقوله الوارد من موارد البلاغة ما صفا، مع لطيف[10] الاقتباس والاكتفاء [من المجتثّ]:

روحي وبعضي وكلّي ... لديك مولاي صُنهمْ
عن نسبةٍ وجفاءٍ ... والله ما عُدَّ منهمْ
وأهل ودّي حقًّا ... إذ لم يزوروكَ إنْ هُمْ [الفرقان: 44][11]

ومِن[12] بديع ما اشتمل على الاقتباس مع الاكتفاء والتّورية قولي [من المجتثّ]:

إذا لقيتم عدوًّا ... فبادروهم وكونوا[13] [التوبة: 119]
وحِذْرَكم فخذوهُ[14] ... إنْ يَثْقَفوكُمْ يكونوا[15] [الممتحنة: 2][16]

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[1]قولي ه ق، قوله أبقاه الله ب. [2]أوريته ه ق، رآه ب. [3]والده ه ق، والدي ب. [4]نزله ه، نزوله ق؛ أعلى الله نزله: سقطت من ب. [5]بمحمّد عليه أفضل الصّلاة والسّلام ه، بحقّ محمّد عليه السّلام ق؛ في دار السّلام، سقطت من ب. [6]لم أجدهما في المصادر. [7]كتبتُه إلى أخي ه ق، كتبه إلى أخيه ب. [8]فقلت: سقطت من ب. [9]لم أجدها في المصادر. [10]لطيف ه ق، لطافة ب. [11]لم أجدها في المصادر. [12]ومن ه ب، وأيضًا من ق. [13]إشارة إلى قوله تعالى: وَكُونُوا مَعَ الصَّادِقِينَ. [14]إشارة إلى قوله تعالى: خُذُوا حِذْرَكُمْ [النساء: 71، 102]. [15]والمقصود: إنْ يَثْقَفُوكُمْ يَكُونُوا لَكُمْ أَعْدَاءً. [16]لم أجدهما في المصادر.

وقولي مقتبسًا مكتفيًا [من مجزوء الرجز]:

يا قمرًا مِن وجهِهِ نهارُ سعدي المشتَهى
ليلُ محبّك الّذي شمسُ وجوده السُّهى
طالَ فَزُرْ ولا تَقُلْ لا الشَّمْسُ يَنْبَغي لها[1] [يس: 40][2]

إلى غير ذلك ممّا قد يخرج بإيراده عن غرض الاختصار، ويُقصي[3] بتعداده عن ساحة الاقتصار. وفي هذا القدر كفاية لمن[4] سار في فراسخ الفهم التراسخ على بريد، وكانت كلمة الحقّ أَقْرَب إِلَيْهِ مِنْ حَبْلِ الوَرِيد [ق: 16]، فأذعن لمقتضاها[5] وما يُبْدِئُ الباطِلُ وَما يُعيد [سبأ: 49]، إِنَّ في ذلِكَ لَذِكْرى لِمَنْ كانَ لَهُ قَلْبٌ أَوْ أَلْقى السَّمْعَ وَهُوَ شَهيد [ق: 37].[6]

مصادر التّحقيق ومراجعه

الإتقان في علوم القرآن للسّيوطي، تحقيق مركز الدّراسات القرآنيّة، المملكة العربيّة السّعوديّة: د.ت.

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[1] والمقصود: لَا الشَّمْسُ يَنْبَغِي لَهَا أَنْ تُدْرِكَ الْقَمَرَ. [2] لم أجدها في المصادر. [3] ويقصي ه، ويقتضي ق، ويفضي ب. [4] لمن ه ب، فمن ق. [5] لمقتضاها ه ق، بمقتضاها ب. [6] خاتمة ه: والصّلاة التّامّة على مسكة الختام، ولبنة التّمام، وعلى آله وصحبه الكرام، وتابعيهم بإحسان، والسّلام. قال مؤلّفه حفظه الله: سُوّد في أواخر سنة 992. | خاتمة ق: والصّلاة التّامّة على مسك الختام، ولبنة التّمام، وعلى آله وصحبه الكرام، وتابعيهم إحسان إلى يوم الدّين والحمد لله ربّ العالمين. وعُلّقت هذه النسّخة في ختام شهر ربيع الآخر سنة 993. وقد تمّ كتابة هذه الرّسالة بدمشق الشّام بالجامع الأموي المبارك على يد أفقر العباد إلى الله تعالى أحمد الحسيني في أواخر شهر ربيع الثّاني سنة سبع وثمانين وألف. | خاتمة ب: تمّ بفضله سبحانه.

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CHAPTER 22

Modes of Existence of the Poetry in the Arabian Nights

Wolfhart Heinrichs

The phenomenon called "prosimetrum" has recently attracted some attention in Arabic studies.[1] In its most general application, the term denotes the systematic occurrence of poetry in a prose text. It is surprising that this almost ubiquitous feature of Classical Arabic literature has been neglected in literary studies for such a long time, given the fact that any modestly read person outside the realm of Arabic can point to a well-known example of it, namely, the *Arabian Nights*.

Approaching this particular text, we are first of all confronted with the question: what is the poetry doing here? Why is it there? The German scholar, Enno Littmann, who translated the Arabian Nights into German and who also wrote the entry, "*Alf Layla wa-layla*" in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, stated at the end of that entry that the poems can be left out without doing damage to the stories, in which they occur. In other words, they are superfluous.[2] From this slightly shocking statement one can go into three directions: (1) What motivated Littmann to say what he did? (2) Can the reading habits of readers of the *Arabian Nights* be adduced to support Littmann's contention? And (3) are the poems really superfluous? To start with the second point: I asked around among people who remembered reading the *Nights*, both in the original and in the numerous translations, and—although my results are anecdotal and without any statistical value—it seemed to me that the majority admitted that they skipped the poetry, while reading the story. There were, however, some Arab readers who protested and claimed that they indeed read the poetry as well. I surmise that these readers possessed more of a literary culture than the average reader, who would just enjoy the mysterious turns of the story's plot-line. Enno Littmann actually does not say more than what the average reader feels: Omitting the poems does not harm the story.

1 See Wolfhart Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres in Classical Arabic Literature," in *Prosimetrum: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Narrative in Prose and Verse*, ed. J. Harris and K. Reichl (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997), 249–277.

2 Enno Littmann, "Alf Layla wa-layla," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition.

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But he concludes that, therefore, the poems had been added later. This is an entirely unwarranted assertion. In particular, the word "later" is completely undefined. "Later" than what? The word suggests a time, in which the *Nights* or a predecessor of the *Nights* was pure prose, after which, at some point, or over a stretch of time, poems were inserted into it. There is no hard evidence for this. The only fact that points in this direction is the high degree of variation between the various versions and editions of the *Nights*, as far as the poems are concerned. In other words, the slots for poems may vary and the slot-fillers may vary. But still prosimetrum is an integral part of the *Nights* as we know it. As an aside, I should add that it is not entirely true that all poems could be omitted without detriment to the story that contains them. A few are part and parcel of the story, and some others are intricately intertwined with the moment in the story at which they occur. The art of the narrator is not least shown in the way, in which he manages to achieve such seamless insertions.

But now comes the prize question: Are the poems really superfluous? Littmann's assertion made the French Arabist and literary scholar, Jamel Eddine Bencheikh, fly off the handle.[3] He accused Littmann of having, like most European scholars, a marked bias against Arabic poetry, and he claimed that the philological historicism, cherished on the other side of the Rhine, did the rest. Apart from this outburst, Bencheikh had some very apropos remarks to make, the most important of which refers to the relationship between prose and poetry in the Nights: "If the story narrates a passion, the poem represents it." There is thus a literary division of labor between the two discourses. In this Bencheikh is probably right, as far as the majority of cases are concerned. This also means that the *raison d'être* of much of the poetry is to bring to the fore the constancy of human emotions through the ages. This function is called *tamaththul* in Arabic, i.e., "adducing something (in this case poetry) in a proverbial way." To understand this, one has to keep in mind that, in the collections of classical Arabic proverbs, they are usually listed together with the etiological tale, from which they are taken. Thus there is a proportion between, on the one hand, the application of a proverb to a situation that resembles the situation of the etiological tale, and on the other hand, the application of a poem to a situation that resembles the situation the poet was in, when he composed his lines.

3 See Jamel Eddine Bencheikh, Claude Bremond and Andrè Miquel, *Mille et un Contes de la Nuit* (Paris: Gallimard, 1991), 268–269. Bencheikh quotes Littmann's passage in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and flies into rage. Apart from a general stab at 'Ultra-Rhenanian' philological historicism, he accuses Littmann of being, like many other European scholars, unsympathetic to Arabic poetry in general, which for them is "obscure, répétive et sans intérêt."

Now, however one feels about Littmann's assertion and Bencheikh's criticism, there is no denying the fact that the poetry, for a moment at least, stops the development of the plot in its track. When I worked on this topic, it occurred to me that the inserted poems are functionally similar to illustrations. But then I found out that I had been "scooped" by John Payne, who between the years 1882 and 1884 had published, in nine volumes, the "first complete, unexpurgated original translation of the '1001 Nights' in English." In his terminal essay he likens the poems in the *Nights* to Western "engravings and woodcuts."[4] The common denominator here is that they both pick out one moment in the story-line as a still. There is, of course, the change of the medium from text to picture, which makes the parallelism less compelling; however, we shall see that such a change can also be posited for the relationship between prose and poetry in the *Nights*.

A few general observations regarding the poetry should be prefixed to the following discussion. Most of this poetry is quoted anonymously, or else is ascribed to one of the protagonists or, in some cases, to the narrator himself (either top-level or protagonist-narrator). However, part of this anonymous poetry can be attributed to well-known poets. Joseph Horovitz, in an article from 1915, managed to identify the authors of about one quarter of the poetry in the Second Calcutta edition.[5] So one part of the poetry is truly classical, i.e., in the classical standard language, not in the so-called Middle Arabic of the prose text. The rest of the poetry mainly consists of mostly mediocre poetic concoctions that have to be ascribed to storytellers (oral and scribal), and possibly also copyists. As a result, the poetry, with few exceptions is really or virtually in the higher register of the language and, thus, differs from the Middle Arabic register of the prose. So in a way, the medium does change from the language of the story-line to the language of the poetic "stills." One might add that, in all likelihood, the poems were chanted, while the prose was just read from the book.

But maybe one has to dig a bit deeper. The great event in the study of the *Arabian Nights* in recent years (well, decades by now) has been Muhsin Mahdi's critical edition of the *Arabian Nights*.[6] This sounds, as if the task of producing this edition was quite straightforward. Nothing could be further

4 *The Book of A Thousand and One Nights and a Night*, trans. John Payne (London: n.p., 1901), 9: 391.

5 Josef Horovitz, "Poetische Zitate in Tausend und eine Nacht," in *Festschrift Eduard Sachau zum Siebzigsten Geburtstage*, ed. Gotthold Weil (Berlin: Reimer, 1915), 375–378.

6 Muhsin S. Mahdi, *The Thousand and One Nights* (*Alf layla wa-layla*)*: From the Earliest Known Sources*, 3 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1984).

from the truth. The *Arabian Nights* being a work of popular literature, its text is of a marked fluidity across the manuscripts, especially when it comes to the two branches of transmission, the Syrian and the Egyptian. The usual handbooks of textual criticism would not be of great help to deal with this situation. Muhsin Mahdi introduced an ingenious four-tiered critical apparatus: at the first level he placed the oldest manuscript of the Syrian branch, which became the basis of his edition; at the next level he situated other manuscripts of the Syrian variety, to be followed by a selection of manuscripts of the Egyptian branch, and finally he identified a corpus of texts that existed outside the *Nights* but which were also incorporated into the *Nights*. Important for our purposes is the fact that the edited text itself represents the oldest manuscript with most of the idiosyncratic writing conventions it exhibits kept in place; in other words, Mahdi has, as it behooves the true scholar, refrained from classicizing the text by "correcting" it in the direction of the classical standard language. All of the earlier editions were, to varying degrees, guilty of this. In order to define how much the poetry of the *Nights* diverges (a) from the prose of the *Nights* and (b) from regular classical poetry, and to what extent it can be established as a linguistic medium distinct from the prose, we will now discuss some of the writing habits, applied to the poetry by the copyists. I am basing my observations on the first 146 of the 298 poems (or: instances of poetry) in the Mahdi edition.

First, some general remarks:

(1) The interdentals *thā'* and *dhāl* are always written as dentals *tā'* and *dāl* (by losing a diacritical dot). This is the general practice in the prose, as well, the reason being that the sedentary dialect of the Syrian writer/copyist did not have interdentals.

(2) The indefinite suffix *-un/-in/-an* is correctly inserted, but the case is not observed. Thus one has mostly *-an* for *-un* and *-in*. This is likewise normal practice in the prose. Since in the dialects the case system had ceased to exist, the three case variants were freely exchangeable, with some predilection for the original accusative *-an*, because in many cases it can be more visibly written.

(3) The glottal stop (*hamza*, which is a reading sign rather than a full-fledged letter), when following a long vowel, is omitted, but in most cases has to be restored, when reading the poem in a metrically correct way. The omission of the *hamza* sign is likewise to be attributed to dialect interference, since almost all dialects have lost the glottal stop (unless, of course, it developed anew out of */q/*).

These three phenomena all indicate dialect interference, but they do not destroy the classical meter. A partial exception is no. 3, the omission of *hamza* after a long vowel. There are altogether twelve cases in the corpus, where the missing *hamza* has to be inserted for the meter to be correct, and only four cases, where the correct *hamza* must not be restored, or else the line would be unmetrical. We have no way of knowing how readers and reciters would have dealt with this situation. They may have omitted the *hamza* altogether in both cases. The only thing we can say is that the omission of *hamza* in cases where it is grammatically and metrically required would push the language of that particular line towards a dialectal register. There is a third possibility between pronouncing and omitting the *hamza*, namely the *hamzat bayn bayn*, which refers to a bisyllabic long vowel without intervening glottal stop.

Most poems display faultless classical prosody. A few (seventeen among the first 146 poems, to be precise) are metrically "beyond repair." There are, however, some instances, where, in order to achieve the correct meter, one either has to use some tricks already sanctioned in classical prosody (this refers mainly to using *hamzat al-waṣl* for *hamzat al-qaṭʿ* or vice versa), or one has to introduce a dialect reading in one of the words. In this last category I count fourteen examples in the corpus where this might apply; in some cases more than one dialectal re-reading has to be assumed:

no. 2 (M. p. 87) verse 5:

5 ابتاعهُ منه من قد بات ليلةُ سالم من البرد فى خيرٍ من البركه

The problem is in line 5b: *sālimun* (or *sāliman*) *mina l-bardi fī khayrin mina l-barakah*; the first foot is too long (LSLSL for LLSL). One might suggest a dialect reading without case: *sālim mina l-*.

no. 5 (M. p. 91) verse 2:

2 ومن يفعل المعروف مع غير اهله يلاقى كما لاقى مجير ام عامر

In line 2 read *maʿ* for *maʿa* and *mujīru 'mmi* (or *mujīr ummi* as a dialect form) for *mujīru ummi*.

no. 11 (M. p. 113) verse 3:

3 قد كنت اغار من النسيم عليكمُ لكن ادا نزل القضا عمى البصر

In line 3a the *hamzat al-qaṭʿ* in *aghāru* should be read *hamzat al-waṣl* and the *-u* of *kuntu* dropped: *qad kunt-aghāru*.

no. 19 (M. p. 121) verses 1 to 3:

1	صبراً لحكمك يا الٰهى والقضآ	انا صابراً ان كان لك فى دا رضآ
2	جاروا علينا واعتدوا وتظلموا	فلعل بالجنات ان نتعوضا
3	حاشاك تغفل سيدى عن ظالم	فوسيلتى بك ان تجرنى من لضآ

In line 1b one has to read *lak* for *laka*. In line 3b, one might suggest to read … *bika an tajur*(*r*)*nī min laḍā* (for *laẓā*), instead of *tajurranī* which does not fit the meter.

no. 24 (M. p. 131) verses 1 to 2:

1	صن السرَّ يوماً ولا تودعه	ومن اودع السرّ فقد ضيعَه
2	فصدرك لسرّك ان لم يسع	فكيف يسع صدر مستودعَه

In 1a one might read *lā tūdiʿah* (or: *tūdiʿuh*) for the correct *lā tūdiʿhu*. Since the rhyme-word is *ḍayyaʿah* (with a *fatḥa* on the *ʿayn*), the vocalization *tūdiʿah* is preferable. In 1b *fa-qad* does not fit the meter; read *qad*; this is probably not to be subsumed under dialectal reading. In 2a read *fa-ṣadruk* (or more genuinely dialectal *fa-ṣadrak*). In 2b read *yasaʿ* for *yasaʿu*, and *mustawdiʿah* (*fatḥa on ʿayn*!) for *mustawdiʿih*.

no. 26 (M. p. 132) verse 1:

1	لا تشرب الكآس الا مع اخا تقةٍ	وطاهر الآصل منسوباً الى السلفى

In 1a read *maʿ* for *maʿa*.

no. 33 (M. p. 144) verses 4 to 6:

4	يا سادة خدوا بتار متيماً	الف السهاد وصبرهُ فيهِ عفا
5	ايحل فى شرع المحبة اننى	فرداً وغيرى بالوصال [قد] اشتفا
6	مولاى دعهُ يجور بى او يعتدى	كم جهد اجهدهُ وكم اتكلفا

There are a number of odd readings in this poem, which cannot be called dialectal (e.g. *yā sādatan* for *yā sādatu* in 4a). Very problematic is 6b, where I would suggest to read the beginning as *kam juhdi ajhaduhū*, where *juhd* is dialectal, without *iʿrāb* but with a helping vowel to break up the consonant cluster *-hd-*. I must admit, though, that this sounds more Egyptian than Syrian.

no. 41 (M. p. 161) verse 2:

2 وان هو صفا لى من زمانى مرةً فابصرت منه ما يكدر فى التانى

In 2a read *hū* for *huwa*.

no. 57 (M. pp. 187–188) verses 1 to 3, 7 and 12:

1 اسرع فديتك ان القوم قد رحلوا واما دموعى من الاماق تنهملو
2 شط المزار بهم بعدا فوا اسفى ما حيلتى فيهم ما القول ما العمل
3 وليتنى لم اكن انظر لهم ابداً ما حيلتى سادتى ضاقت بى الحيل
... ...
7 يا ليت لو سمحت ذات المنون بهم بينى وبينهم ما ليس ينفصل
... ...
12 انشدته ولسان الحال يسبقنى يا ليت لا قد جا لك الاجل

This poem has dialect features on the surface: 1b: The initial *wa-* is superfluous, grammatically and metrically, the particle *ammā* is not followed by *fa-*; both features may be dialectal; 2b: Asyndetic listing of *mā* questions (*mā ḥīlatī fīhimū mā l-qawlu mā l-ʿamalu*); 3a: *anẓur lahum* for *anẓuru ilayhim* (two dialect features); 7a: *yā layta law* is non-standard; similarly 12b: *yā layta lā qad jā*[ʾ]*—lā qad* with perfect is impossible in *fuṣḥā*. The meter in this hemistich is defective; the second foot can be fixed by reading *qad ijā* for *qad jā*, but at the end two syllables are wanting. Lines 13–20 of this poem all seem to be unexceptional.

no. 61 (M. p. 194) verses 1 and 2:

1 رايت في صدرها حقان قد ختما بمسكةٍ تمنع العشاق ضمها
2 تحرسها بسهامٍ من لواحظها فمن تعدى اصابتهُ بسهمها

The dialectal *taḥrus'humā* for *taḥrusuhumā* in 2a is metrically required.

no. 116 (M. p. 265) verse 2:

2 وما حب الديار شغفن قلبى ولكن حب من سكن الديارا

In 2a, *sh-gh-f-n* should be read *shaghafni*, which partly shows (*ni* for *nī*) and partly requires (*shaghaf* for *shaghafa*) a dialectal reading.

no. 132 (M. pp. 317–318) verses 1 to 6:

1 لله يومى ببركة الحبشِ ونحن بين الضياءِ والغلشِ
2 والما وسط النبات تحسبهُ كصارمٍ فى عين مرتعشِ
3 ونحن فى روضةٍ مفوقةٍ قد طرز بالنور عطفها ووشِ
4 قد نسجتها يد الغيوم لنا فنحن من نسجها على فرشِ
5 نعاطى الراح ان تاركها من سورة الهم غير منتعشِ
6 وسقنى بالكبار مترعةً فانهم اروى لشدة العطشِ

In 2b the unmetrical *ʿayni* could possibly be read *ʿuyūni* (for the dual *ʿaynay*). In 5a, it seems that, instead of *nuʿāṭī l-rāḥa*, which is against the meter, a hypercorrect form *nuʿāṭiyu l-rāḥa* is intended; but one would need more examples to make that claim.

no. 135 (M. p. 337) verses 1 to 5:

1 اتيت الى المولى لانتقص الدمِ فلم ار وقتاً يقتضِى صحة الجسمِ
2 جلست احدثهُ بكل عجيبةٍ وبين يديه انشر العلم من فهمِ
3 فاعجبهُ منى السماع وقال لى تجاوزت حد الفهم يا معدن العلمِ
4 فقلت لهُ لولاك يا سيد الورا افضت على الفضل ما زادنى فهمِ
5 لانك رب الفضل والجود والعطا وكنز الورا فى العلم والفهم والحلمِ

In 1a it seems that the poet wanted to establish a *taṣrīʿ*, in which case we should read *l-dammi* with dialectal doubling of the */m/*; however, the genitive is inexplicable, as it should be *l-damma*; but cf. in 4b the rhyme-word *fahmi* for *fahmu*. It thus seems that, similar to the indefinite suffix *-un/-in/-an*, we have

here a case of a generic "case-vowel." In 2a one should read *uḥadditū* (spelled in the text with final *-uh*) for *uḥaddithuhū* to keep the meter.

no. 136 (M. p. 338) verse 3:

3 وافش السلام ادا ما جزت فی ملآءٍ والوالدین فاحرص ان تبرهمِ

In 3a and b there are metrical problems. At the end of 3a read *mala'in* for *malā'in*, which looks like a dialectal *malā* plus secondary *hamza*. In 3b, we have the dialectal form *al-wālidayni* for *al-wālidāni*. The second word needs to be read *fa-iḥriṣ* rather than the regular *fa-'ḥriṣ*. The final */i/* of *tabirrahumi* is weird; it just follows the requirement of the rhyme. The dialect allows the plural suffix *-hum* for the dual suffix *-humā*, referring to *al-wālidayn*.

From these cases it becomes clear that the dialect is encroaching on the poetry in two ways: Either the dialect form appears on the surface, or it has to be posited (in order to save the meter). Since there clearly is some interference of the dialect in the poetry, my case that the poetry is a medium different from the prose is somewhat weakened. However, the percentage of "dialectal" lines is still rather low.

One other feature having to do with the diglossic situation is particularly interesting. In classical prosody, if a line ends in a vowel, the vowel is long (i.e., if it is a short vowel, it is lengthened). This is, however, only indicated in writing, when the vowel is */a/*. A long */i/* or */u/* is not written. In our selection, however, there are examples for both long */u/* and long */i/* being written (with *wāw* and *yā'*). This indicates the correct pronunciation but is against the orthographic rules in poetry. An explanation might be that the person who wrote this text wrote it in anticipation of an audience, to whom he would read it; he thus wanted to make sure that he would not lapse into his dialect and omit the final case vowel, while reading the poem.

The result of this quick overview would be that, although there is some encroachment of dialect features also in the poetry, it is still mostly classical in structure and prosody. Thus, it still sticks out from the prose text, especially if we assume that is was chanted, and thus constitutes a separate line of communication, one that heightens the emotion presented in the prose and imparts it to the audience.

I shall conclude with a few observations on how the poems are fitted into the prose text. Most poems are adduced according to Bencheikh's rule: "If the story narrates a passion, the poem represents it." In some cases the poem is introduced by a formula that identifies the situation described in the prose with the description in the poem, e.g., the description of a hunchback is preceded by

kamā qāla fīhi baʿḍu wāṣifīhi, as if the quoted poem had been written about the hunchback in the story. This is a very common formula. The strangest stratagem in this category is the *lisān al-ḥāl*, the "voice of the situation," which is used, when the protagonists cannot speak, but the situation cries out for a poem. Interestingly, the *lisān al-ḥāl* is presented as "writing" the poem. Here are the examples from the corpus:

(1) No. 42. The introductory formula is quite complex: The situation is a human woman who is the wife of a demon who has surprised her being together with a human man; the formula is *fa-kataba lisānu ḥālihā ʿalā ṣafaḥāti khudūdihā yaqūl* "The voice of the situation wrote on the surfaces of her cheeks saying …" (possibly referring to tears flowing down her cheeks).

(2) No. 43. This is still the same situation. The narrator, who is the human man in the threesome, says, after some winking has gone one between him and the woman: *fa-kataba lisānu ḥālinā yaqūl* "Then the voice of our situation wrote saying …"
The notion of "writing" probably arose from the fact that no one is actually speaking the poems. The only other mode of existence for a poem is obviously a written text.

(3) No. 193. Here the phraseology is different. Nūr al-Dīn, who somehow produces the poem, does not seem to say anything. The situation-*cum*-formula is: *wa-dumūʿuhū tasāqaṭu ʿalā khaddayhi tushbihu l-maṭara wa-huwa yunshidu bi-lisāni l-ḥāli wa-yaqūl*. Haddawy translates this as follows: "with his tears running profusely over his cheeks, as if to say."[7] In other words, the sorry aspect he presents is an equivalent of the poem, the *lisān al-ḥāl*. The verb *yaqūl* should not be taken seriously.

The insertion of poems often betrays great sophistication. The storytellers and/or copyists show great freedom in manipulating even the slots for poems, and certainly the slot-fillers, as the various text traditions clearly show, but their greatest ingenuity emerges from the way the poems are fitted into the prose frame.

7 *The Arabian Nights*, trans. Husain Haddawy (New York: W.W. Norton, 1990), 432.

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CHAPTER 23

Modern Arabic Literature and Islam

*Stefan Wild**

What role does Islam play in modern Arabic literature? The question itself seems to smack of Orientalism. Hasn't the Near and Middle East been for many outsiders an eternally Muslim landscape, in which everything seemed to be religion and nothing but religion? For the pre-modern period, a surprising example of such an attitude is Carl Brockelmann and his dated but still indispensable *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*.[1] For Brockelmann "Litteratur" meant writing on "all aspects of Arabic intellectual life"—in other words, on much more than *belles lettres*. The term includes philosophy and astronomy, medicine and geography, *fiqh* and *tafsīr*, grammar and lexicography among many other topics. His decision, to see in Arabic literature (in this broad sense) essentially a manifestation of "Islamic Culture" and consequently "to omit all texts by those Jews and Christians who used Arabic only in the interest of their religions,"[2] is certainly noteworthy. Brockelmann did, however, include Jewish and Christian "poets and literary writers, who address in their writing not only their co-religionists" provided they wrote in Arabic. Fortunately, when Brockelmann dealt with the modern period, (which ends in his book in the 1930s), he did not discriminate between writers in Arabic according to their denominational affiliations.

Nowadays, to call *belles lettres* and poetry produced by contemporary authors with Muslim names "Islamic literature" or "Muslim literature" seems presumptuous. But the terminology is still alive: the work edited by Glenda Abramson and Hilary Kilpatrick, *Religious Perspectives in Modern Muslim and Jewish*

* This essay is the slightly amended version of the Ed-de-Moor-Memorial Lecture, given in Uppsala at the meeting of the European Association for Modern Arabic Literature (EURAMAL), June 11–14, 2008. It was primarily intended to provoke a discussion. Almost eight years and some catastrophes in the Arab world later, my essay cannot but be dated. The main arguments, however, still seem valid to me. One important aspect that I omitted but should have mentioned is the growing importance of Arabic exile-literature. This literature is uninhibited by censorship and free to include all aspects of Islam.

1 First edition: (Weimar: Felber, 1898–1902), 2 vols.

2 Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937), Supplement 1: 1.

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Literatures provides an example.[3] Many, if not most, of the best known Arab, Persian and Turkish prose-writers and poets would likely object, if they were categorized in the first place as "Muslim." In fact, it makes little sense to lump together Muḥammad Shukrī and Orhan Pamuk, Adūnīs and Ṣādiq Hidāyat, Ṣunʿ Allāh Ibrāhīm and Nāẓim Ḥikmat into a literary unity defined by the qualification "Muslim." The less provocative way of identifying and addressing literatures of this area is to speak of national literatures or of literatures written in a particular language, such as Arabic or Persian, Turkish or Urdu. It has recently become fashionable to adopt a wider regionalizing terminology and to speak of "literatures in the Middle East." This is exemplified by the name of the journal *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* founded in 1998. It describes itself as "devoted to the scholarly study of the literatures of the Arab world and the Middle East in the pre-modern and modern period. It welcomes contributions on literature in, for example, Persian, Turkish, post-Biblical and modern Hebrew, Berber, Kurdish, and Urdu." In keeping with this trend, Kilpatrick coined the term "Eastern Mediterranean Literatures" which has the advantage of being purely geographical.

This approach is not without its pitfalls, but seems at first glance certainly more promising than the "Islamic" approach. Still, this is not the whole truth. Stephan Guth has demonstrated in a remarkable comparative study that it makes sense, for example, to speak of the "Turco-Arabic" novel.[4] There are so many "literary congruences" between Arabic and Turkish novels, he argues, that it is possible to speak of a systemically related "Arabo-Turkish" or "Turco-Arabic" novel. In this framework, the Persian novel and the Urdu novel might also have a place, and Guth cautiously advances the theory that this "Near-Eastern" type of literature could also be labelled "Oriental-Islamic." He immediately wonders whether the term "Oriental-Islamic" indeed denotes the main feature of a common background. The question, therefore, cannot be considered closed: what role does the religion of Islam play in and for modern Arabic literature?

I was first confronted with this problem in 1983 when I participated in an international symposium in Bern.[5] The topic of this conference was "Islam in the mirror of contemporary literature in the Islamic world." Pierre Cachia, a well-known authority on modern Arabic literature, read a paper in which he diagnosed "the faintness of Islamic inspiration in modern Arabic literature."

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3 (London and New York: Routledge. 2006).

4 Stephan Guth, *Brückenschläge. Eine integrierte 'turko-arabische' Romangeschichte* (*Mitte 19. bis Mitte 20. Jahrhundert*) (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2006).

5 The contributions to this conference were published in *Die Welt des Islams* 33–34 (1983–1984).

Cachia contrasted what seemed to him a dearth of Islamic topics in modern Arabic literature with the rising surge of Islam in politics and culture that swept much of the Muslim world in general and the Arab world in particular at the time:

> … from the middle 1960s if not earlier there has been an apparent resurgence of Islam which manifests itself in the irruption of religious issues in public affairs, the prominence of religious activists in politics, the amount of Qur'ānic recitation that is broadcast, the increasing strictness in standards of modesty observed even by young women with a Western type education. Of all this, there is scarcely any sign of approbation or even recognition in the literature of the elite … I must confess that I am puzzled by the extent of the divergence between the content of the literature and the observable social reality … and the paucity of creative literary works dealing principally with some genuine religious issue … More striking still, considering what is the bread and butter of much literature, is that modern Arab writers have all but denied themselves the romantic and dramatic possibilities created by mixed marriages.[6]

Is the reluctance of Arab contemporary authors/novelists to introduce Islamic topics into a literary context really so obvious? In a remarkable way, Pierre Cachia seemed to have overlooked the importance of Naguib Mahfouz. While he does mention him and his "Children of Gebelawi," he does so only in an aside. In many of Mahfouz's novels, however, the loss of faith and the desperate effort to regain it are recurrent themes. His largely allegorical masterpiece *Children of Gebelawi* (*Awlād Ḥāritnā*)[7] has been variously interpreted as a "terribly iconoclastic story" or as a piece of straightforward socio-political criticism—as the author himself at some point wanted to see it. In any case, it remains a milestone. In this novel, Islam was at stake, and so was Jewish and Christian monotheism; religious institutions as such were contested, as were secular brands of *Weltanschauung* such as socialism and Western positivism. Those critics, who wanted the book banned and the author punished, detected a Niet-

6 Pierre Cachia, "In a Glass Darkly: The Faintness of Islamic Inspiration in Modern Arabic Literature," *Die Welt des Islams* 33–34 (1983–1984): 26–44. See also: Mustafa M. Badawi, "Islam in Modern Egyptian Literature," *Journal of Arabic Literarure* 2 (1971): 154–177; Hartmut Fähndrich, "Andere Prioritäten. Weniges Islamisches in einigen palästinensischen Prosawerken," *Die Welt des Islams* 33–34 (1983–1984): 95–106.

7 The book came out first in installments in *al-Ahrām* in 1959, but was published in book form in 1967 in Lebanon. English translation by Philip Stewart (London: Heinemann, 1981).

zschean belief that "God is dead" pervading the novel and have ensured that it could not and cannot be published as a book in Egypt until today. Naguib Mahfouz's voice was certainly very Egyptian, soft and humble—in its modesty light-years away from the icy prophetic arrogance of Friedrich Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra*. And yet, Mahfouz's book was at the very least a profoundly sceptical if reserved glance at the decline of institutionalized religion as such. This allegory radiated a nostalgic sense of loss—its 114 chapters seemed to melancholically invoke the 114 *sūra*s of the Qur'ān. Its pessimism toward revealed religion extended to Judaism and Christianity, to Moses and Jesus, and it did not spare the figure of "al-Qāsim," a *chiffre* for the Prophet Muḥammad. Whatever the author intended his novel to be, it was read by friend and foe, Arab and non-Arab as a metaphysical allegory, describing religious world-history from the creation of the world to Gamal Abdel Nasser's Egypt. But as such it could not but be read as a farewell to organized religion—not confined to but including Islam. In this sense, Naguib Mahfouz was a faintly Nietzschean voice.

More than twenty-five years later, in many respects Pierre Cachia's diagnosis and the "puzzle" it presents still merits discussion. The political role of Islam has certainly not decreased. Much of modern Arabic literature ignores religious topics including those related to Islam. But when Arabic literature ridicules and fights organized religion, one sometimes has the impression that Muslim authors prefer to consign sceptic ideas on God and institutionalized religion to Christianity and avoid setting them in a Muslim context.[8]

In the remainder of this paper, I will set out three fields in which religion plays a pivotal role. The first section examines a branch of literature that was scarcely considered "literature" thirty years ago and that is known in Arabic today as *al-adab al-islāmī*. The second section will deal with the place of "religion" (including but not limited to Islamic religion) in modern Arabic poetry, drama and prose. I hope to be able to show how important it is to distinguish between different kinds of religious and Islamic inspirations. The third section is devoted to the postmodern Arabic novel and to Islamically motivated censorship's increasing control over literary production in Arab countries. It goes without saying that nothing of what I am going to say can be more than preliminary.

8 Yūsuf Zaydān, *ʿAzāzīl: Riwāya* (Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq, 2008). Cf. Pierre Cachia, "Freedom from Clerical Control of Men of Religion in Modern Arabic Literature," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 26 (1995): 175–185.

1 "Islamic Literature" (*al-adab al-islāmī*)

The literary movement called *al-adab al-islāmī* ("Islamic literature") has created a stir in the Arabic-speaking world and beyond since the 1970s.[9] It professed to have the solution to the question how Islam and modern literature could work in unison.

"Islamic literature" in the sense proclaimed by Najīb Kīlānī (1931–1995) and many others following him was and remains in many respects a strange literary phenomenon and in a number of ways an extra-literary phenomenon. "Islamic literature" was an offshoot of "committed literature" in the sense of *littérature engagée* (*al-adab al-multazim*) as set out in Jean-Paul Sartre's *Qu'est-ce que la littérature?*[10] "Islamic literature" came into existence in order to promulgate an Islamic worldview, a specifically Islamic outlook on Arab society and on Arabic literature. This was later also adopted by some Turkish, Urdu and Indonesian writers. Its goal was primarily socio-religious and didactic. It aimed at creating an Islamic literature that could withstand the threat posed by "Western" literature. Therefore content and message were everything. Form and aesthetics played only a subservient role. In this rigorously functionalist view of literature, *al-adab al-islāmī* resembled the literature of Socialist Realism. It is therefore scarcely surprising that in its onset an Islamically-oriented critique of the norms, values, and realities of the existing Arab societies in its beginning partly resembled a leftist agenda. The formal model for this type of "Islamic literature" was the multifaceted writing of the Arab Left that arose after World War II. Its Islamic version was single-handedly invented in the late 1960s and 1970s by the Egyptian author, critic and journalist Najīb Kīlānī. His forerunners were Sayyid Quṭb (1906–1966) and his younger brother Muḥammad Quṭb (b. 1916).

While they were violently opposed to leftist thought, *adab-islāmī* writers criticized like many of their leftist opponents the realities of Arab society. Moreover, *al-adab al-islāmī* was designed as an Islamic counter-literature meant to curb what looked to its proponents as the seemingly unstoppable and menacing influence of Western literature and culture on Arabic literary life and Arab culture in general. Anti-colonialism formed a link between *al-adab al-islāmī*

9 Christian Szyska, "On Utopian Writings in Nasserist Prison and Laicist Turkey," *Die Welt des Islams* 35 (1995): 95–125; idem, "Najīb al-Kīlānī on His Career, or: How to Become the Ideal Muslim Author," in *Conscious Voices: Concepts of Writing in the Middle East: Proceedings of the Bern Symposium July 1997*, ed. Stephan Guth, Priska Furrer, and Johann Christoph Bürgel (Beirut and Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1999), 221–236; idem, "Muslim Literature: The Emerging Discourse," *Periodica Islamica* 6.2 (1996): 7–14.

10 Paris: Collection Folio/Essais, 1985 (First published in 1948).

and 'leftist' literature. Both could be taken to be part of post-colonial writing, in which the colonized Empire and the humiliated religion of Islam together with an equally humiliated Arab culture in particular "wrote back" and struck back at the colonizing centers. "Islamic literature" was more defensive and more traditionalist than the Arab literary left. Muslim authors of the *adab-islāmī*-type were staunch supporters of Classical Arabic and opposed any writing in the vernacular, they hated so-called free verse in Arabic poetry. The idea of freedom was not on their agenda. Central leftist terms such as *ibdāʿ* "literary creativity" and *ḥadātha* "modernity" were anathema to them. On most social and ideological issues, such as the role of women or the desirable form of government, the Arab literary left and *al-adab al-islāmī* were worlds apart.

The author of a work of *al-adab al-islāmī* had to be a religious-political activist; his work had to be written by a good Muslim. Not unlike the Dada-movement in Europe during and after the First World War, the formulation of an ideological program of *al-adab al-islāmī* coincided with its actual output. One might even argue that, in this case, theory preceded practice. At any rate, the production *of al-adab al-islāmī* coincided with the simultaneous development of a theory of *al-adab al-islāmī*. This theory followed a general move to Islamicize culture in general: film, television, music, but also architecture, economics, sports, and in the last analysis, everything. The prevailing idea of what "Islam" meant in this context never corresponded to the lived and multifaceted reality of Muslims, but was restricted largely to a rigorous Salafī Islam of the most puritan and narrow kind. This fact also accounted for a further and possibly decisive feature of *al-adab al-islāmī*, namely the fact that its strongest and financially most generous supporters were states such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other Gulf states, on the one hand, and trans-national religious organizations such as the Islamic World League, an organization controlled by Saudi Arabia and operating from Mecca, on the other. Petrodollars financed books of "Islamic literature" and books on the theory of *al-adab al-islāmī*; there were bibliographies of and conferences on Islamic literature, criticism of and in Islamic literature. New chairs and whole departments at Arab universities devoted to Islamic literature were created *ex nihilo*. In other words, the rise of "Islamic literature" was by no means a question of supply and demand. Supply by far exceeded demand. Despite all these efforts, however, *al-adab al-islāmī* was next to ignored by dominant Arab literary criticism; it rarely if ever managed to connect with Arabic literary criticism. Reuven Snir sums up the situation:

> As the Arabic literary system tends toward secularism, we find that religious circles retain their traditional literary activities. Prompted by various local Islamic institutions as well as by general institutions active

> throughout the the Muslim world, they are producing the vast majority of texts, which sometimes attract a greater mass readership than secular literary texts. Paradoxically, within the contemporary literary system, these activities and texts are considered by the canonical center as extremely marginal and none of the relevant authors has gathered any significant status in Arabic literature … Since the emergence of modern Arabic literature … twofold alliances—to religion and literature—… guaranteed that a writer be marginalized and driven out of the secular literary canon.[11]

The gulf between *al-adab al-islāmī* and modern mainstream Arabic literature is so wide that I suspect that many secular authors and critics hardly ever read a page of *al-adab al-islāmī*. Voices that criticize the ideology of Islamist literary discourse have come more often than not from outside the strictly literary sphere. The Syrian philosopher and critic Ṣādiq Jalāl al-ʿAẓm (b. 1933) pointed out in his study on Salman Rushdie and the "mentality of tabooization":

> … If we follow Islamic logic to its most extreme conclusions, it would have been better had the Arab world never known … Taha Husayn or Tawfiq al-Hakim or Naguib Mahfouz or Adonis or Khalil Hawi, since each of them represents a mode of intellectual and artistic expression which is imported from the West: criticism, theater, the novel, and modern poetry.[12]

Arab critics' widespread neglect of *al-adab al-islāmī* may have been a mistake. The production of Islamic Literature culminated in a number of highly moralizing children's books, that at least some parents liked. Its most serious public success, as far as prose is concerned, may have been what was called prison literature. The reports of torture in Egyptian prisons and the autobiographical or semi-autobiographical descriptions of how Muslim faith resisted these horrors can be read in the writings of Zaynab al-Ghazālī (1917–2005) or Muḥammad Jalāl Kishk (d. 1993).[13] But as far as I can judge, *al-adab al-islāmī* was and is

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11 Reuven Snir, *Religion, Mysticism and Modern Arabic Literature* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 21.

12 Ṣādiq Jalāl al-ʿAẓm, *Dhihniyyat al-taḥrīm: Salmān Rushdī wa-ḥaqīqat al-adab* (London and Limassol: Riyāḍ al-Rayyis, 1992). Translated quote: Snir, *Religion, Mysticism and Modern Arabic Literature*, 65.

13 Fedwa Malti-Douglas, "A Literature of Islamic Revival? The Autobiography of Shaykh Kishk," in *Cultural Transitions in the Middle East*, ed. Şerif Mardin (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 116–130.

by far strongest in the realm of traditional Arabic poetry, another field almost entirely ignored by dominant Arab literary criticism. This type of poetry is very popular, especially in societies with strong tribal traditions.

2 Religious Motifs in Arabic Poetry

The link between religion and Arabic literature is strongest and most evident in modern Arabic poetry. I am not concerned here with poetry of the *al-adab al-islāmī* type, but with secular Arabic poetry. This poetry is deeply imbued with religious language, religious symbols, and religious imagery. The reason is not only that Arabic is the language of the Qur'ān. Equally important, modern Arabic poetry often presents itself as secularized *prophecy*. The poet-prophet is and has always been a powerful poetic persona in Arabic literature. In modern Arabic poetry, Adūnīs (b. 1930), Maḥmūd Darwīsh (d. 2008), Khalīl Ḥāwī (d. 1982) and many others immediately come to mind.[14]

The religious imagery of much of modern Arabic poetry is extensively Qur'ānic and Islamic. What makes these images and symbols nevertheless secular is that their appeal, their magic, has nothing to do with theology, morality or belief. Other religious traditions such as Christianity (redemption, crucifixion, resurrection) or Judaism (exile, Babylon, Sodom) are evoked on an equal footing regardless of the religious background of the poet. The modern Arab poet weaves into his verses not only allusions to the three monotheistic religions, but also allusions to pagan deities such as Gilgamesh or Tammuz. Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb (1926–1964) evokes the suffering of the crucified Jesus, and Maḥmūd Darwīsh writes poems which he calls "psalms." The Qur'ānic background of modern Arabic verse can invite the audience to aesthetically embrace the great founding myths of Islam. But the same Qur'ānic allusions can be used as signals of distancing, of irony, of flippancy or wrath and finally even be used to deconstruct the mythical side of religion or religion as such. It may be difficult to believe, but the two modes are not always easy to keep apart. Many of Maḥmūd Darwīsh's poems are incomprehensible without their Qur'ānic, Jewish and Christian subtexts, out of which the poet creates powerful new myths

14 Cf. Shawkat M. Toorawa, "Modern Arabic Literature and the Qur'an: Inimitability, Creativity … Incompatibility," in *Religious Perspectives in Modern Muslim and Jewish Literatures*, ed. Glenda Abramson and Hilary Kilpatrick (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 239–257; Stefan Wild, "The Koran as Subtext in Modern Arabic Poetry," in *Representations of the Divine in Arabic Poetry*, ed. Gert Borg and Ed de Moor (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 139–160.

and symbols. Angelika Neuwirth has recently shown how the religiously-based hymns on martyrdom and sacrificial death, the prayer-like conjurations of the loss of Palestine in Darwīsh's poetry, make way in his latest poetry for a more resigned tone.[15] Palestine had already become a metaphor, the martyr now returns to his shadow. The poet poetically deconstructs his own mythology.

Perhaps the most impressive example of the weight of religion in poetry can be seen in the oeuvre of Adūnīs—this pen name itself being the intended and scandalous allusion to a Hellenistic heathen divinity.[16] Adūnīs' preoccupation with the divine "tackles the modern crisis of the divine and tries to solve it by means of poetry." The Nietzschean declaration "God is dead" is juxtaposed with Adūnīs' recognition that "modernity in Arabic poetry … has its roots in the Qur'ān".[17] The deconstruction of the divine searches for the paradox:

> "We die if we do not create gods / We die if we do kill gods."[18]

Adūnīs uses the whole repertoire of extreme Sufi thought and opens the gate of Muslim and non-Muslim heretical tradition: "I am the Alpha of water and the Omega of fire—the mad lover of life" sums up the evolution of his poetical persona. His poetry is full of "difficult" hermetic verses, yet breathes the fiery pathos of social commitment. Adūnīs is easily the most controversial contemporary Arab poets; his surrealism is often not only hermetic but self-reflexive, apocalyptical, self-contradictory, visionary, ecstatic and explosive. Stefan Weidner has done more than anybody else to make his poetry accessible to the German reader—through his translations and analyses and by highlighting the influence of Martin Heidegger on Adūnīs' worldview.[19] Is Adūnīs' poetry, after the deconstruction and destruction of all possible religion, a signal of a new

15 Angelika Neuwirth, "Vexierbilder. Mahmud Darwish zwischen hebräischem und arabischem Literaturkanon," *Akzente*: *Zeitschrift für Literatur* 5 (October 2009): 411–431.

16 Cf. Stefan Weidner, "The Divinity of the Profane: The Representations of the Divine in the Poetry of Adûnîs," in *Representations of the Divine in Arabic Poetry*, ed. Gert Borg and Ed de Moor (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 211–225; idem, "A Guardian of Change? The Poetry of Adûnîs between Hermeticism and Commitment," in *Conscious Voices: Concepts of Writing in the Middle East, Proceedings of the Bern Symposium July 1997*, ed. Stephan Guth, Priska Furrer and Christoph Bürgel (Beirut and Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1999), 272–299.

17 Adūnīs, *An Introduction to Arab Poetics*, trans. Catherine Cobham (London: Saqi. 1990), 49.

18 Weidner, "The Divinity of the Profane," 217.

19 Stefan Weidner, *… und sehnen uns nach einem neuen Gott. Poesie und Religion im Werk von Adonis. Mit einem Essay über Adonis' Rezeption deutscher Philosophie sowie mit einem Gespräch zwischen Adonis und Stefan Weidner* (Berlin: Hans Schiler, 2005).

desire lurking for a humanistic epiphany of the divine? We don't know, or at least I don't know. What I do know is that his whole work is unthinkable without religion, that large parts of the most important modern Arabic poetry has Islamic discourse as one of its main sources of creativity.

Here then we find a clear-cut divide. There is the poetry of writers such as Maḥmūd Darwīsh and Adūnīs, both poets towering over their generation. Religion has a highly visible presence in the oeuvre of both poets. Maḥmūd Darwīsh, leftist and ex-communist, for many Palestinians still *the* authentic voice of the Palestinians, time and again used Jewish, Christian and Muslim symbols to poetically narrate the plight, the predicament and the hope of the Palestinian people. In his poetry, religion—all religion including Islam—is made to serve a national and a humanistic aim. Adūnīs often fights against all established religion, including Islam. He directs his and his readers' hopes towards a revolutionary new humanity. His religious hope is fixed on the atheists, the heretics and the mystics. Formally, both poets use the modern Arabic free *taf'īla* verse or even poetic prose. For both poets, the religious institutions of Islam or of any other religion do not solve any modern problems. They have failed in every respect. But for both, religious traditions are a unique source of poetic creativity. In sharp contrast, tribal societies in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere preserve poetry, including pious Islamic poetry, in very traditional forms. And in contradistinction to all this, religion is usually absent in the postmodern Arabic novel, the subject to which I will now turn.

3 The Postmodern Arabic Novel and Religious Censorship

The postmodern Arabic novel's "deafening silence" regarding Islam and religion is, on one level, the consequence of censorship. That many secular writers shy away from openly religious matters in novels can be partly understood if one takes into account the often iron-fisted control exerted by religious Muslim authorities over everything printed in Arab countries. "The greater part of the Arabic literary system is still governed by a religious framework and most contemporary Arabic activities carefully avoid any violation of basic Islamic precepts."[20] The threat that religious authorities will intervene in literary debates is present in all societies. It was always present in modern Arab societies, but it is hard to deny that the grip of state intervention and religiously dominated censorship has distinctly intensified when one compares the situation in a country

20 Snir, *Religion, Mysticism and Modern Arabic Literature*, 76.

like Egypt in the 1920s and 1930s with the situation today. When Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (d. 1973) wrote on religious topics he was fiercely attacked in writing, but his life was never in danger. Naguib Mahfouz, on the other hand, stated as early as in 1992: "If anything like that [the publication of the pioneering works by the likes of Taha Husayn] were to occur in these times, it would bring disaster on its author. The all-pervasive atmosphere of terror squelches freedom, thought, and creativity altogether."[21] Naguib Mahfouz's remark uncannily foreshadowed a young Muslim fanatic's knife attack on him less than two years later. For a time, the religious authorities in Arab countries were most anxiously fighting what they considered to be leftist leanings. The social pressure on Naguib Mahfouz after he had published his most respectful allegorical novel, *Awlād Ḥāritnā*, about the rise and fall of religion, was considerable.

It was scarcely a coincidence that the influential if short-lived magazine *al-Nāqid*, which was published in London between 1988 and 1995, had as its slogan "A monthly review concerned with the creativity of the writer and the freedom of the book" (*majalla tuʿnā bi-ibdāʿ al-kātib wa-ḥurriyyat al-kitāb*). In its very first issue it carried a long article on a CD that was spread unofficially in Saudi Arabia and that considered practically all modern Arabic fiction and poetry not only to be incompatible with Islam but an insult to all Muslims. *Ibdāʿ* itself was seen as deplorable and fundamentally un-Islamic. The declaration of Jihad against "modernity" (*ḥadātha*) was directed against two main enemies. These were communism and capitalism; both were seen as assailing Islam and Muslim society worldwide. In their view, the cultural heritage of Islam was being ignored or ridiculed. In short, there was a new religion to be fought: modernity, of which *ibdāʿ*, "creativity," was the greatest curse. No name of any literary status in the modern Arab world was missing on the Saudi CD: the new satans were Maḥmūd Darwīsh, Adūnīs, Naguib Mahfouz and many others.

In 1992, the highly respected Egyptian journal *al-Fuṣūl* called upon Arab writers to contribute to a special issue addressing the topic "Literature and Freedom." In 1995 the *Journal of Arabic Literature*, at the time the only journal in English devoted exclusively to Arabic literature, published a special issue "The Quest for Freedom in Modern Arabic Literature." This loud and urgent call for freedom was significant. Sabry Hafez wrote: "The three decades (1960–1990) form a tragic period which has seen the dismemberment of what remained of the unity and cohesion of the Arab world; a period of cynical immaturity, ten-

21 See Roger Allen, "Arabic Fiction and the Quest for Freedom," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 26 (1995): 38, note 2.

sion and the disintegration of the nationalist pan-Arab world."[22] There were "tremendous repercussions on the political and cultural scene which led to an accelerated process of fragmentation." And there were two seemingly contradictory tendencies: in Egypt and elsewhere, the state gradually retreated from financing cultural periodicals, theatres, publishing houses and literary prizes and at the same time imposed an ever more stifling state-controlled censorship. The big events of modern Arabic literature, such as the Mirbad Festival of Arabic poetry in Iraq, mutated into a string of events that only served the narrow political aims of the ruling political elites, in the Iraqi case the glorification of Saddam Hussein and his Baath Party. Much of Arabic literature emigrated more and more to places outside the Arab world—a process that is still ongoing. Writers, journals, bookshops and publishing houses were established in Paris and London, Cologne and Nicosia.

But, of course, censorship is not the only reason for the relative lack of religious issues in the postmodern Arabic novel. Modernity questions religion, criticizes it or, what may seem even more sinister for the religious-minded, often completely ignores it. In many ways, in Arab countries literary life tends to become a privilege of the secularized. In most Arab countries the production of religious, (i.e., Islamic) religious, books—and I do not mean here *al-adab al-islāmī*—exceeds that of literary and scientific works. Is it possible that the development of modern Arabic literature from realism to the *nouveau roman* and beyond to postmodernism merely increases the elitism of the modern Arabic novel? I will risk the short cut of calling all post-Mahfouzian prose writing, by which I mean reaching beyond realism and allegory, "postmodern." The truth is, of course, that post-Mahfouzian writing started with the later work of Naguib Mahfouz himself. Edward Said called the literary work of Ilyas Khouri "an inevitable and yet profoundly respectful farewell" to Mahfouz.[23] In postmodern novels, there is very little religion. In this field, therefore, Pierre Cachia's earlier quoted diagnosis of the "faintness of Islamic inspiration" is still valid.

The new Arabic novel replaces realism with subjectivism, constructivism, non-linearity, and absurdity. The omniscient narrator fades away. The crisis of the postmodern Arabic novel is often also the crisis of private and collective

22 Sabry Hafez, "The Quest for Freedom in Arabic Theatre," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 26 (1995): 13, note 7.

23 Andreas Pflitsch, "Konstruierte Wirklichkeiten. Die zeitgenössische arabische Literatur, der Radikale Konstruktivismus und die Erzählungen aus 1001 Nacht," in *Understanding Near Eastern Literatures: A Spectrum of Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. Verena Klemm and Beatrice Gründler (Wiesbaden: Reichert 2000), 60, note 8.

memory. In the new Arabic novel, the author loses his or her grip on the narrative, never to attain it again, just as God seems once and for all to have lost his grip on the world. There is doubt about the reality of the author: there are no facts but only different voices, the narrative moves in circles not in a linear sequence. Objectivity and truth become woefully or perhaps mercifully unattainable. The world is fragmented, the human voice is fragmented; certainty is replaced by doubt, cohesiveness by centrifugality, coherence by contradiction. In this type of literature, in which Arabic literature shares an uneasy modernity with world literature, the idea of divine revelation and divine order has no place. All religion including Islam is deafeningly absent. All bridges to a possible cosmic order have been burnt. Metaphysical certainty is illusion. Perhaps the postmodern Arabic novel is on its way to finally de-sacralizing the Arabic language—in the works of Rashīd al-Ḍaʿīf (b. 1945), for example.[24] In some of Jamāl al-Ghīṭānī's novels, the reader may still sense a secret nostalgic longing for old-fashioned virtues and symbols, religious practices and convictions. This nostalgia, however, is essentially ambiguous.

It is impossible to predict where this development of modern Arabic literature will lead. During much of the last century, there seemed to be one common idea among Arab literary critics: the time-honoured saying 'poetry is the Arab memory' (*al-shiʿr dīwān al-ʿarab*) was no longer valid in the twentieth century. The great literary critic Iḥsān ʿAbbās (d. 2003) said with authority, and he probably spoke for most of his colleagues: "Our century is without doubt the century of the novel."[25] The Arabic novel of the twentieth century was by and large secular and mostly indifferent to religious and Islamic issues. Will the twenty-first century change that?

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24 Angelika Neuwirth, "Auf der Suche nach dem Tor zur Hölle, Rashid al-Da'if und die kulturellen Tabus seiner Gesellschaft," in *Arabische Literatur, postmodern*, ed. Angelika Neuwirth, Andreas Pflitsch and Barbara Winkler (Munich: Richard Boorberg, 2004), 77–93.

25 Reuven Snir, *Palestinian Theatre* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2005), 178, note 42.

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CHAPTER 24

Abraham and the Sacrificial Son: Transtextual Strategies in José Saramago's *The Gospel According to Jesus Christ* and Elias Khoury's *As Though She Were Sleeping*

*Maher Jarrar**

> The story about Abraham is remarkable in that it is always glorious no matter how poorly it is understood, but here again it is a matter of whether or not we are willing to work and be burdened.
>
> SØREN KIERKEGAARD, *Fear and Trembling*

1 Abraham as a Cultural Sign

1.1 *The* Akedah

The biblical patriarch Abraham is an obscure figure.[1] Similar to other narratives in the Bible, the story venerating him is not a coherent one, but rather a series of brief, freely connected, and often contradictory parts. The sacrificial universe of the Hebrew Bible has had an astonishing influence on the self-understanding of the other two monotheistic religions that carry his legacy: both Christianity and Islam also endorse Abraham with undisputed acclaim.

* I wish to thank Professor Djelal Kader (Pennsylvania State University) for his astute criticism. I am also indebted to Stuart Reigeluth (*Toledo International Center for Peace*) for his editorial skills and his dedicated attention. I should also like to express my gratitude for Professor Assaad Khairallah (American University of Beirut) for his generous comments.

1 See: *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 1:70–76; Hans Küng, *Judaism Between Yesterday and Tomorrow*, trans. John Bowden (New York: Continuum, 1992), 6–10; Larry Powell and William R. Self, *Holy Murder: Abraham, Isaac, and the Rhetoric of Sacrifice* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2007), 31–40.

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Besides the covenant between God and Abraham in the Bible (Genesis, 17:1–7),[2] Genesis 22:1–19 depicting "the binding of Isaac"—also known as the *akedah*—is regarded as a founding narrative, a fundamental cornerstone of pure faith, total submission and unconditional trust in God.[3] The most striking aspect of the *akedah* lies in his being asked to sacrifice his son, here, the opaque imagery of the narrative and the dramatic power and incisiveness of the *akedah* episode overwhelm the reader who is invited to re-evaluate not only the narrative's thrust, but also the very notion of the coherent individual upon whom meaning rests.

Much has been written about this biblical narrative and how the image of the biblical patriarch Abraham underwent various transformations and was shaped in great variety through its theological development down to the present day. The underlying pathos of the "legend"[4] widens the generic focus from the specific domains of religious tradition to the ontological and existential dimensions of faith. The reception of the *akedah* captures this expansive idea of faith and its shifting shapes across different times and diverse cultures. This broader view of faith provided for numerous analyses in philosophy, theology, and literature. As a manifest symbol of expanding implications, Abraham is also a valuable trove for students of literature and cultural history.[5]

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2 See: Küng, *Judaism*, 6–7, 62–65. Muslim tradition perceives Qur'ān 7:172–173 as a unique primordial covenant between God and man, see: Wadād al-Qāḍī, *The Primordial Covenant and Human History in the Qur'ān* (Beirut: American University of Beirut—The Margaret Weyerhaeuser Jewett Chair of Arabic, 2006). As her student, I have always been enriched by Professor Kadi's erudite work, as well as by her genuine and noble-hearted spirit.

3 On the *akedah*, see: Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. 1, trans. Henrietta Szold (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1913), 274–285; Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1922), 236–242; Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, trans. John H. Marks (London: SCM Press LTD, 1963), 232–240; Carol Delaney, *Abraham on Trial: The Social Legacy of Biblical Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 112–130; Robert Hayward, "The Aqedah-Appendix," in *Sacrifice*, ed. M.F.C. Bourdillon and Meyer Fortes (London and New York: The Academic Press, 1980), 84–87; and Powell and Self, *Holy Murder*, 51–53.

4 For the term "biblical legends," see: Hermann Gunkel, *The Legends of Genesis: The Biblical Saga and History* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), 1–12.

5 Delaney's *Abraham on Trial* is a brilliant example. Also see: Najat Rahman, "The Trial of Heritage and the Legacy of Abraham," in *Islamic Masculinities*, ed. L. Ouzgane (London and New York: Zed Books, 2006), 72–85.

1.2 *Abraham, the 'Knight of Faith'*

The immediacy of Abraham as a sign of communication prompted Kierkegaard to reflect on the nature of the trial of faith.[6] Kierkegaard perceives faith as the highest passion in a person[7] and as a secondary or later immediacy, the first immediacy being the aesthetic (p. 85). Faith is not the spontaneous inclination of the heart, but rather the paradox of existence (p. 47). In this sense faith is a later immediacy because it is a newly-developed interiority—a movement towards a resolute transformation of the self and a subjective inwardness. As expressed in the dreadful ordeal in which Abraham was tried, the paradox of faith lies precisely in the tension between the ethical and the aesthetic. Kierkegaard argues that the absolute duty to God entails a teleological suspension of the ethical: faith embodies the paradox that the individual is higher than the universal and thus places oneself in an absolute relation to the absolute (pp. 55 and 62).

During his three-day journey to Mount Moriah, Abraham undertakes a double movement: "he makes the infinite movement of resignation and gives up Isaac, which no one understands because it is a private venture; but next at every moment, he makes the movement of faith (the leap) by virtue of the absurd" (pp. 99 and 115).[8] "Consequently, Abraham can be saved only by the absurd, by virtue of the fact that for God all things are possible, and this he grasps by faith for this is the courage of faith" (pp. 46, 47, and 49). Another aspect of the tension between the ethical and the aesthetic lies in the border territory (p. 83) between the ethical duty of the tragic hero (such as Agamemnon, Jephthah, and others) to nobly conceal agony and to disclose courage when heroically sacrificing offspring, as opposed to the aesthetic silence that distinguishes Abraham.[9]

Kierkegaard claims: "Ethics demands an infinite movement, it demands disclosure" (pp. 112–113) but "Abraham's situation is different. By his act he

6 On Kierkegaard's concept of images as a means of communication, see: Theodor W. Adorno, *Kierkegaard. Konstruktion des Ästhetischen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1979), 190–193, and 137 on Adorno's approach to Abraham 'als Subjekt dialektischen Lyrik.'

7 Søren Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling* and *Repetition*, ed. and trans. Howard V. Hong and Edna H. Hong (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 122. The subsequent numbers in brackets in the text above refer to this book.

8 On the Kierkegaardian notion of 'leap,' see: Adorno, *Kierkegaard*, 138–139; M. Jamie Ferreira, "Faith and the Kierkegaardian Leap," in *The Cambridge Companion to Kierkegaard*, ed. Alastair Hannay and Gordon D. Marino (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 207–234.

9 See also: Adorno, *Kierkegaard*, 154.

transgressed the ethical altogether and had a higher *telos* outside it, in relation to which he suspended it" (p. 59). "Abraham remains silent—but he cannot speak. Therein lies the distress and anxiety … Abraham can describe his love for Isaac in the most beautiful words to be found in any language. But this is not what is on his mind; it is something deeper, that he is going to sacrifice him because it is an ordeal" (p. 113).

In spite of the poetic and aesthetic nature of Kierkegaard's endeavor, Johannes de Silentio, the narrator of *Fear and Trembling*, asserts that not only can he not understand Abraham, and moreover that "no poet can find his way to Abraham" (pp. 112 and 118). The oscillation between the ethical and the aesthetic portrayed through the tension created by the highly figurative language and poetic Kierkegaardian project, paved the way for new philosophical, theological, and literary ventures that attempt to come to terms with the fundamental questions propounded by the image of Abraham.

2 Transtextual Relations

Northrop Frye argues that, "the Bible is clearly a major element in our imaginative tradition, whatever we may think we believe about it."[10] The *akedah* inspired many writers over the centuries with diverse insights, and continues to speak today in world literature where its symbols and images are deployed in intertextual relations.[11]

This paper explores the dramatic tension introduced by the portrayal of Abraham's image in two contemporary novels: José Saramago's *The Gospel According to Jesus Christ* (1991) and Elias Khoury's *As Though She Were Sleeping* (Arabic 2007). Both novelists are secular intellectuals: Saramago is an atheist and has been a member of the Portuguese communist party since 1969; Khoury is an independent leftist activist. Both parodies approach the *akedah* from a Christian perspective (self-understanding) which sees in it a prophecy of the coming of Christ who will fulfill the promises of the Hebrew Bible and a foreshadowing of the cross.[12] Why the choice of these two novels?

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10 Northrop Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983), xviii; "our," in this quotation refers to the 'Western canon'.

11 See for example: Harold Fisch, *A Remembered Future: A Study in Literary Mythology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 81–101.

12 See: *New Testament*, "Epistle to the Hebrews," 11, 17–19; Hans-Joachim Schoeps, "The Sacrifice of Isaac in Paul's Theology," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 65.4 (1946): 385–392; Jaroslav Pelikan, *Jesus through the Centuries: His Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven and

Since 1998, I have followed closely the image of Christ in the contemporary Arabic novel, which has motivated me to research further the topic in other literatures. I expanded on this topic in a study that appeared in 2006:

> Jesus is omnipresent in Khoury's novels. The author struggles with him and seeks his inspiration at the same time. He is not Jesus of the clergy, Jesus whose secret, claims the Grand Inquisitor in *The Brothers Karamazov*, has become a property of his and of the Church's reference. Khoury's Jesus is Jesus of the word that came to liberate, Jesus who carried his cross and walked the path of the passions on behalf of the poor and the oppressed. He is the "Eastern" Jesus who could be perceived through Casalis' concept of 'the Christology of revolutionary act'.[13]

In that study, I exposed three Christ images in Khoury's work, representing three different stages: the first is "iconoclasm" in *Little Mountain* (1977), the second "the stranger" in *The Kingdom of Strangers* (1993), and the third "the schizo" in *Yalo* (2002). While reading Khoury's latest novel, *As Though She Were Sleeping*, a transtexual surface sets Khoury's novel in relation to Saramago's *Gospel*, thus opening a unique space for cultural interaction. The following analysis delineates the main features of each novel in order to shift the focus to the transtextual surface in the texts where Abraham is evoked as an icon.

2.1 *Saramago's* The Gospel According to Jesus Christ

José Saramago was born in Azinhaga, Portugal, in 1922. His seventh novel, *The Gospel*, represented a boost in his literary career, away from themes of Portuguese history that characterized his previous novels.[14] With *The Gospel*,

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London: Yale University Press, 1985), 43–45; Delaney, *Abraham on Trial*, 138–149; Powell and Self, *Holy Murder*, 55–59; Stephen W. Sykes, "Sacrifice in the New Testament and Christian Theology," in *Sacrifice*, ed. M.F.C. Bourdillon and Meyer Fortes (London and New York: The Academic Press, 1980), 77–83.

13 Maher Jarrar, "The Arabic Novel Carries Its Cross and Asks the Son of Man: Iconography of Jesus in Some Modern Arabic Novels," in *Poetry's Voice—Society's Norms: Forms of Interaction between Writers and their Societies*, ed. Andreas Pflitsch and Barbara Winckler (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2006), 85. For Casalis' quotation see: George Casalis, *Fall from the Skies: Elements for an Inductive Theology* (New York: Orbis Books, 1984), 112.

14 On Saramago's career, see: *Encyclopedia of World Literature*, ed. Steven Serafin (Detroit: St. James Press, 1999), 4:32–33; Richard A. Preto-Rodas "José Saramago: Art for Reason's Sake," *World Literature Today* 73.1 (1999): 11–18; Kuschel, *Jesus im Spiegel der Weltliteratur* (Düs-

Saramago situates himself in a long tradition of a literary Jesus' quest that saw his message as ethical and spiritual and realized in him a token of human dignity, freedom, and love.[15] Many themes in *The Gospel* emanate from the panoply of modern, critical, liberal research on the life of the historical Jesus (by E. Renan and A. Schweitzer, for instance). Moreover, the way had already been paved for Saramago's fresh literary re-examination of a demythologized Jesus through Nikos Kazantzakis' *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1952), an iconoclastic novel that tries to make sense of divine and human becoming. Some years earlier Robert Graves published *King Jesus* (1946), a historical novel in which Jesus, the son of Antipater, appears as the legal heir to King David's throne.[16]

Harold Bloom regards Saramago's *Gospel* as "[A]n awesome work, imaginatively superior to any other life of Jesus, including the four canonical Gospels."[17] Upon its publication, Saramago's *Gospel* unleashed a heated controversy among conservative circles and the authorities of the Catholic Church in Portugal, and the Vatican as well. This polemic provoked a response from Saramago accusing these authorities of 'a return to the inquisition'.[18]

As its title reveals, the novel declares itself to be a new Gospel written according to Jesus Christ. Following Gérard Genette, the title implies a contractual index that at the very least alerts the reader to its relationship with the sacred text.[19] The narrator is not Jesus himself, but an omniscient, witty and ironic

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seldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1999), 370–372; Andreas Schor, *José Saramago. Schreiben gegen Mythen* (Frankfurt am Main und Bern: Peter Lang, 1997), 13–19.

15 For a study of the theological, liberal image of the historical Jesus and his place in the history of cultures, see: Pelikan, *Jesus Through the Centuries*; for a survey of the image of Jesus in world literature, see: Kuschel, *Jesus im Spiegel der Weltliteratur*.

16 Helena Kaufman, "Evangelical Truths: José Saramago on the Life of Christ," *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 47.2 (1994): 452, referring to Theodore Ziolkowski, *Fictional Transfigurations of Jesus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), to which I do not have access. Kaufman classifies Saramago's *Gospel* as "fictionalized biography that should be placed with the works of Kazantzakis and Graves." On Graves (1895–1985), see: J.M. Cohen, *Robert Graves* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1960).

17 Harold Bloom, ed., *José Saramago* (Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 2005), 63.

18 See: Preto-Rodas, "José Saramago: Art for Reason's Sake," 13, 15; Schor, *José Saramago. Schreiben gegen Mythen*, 212–213; David C. Frier, *The Novels of José Saramago: Echoes from the Past, Pathways into the Future* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), 9–10.

19 Genette suggests that, "like all generic categories, hypertextuality is most often revealed by means of a paratextual sign that has a contractual force." For consideration of titles as such signs, see: Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 8–9, 246, 306–307.

observer, who claims his authority as a confident 'Evangelist,' albeit a non-conformist one.[20] The story line follows the main events in the life of Jesus as portrayed by the four canonical Evangelists, while simultaneously undertaking some major deviations based on the many gaps and contradictions that permeate the text. The narrator draws some of his material from the New Testament apocrypha, but mainly proceeds through subtle subversions of the traditional perspective and permanent recurrence to fiction and irony.

The Gospel can be observed as a parodic hypertext of ironic nature which rewrites and transforms the earlier (canonic) hypotext(s), drawing upon their authority. This nomenclature facilitates the classification of the text and its critical apparatus, rather than restricts it to imposed, preset boundaries, and furnishes us with a useful technical tool that provides a smooth comparison with Khoury's novel. This theoretical framework and terminology refers to Genette's exhaustive study, *Palimpsests, Literature in the Second Degree* (1997), which more than once warns against viewing these classifications as, "[s]eparate and absolute categories without any reciprocal contact or overlapping." He also asserts that it does not "exclude the possibility of mixed practices." For, "it is a matter not of a classification of transpositional practices, in which each individual, as in the taxonomies of the natural sciences, is necessarily inscribed within one group and one group only, but rather of an inventory of their basic procedures, which each work combines in its own way."[21]

In my attempt to classify *The Gospel* in line with Genette's schemata, I would argue that it could be compared to Miguel de Unamuno's *The Life of Don Quixote* (1905), which Genette perceived as "a purely semantic transformation, [...] rewriting his *Don Quixote* while constantly eyeing Cervantes' text, which could but stifle his own narrative impulse."[22] An essential aspect of this work "[i]s that the transformational intent has been brought to bear not on the events but on their significance [...] Unamuno brings his own interpretation to them in that he claims to have laid bare their true motives or their true meaning."[23]

Saramago is thus *rewriting* the Holy Gospel, preserving the spatiotemporal world designated by the narrative. Accordingly, Saramago's hypertext can be

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20 One is enticed to identify him with the man with the staff who gave the crucified vinegar to quench his thirst. He appears on the copper engraving on the first page of the novel. He "walks away, does not wait for the end ..." (*The Gospel According to Jesus Christ*, trans. Giovanni Pontiero [London: The Harvill Press, 1999], 6).

21 Genette, *Palimpsests*, 7, 30, 213.

22 Genette, *Palimpsests*, 317, 318.

23 Genette, *Palimpsests*, 318–319.

perceived as a *homodiegetic* transposition, where "an almost infallible sign of *diegetic* faithfulness is the preservation of the characters' names, which is a sign of their *identity*—i.e., of their inscription within a *diegetic* world."[24] Saramago's peculiar narrative technique, informs the narrator's voice with its ironic edge. David Frier describes Saramago's writing style as follows:

> [b]ased on an avowedly oral technique, that makes use of his eccentric manner of sentence formation in order to seamlessly blend in with the basic plot endless instances of narrational commentary on the events recounted (sometimes humorous in tone), anachronistic comments, narrative perspectives which shift between internal focalization on individual characters and sometimes rambling commentary on events which take place both within the fiction and in other contexts, theoretical alternative plot developments, and frequent reference to the important distinction in discourse between signifier and signified.[25]

Such mediated narrative techniques are common to secondary speech genres (novels and dramas among others). Mikhail Bakhtin observes that in these genres, "quite frequently within the boundaries of his own utterance the speaker (or writer) raises questions, answers them himself, raises objections to his own ideas, [and] responds to his own objections."[26]

It is enlightening in this context to draw upon Linda Hutcheon's revision of Genette's definition of parody, arguing for a dual theoretical perspective, both formal and pragmatic:[27]

> [I]n its ironic 'trans-contextualization' and inversion, is repetition with difference. A critical distance is implied between the background text being parodied and the new incorporating work, a distance usually sig-

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24 Genette, *Palimpsests*, 297; *diegesis* refers to the narrated world in which the situations and events occur, see: ibid., 294–303; Gerald Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 20–21.

25 Frier, *The Novels*, 3. Kaufman notices that the narrator "injects orality and folkloric wisdom into the written text" ("Evangelical Truths," 452). See also on Saramago's style in general: Preto-Rodas, "José Saramago: Art for Reason's Sake," 13; Pontiero, in *José Saramago*, ed. H. Bloom, 41–43; Schor, *José Saramago. Schreiben gegen Mythen*, 42, 50–57.

26 Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, trans. Vern W. McGee, ed. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), 72.

27 Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms* (New York and London: Routledge, 1991), 18–22.

> naled by irony. But this irony can be playful as well as belittling; it can be critically constructive as well as destructive.[28]

In this sense, "irony is subversive and oppositional; it has the potential to offer a challenge to the hierarchy of the very 'sites of discourse.'"[29] Hutcheon maintains that parody is both the object and the subject of its hypotext because both the authority and transgression implied by parody's textual opacity must be taken into account. "The entire act of *énonciation* is involved in the activation of parody." It is overtly hybrid and double-voiced.[30]

Masked behind *The Gospel*'s overtly inter-discursive parody many facets of the pre-modern *parodia sacra* are at work.[31] In this sense, *The Gospel* could be compared to the *Chronicles of Gargantua* perceived by Rabelais as a sacred text and which readers addressed as 'true believers.'[32] However, *The Gospel* is not to be related directly to the genre of *parodia sacra* for two reasons according to Bakhtin:

> 1) These were popular parodic travesties that belong to festive laughter of the carnivalesque given license in accordance with the respect granted for the freedom of the fool's cap (from the point of view of official ideology), and these feasts were ecclesiastic, feudal, or sponsored by the state. They sanctioned the existing pattern of things and reinforced it.[33]

> 2) Two poles existed for the *parodia sacra* that border the whole spectrum of this genre, "beginning at one pole with the pious and inert quotation that is isolated and set off like an icon, and ending at the other pole with the most ambiguous, disrespectful use of a quotation." Even in the case of

28 Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody*, 32. Elsewhere, Hutcheon maintains that, "the collective weight of parodic *practice* suggests a redefinition of parody as repetition with critical distance that allows ironic signaling of difference at the very heart of similarity" (idem, *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction* [New York and London: Routledge, 1998], 26).

29 Hutcheon, *Irony's Edge: The Theory and Politics of Irony* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 29–30.

30 Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody*, 69.

31 On *parodia sacra*, see: Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, ed. Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 68–75; idem, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 76–80, 84–88, 186–189, 229–232.

32 Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 159–163.

33 Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 9.

> parodic playing with a sacred word, argues Bakhtin, "it is often difficult to determine the degree of license permitted in that play."[34]

Saramago's *Gospel*, relinquishes the nature of the *parodia sacra* in order to construct a poetic refutation of the very notion of Christian salvation and of a transcendental, all-powerful God. In *The Gospel*, Jesus is the eldest of eight children[35] by Mary and the pious and law abiding Joseph the carpenter, who claims lineage from David's house. The pair lives in Nazareth, where Mary's parents—Joachim and Anne—live. Joseph "had neither the skill nor the talent for jobs which required fine workmanship."[36] When Mary conceived of Jesus at the age of sixteen, an angel appeared at her door disguised as a beggar and talked to her about the child in her womb, ate her food and returned the bowl filled with luminous earth (pp. 16–18). Upon Caesar Augustus' decree to carry out a census, Joseph and Mary set out for Bethlehem where Jesus was born in a cave at the hands of the maid Salome. The crucial turning point in Joseph's life occurred with the 'massacre of the innocents.'

While working as a carpenter on the site of the Temple in Jerusalem, Joseph overhears a conversation between two Roman soldiers about an order given to kill on that same day all the children under the age of three who were to be found in Bethlehem. Joseph turns pale and becomes delirious. He races to the village "down that slope like a madman, a Via Dolorosa if ever there was one,"[37] and rescues his new born and dashes away with it and with Mary, while the first shrill screams of sorrow resound in the valleys around Bethlehem. Since that moment, a horrible sense of guilt overwhelms Joseph along with dreadful nightmares that torment him for the rest of his life.

Joseph dies crucified at the age of thirty-three (p. 120) because he was mistakenly accused of being one of the Jewish Zealots who participated in the *intifada*, according to Saramago's terminology (p. 101). At the age of twelve Jesus accompanied his mother to the site of the crucifixion, where "Destiny in its wisdom decreed that Joseph should be buried in a grave dug by his own son, thus fulfilling the prophecy" (p. 126).

Along with his father's sandals, Jesus inherits his fears, nightmares, and the incessant and crushing sense of guilt. Trying to explain the source of his nightmares, Mary tells Jesus about the 'massacre of the innocents,' whereupon

34 Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 69–70.

35 For their names, see: *The Gospel*, 93.

36 *The Gospel*, 13.

37 *The Gospel*, 84.

he accuses her of being guilty as well (p. 137). Two days later he leaves home and wanders through the hills of Galilee. During his wanderings he meets Pastor, the shepherd who turns out to be the Devil, and spends four years as his apprentice in the wilderness. At eighteen, after having left Pastor for less than a year, as his body begins to send off serious signals from between his legs, Jesus meets Mary the prostitute from Magdala. She cleanses the oozing troublesome sore on his foot, cares for him and caresses him. They make love for a whole week after which Jesus admits to her, "What you're teaching me is no prison, but freedom" (p. 213). On the Sea of Gennesaret (Lake Tiberius), Jesus meets both God and the Devil on his boat. God confesses to Jesus that he is His son and that He will sacrifice him as victim and martyr, in order "To spread My word, to help Me become the god of more people [...] I have every confidence that within the next centuries or so, despite all the struggles and obstacles ahead of us, I shall pass from being God of the Jews to being God of those whom we shall call Catholics as in Greek" (p. 282).

Critics admired *The Gospel*—among other things—for the questions it raises about power and governance. David Frier reads in it "resistance to a stultifying self-proclaimed authority of the church,"[38] whereas Harold Bloom, who argues that Saramago's novels "prophetically consign Portugal, the Catholic Church and the monarchy to the hell of history,"[39] perceives that in *The Gospel* "power is God's only interest, and the sacrifice of Jesus employs the prospect of forgiveness of our sins only as an advertisement. God makes clear that all of us are guilty, and that he prefers to keep it that way;"[40] his Jesus "has been shanghaied by God, for God's own purposes of power." Accordingly, "extending God's domain also extends the devil's."[41]

Mary of Magdala has equally drawn the attention of critics. Frier notices that Saramago challenges established hierarchies and centers Jesus' earthly life around the figure of the prostitute Mary Magdalene with whom he achieves his greatest sense of personal fulfillment.[42] Bloom for his part admires the "sexual love affair between Jesus Christ and Mary Magdalene, which is the most poignant and persuasive of all Saramago's High Romantic couplings."[43]

38 Frier, *The Novels*, 112.

39 Bloom, *José Saramago*, xii.

40 Bloom, *José Saramago*, 65.

41 Bloom, *José Saramago*, 68.

42 Frier, *The Novels*, 114.

43 Bloom, *José Saramago*, xv and 73.

2.2 *Elias Khoury's* As Though She Were Sleeping

Elias Khoury was born in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1948. He is a leading novelist, literary critic and cultural journalist in the Arab world and has been politically committed and active since university, a genuine representation of Edward Said's public writer *cum* intellectual.[44]

According to Genette's arrangement, an attempt to classify Khoury's novel could describe it as a parodic hypertext of a pragmatic *diegetic transpositional* nature.[45] Khoury offers an intertextual parodic allusion to the narration of the New Testament and to popular apocryphal material as well as to socio-religious habits and popular devotion of the Greek Orthodox community. The nature of this endeavor requires a spatial transformation (historical-geographical setting) and a serious *heterodiegetic* transposition, where the narrator is not a character in the situations and the events.[46] His parodic mode can be compared to that of Joyce's *Ulysses*. According to Genette's taxonomy, "[i]n the field of *diegetic* transposition [*Ulysses*] constitutes an extreme case of emancipation from the hypotext."[47]

Let us turn first to paratextual pointers that depict Khoury's 'unofficial contract', alerting the readers to his hypotext(s). The title itself, *As Though She Were Sleeping*, is an allusion to the biblical Jaïrus' daughter: "They were all weeping and mourning for her, but Jesus, said 'Stop crying; she is not dead but asleep" (Luke, 8:53).[48] Khoury quotes this biblical verse as an epigraph to his book.[49] Khoury's novel is divided into three parts or 'Nights' as the chapter

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44 On Khoury, see: Jarrar, "The Arabic Novel Carries Its Cross and Asks the Son of Man," 85; Sabah Ghandour, "Ilyās Khūrī," in *The Encyclopedia of the Novel*, ed. Paul Schellinger (Chicago and London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1998), 1:669–670; Robert B. Campbell, *Aʿlām al-adab al-ʿarabī al-muʿāṣir: siyar wa-siyar dhātiyya* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996), 1:580–581; Sonja Mejcher, *Geschichten über Geschichten. Erinnerung in Romanwelt von Ilyās Ḫūrī* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2001), 17–21; Rafif Riḍā-Ṣīdāwī, *al-Naẓra al-riwāʾiyya ilā l-ḥarb al-Lubnāniyya, 1975–1995* (Beirut: Dār al-Fārābī, 2003), index, 414; Muḥammad al-Bāridī, *Siḥr al-ḥikāya: al-marwī wa-l-marwī lah fī aʿmāl Ilyās Khūrī* (Tunis: Markaz al-Riwāya al-ʿArabiyya, 2004); and see on Khoury's style, Stefan G. Meyer, *The Experimental Arabic Novel: Postcolonial Literary Modernism in the Levant* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001), index, 315.

45 See: Genette, *Palimpsests*, 317.

46 Although his name appears in the events recounted, he is not part of the *diegesis*; see: Prince, *Dictionary*, 40.

47 Genette, *Palimpsests*, 309. For other forms of adaptation of biblical materials in literature, see: ibid., 264–271, and 330–331.

48 *The Jerusalem Bible* (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 85.

49 On epigraphs in literary works, see: Genette, *Paratexts*, 144–160.

headings indicate (First Night; Second Night; Third Night), alluding by that to the three Passion days. His preference for 'nights' rather than 'days' seems to be an advance mention[50] drawing attention to the dream-like nature of the narration and, moreover, it entices the reader to enter the web-like design of the storyteller, weaving his narrative strategies like Scheherazade in the silence of the night.

Bearing in mind that to outline a dream-work elaborated with such superior subtlety as Khoury's I will be sacrificing numerous meaningful details, it suffices to note that the novel's *fabula* covers the duration of some twenty-five years spanning from 1923 to 1948 with flashbacks to the civil war of 1860 in Mount Lebanon[51] in addition to prolepses reaching the last decade of the twentieth century. The narrator takes a *heterodiegetic* position, at times assuming the role of an omniscient narrator who knows everything about the characters, especially Meelya the main protagonist, and at other instances he acts as a historian. But he subtly hints to his presence within the *diegesis* and reveals himself towards the end as being Iskandar, Meelya's nephew who became a journalist.[52]

Meelya is the only girl of four children of a middle class Greek-Orthodox, Beiruti family, Mousa being the youngest (by four years) and with whom she has a close relation. Meelya is trapped in the realm of dreams, on the *via regia*, or the "royal road" to the unconscious, as Freud labels dreams.[53] Most of Meelya's dreams are of a lucid nature, which is a "high degree of 'self-reflectiveness' within the dream state; the subject is accordingly aware that she is dreaming and her active imagination is at work."[54]

Born on July 2, 1923, Meelya gets married at the age of twenty-three (on January 12, 1946) to a middle-class textile merchant. Even though Mansour, a Palestinian from Jaffa, is fourteen years older than her, she feels an affinity toward him because he resembles her younger brother. Upon arriving in

50 See: Prince, *Dictionary*, 3–4.

51 For the 1860 events, see: Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

52 *As Though She Were Sleeping*, 341–344.

53 Quoted in Michael R. Katz, *Dreams and the Unconscious in Nineteenth-Century Russian Fiction* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1984), 11.

54 On 'lucid dreaming,' see: Anthony Shafton, *Dream Reader: Contemporary Approaches to the Understanding of Dreams* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 43–485. The idea of 'self-reflectiveness' (p. 433) is from Sheila Purcell, and that of 'active imagination' (p. 489) from R. Johnson building on C.G. Jung.

Nazareth where Mansour lives, one mysterious night the pregnant Meelya possessed by her reverie, meets Tanyous, the fool monk of Nazareth, who is of Lebanese origin.[55] Under his aura she becomes passionately preoccupied with the religious symbolism of the city and develops a fervent affinity towards Mary and her son Jesus. The troubled situation in Palestine and the terrorist attacks of the Zionist military organizations on the Arab population, as well as the death of Mansour's older brother, Amin, in an accident while preparing weapons for the partisans in his workshop in Jaffa, arouses an obsessive fear in her concerning the safety of the boy she is carrying inside her. Since then, Mansour yields to his mother's dominion and Meelya gives way to her baffling dreams, the pains of pregnancy, and to the stories told to her by Tanyous during their wanderings through the sacred spaces of Nazareth. Meelya dies while delivering her child, taken away by a vision-dream, while both Tanyous and Sister Milaneh stand at her bedside: In her vision-dream she envisages Jesus being crucified during the final fall of Jaffa—that was to occur some months after her death in May 1948—the subsequent flight of Mansour, his brother's widow, and her newborn boy while fleeing on a Greek ship from Jaffa (pp. 331–341).

Meelya's whole life is overwhelmed by a series of dreams that turn Khoury's novel into a long circular reverie (the narrative is framed by two dreams: it opens with Meelya pressing her eyes closed in order to continue her dreaming state and ends with the dream of the little white lamb crawling on her chest). It is not the position or concern of this paper to dwell on the subject of dreams and the unconscious from a scientific partake, neither does the premise of this inquiry allow a thorough study of Khoury's novel: literary devices, techniques, narration, sequence, and themes. Advancing from a more culturalist perspective,[56] I will focus on Khoury's exploration of literary dreams that have a semiotic function.

Scott Noegel states that dreams in Mesopotamian cultures and in the Hebrew Bible, whether 'message dreams' (in which a deity appears) or 'symbolic dreams' (in which the dreamer witnesses enigmatic visual images), were literary portrayals of dreams as opposed to those preserved in omen, legal, or ritual texts. He argues that, "symbolic dreams are more widely attested in Mesopotamia than message dreams and appear more often in epic literature

55 Tanyous reminds us of Jurji the monk, another character of Khoury's from *The Kingdom of Strangers* (1993), a Lebanese monk who lived in Palestine and is said to have led a group who fought against the Zionist military organizations in Galilee (*The Kingdom of Strangers*, trans. Paula Haydar [Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1996], 22, 50–61).

56 A school of dream interpretation that stresses personality as a product of culture, see: Shafton, *Dream Reader*, 159–213.

than in historical texts." However, "Unlike Mesopotamia, the Hebrew Bible preserves no omen or ritual texts; all of its dream accounts occur in literature."[57]

The links between dreams and literature are numerous. Bert States notices that, "[d]reaming and art-making appear to share a 'technique' of purification of waking experience." What seems to obviously link dreams and fictions is "that both are processes for connecting previously unconnected aspects of experience in story form."[58] Further he argues that dreams and fictions alike "are made out of universal concerns and situations," which makes them reliant on "scripts and subscripts" in their formation.[59]

The allure of dreams as a literary device occupied writers in different cultures and epochs. European novelists of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were specifically drawn by the rising interest of the French Encyclopédistes and physicians in the phenomena of sleep and dreaming. This interest expressed itself in the nineteenth century in experimental literary attempts, especially with the advent of the Romantic Movement, which stressed the crucial role of feelings, the subjective and spontaneous, and which developed awareness for the origins of knowledge and language.[60]

In his study on dreams in nineteenth-century Russian literature, Michael Katz enumerates, among possible sources for literary dreams, religious texts as well as secular narratives that entered Russia by way of Byzantium during the Middle Ages.[61] He states:

> As Classicism was on the wane, Russian writers started to discover, then imitate, and finally create new forms and new styles. The technique of the literary dream underwent an extraordinary transformation. No longer was it used to establish 'naïve allegory'; instead, it began to assume its own narrative, psychological, and thematic significance.[62]

Katz notices that von Schubert, whose book *The Symbolism of Dreams* (1814) might have been one of the sources for Russian writers, argues that, "man's con-

57 Noegel, "Dreams and Dream Interpreters," 54.

58 Bert O. States, *Seeing in the Dark: Reflections on Dreams and Dreaming* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 6, 190.

59 Ibid., 229.

60 Mario Praz, *The Romantic Agony*, trans. Angus Davidson (Cleveland and New York: Meridian Books, 1968), 1–16; Alethea Hayter, *Opium and the Romantic Imagination* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), 67–83.

61 Katz, *Dreams and the Unconscious*, 16–19.

62 Ibid., 21.

scious life may be nothing more than a dream, and that his unconscious dream may indeed constitute the 'true state of awakening,' when man is in contact with eternal nature."[63] A similar idea, attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad, has also been forwarded by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) in his *al-Munqidh*, "Men are asleep: then after they die they awake. So perhaps this present life is a sleep compared to the afterlife."[64] A Russian saying quoted by Michael Katz compares "maidens' dreams to old women's tales."[65] In relation with the title of Khoury's novel, the heroine Ganna in Gogol's story *A May Night, or the Drowned Maiden*, claims to have learned about some awful event in her dreams, she exclaims, "as if through a dream," while other times when awake she says "as if a dream."[66]

Besides his thorough knowledge and appreciation of world novelists and their techniques, Khoury scoops from a very rich tradition of literary dreams both in the Greek-Orthodox and the Arab-Islamic legacies. At the same time, inter-connected links comprising individual moments in the past and present, defined respectively by imagination or reality, and wrapped in this dream-like distorted structure created by ontological provisions, are very much in line with the narrative structure used by Mahmoud Darwish in *Memory for Forgetfulness*.[67] Both Darwish and Khoury share a reciprocal influence which appears in their artistic creation. Khoury often quotes Darwish and highly esteems his work. For instance, in *Yalo* (2002), Khoury includes a fragment of Darwish's poem *Mural*/*Jidāriyya* (2000).[68] In *As Though She Were Sleeping*, Meelya prophesizes the advent of a great Palestinian poet in fifty years.[69]

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63 Ibid., 7, 37.

64 Al-Ghazālī, Muḥammad (d. 505/1111), *Deliverance from Error: Five Key Texts Including His Spiritual Autobiography al-Munqidh min al-Dalal*, trans. R.J. McCarthy (Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae, 2006), 57. For this tradition, see: Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-ʿAjlūnī (d. 1162/1749), *Kashf al-khafāʾ wa-muzīl al-ilbās ʿammā ishtahar min al-ḥadīth ʿalā alsinat al-nās* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1988), 2:312.

65 Katz, *Dreams and the Unconscious*, 54.

66 Ibid., 70, 150.

67 On memory and dreams in *Memory for Forgetfulness*, see: Stuart Reigeluth, "Memory and Resistance: A Literary Perspective of Palestinian Existence," (MA thesis, American University of Beirut, 2005), 45–55, 162–170.

68 *Jidāriyyat al-mawt*, 92; and see: Jarrar, "The Arabic Novel Carries Its Cross and Asks the Son of Man," 91. Darwish passed away on Saturday, August 9, 2008; Khoury dedicated the weekly issue of *al-Nahār*'s literary supplement to the memory of Darwish. See his obituary in *al-Mulḥaq al-thaqāfī* 858 (Sunday, August 17, 2008), 21–23.

69 *As Though She Were Sleeping*, 248, "Ever since the Messiah walked its earth, its dust has been made of letters and words. 'In the beginning was the word and the word was with

However, Khoury's technique in building the entire structure of his novel on a continuous state of reverie remains distinctive. One should keep in mind that the very nature of his intertextual parodic allusion to the narration of the New Testament, where dreams play a major part in the narrative, required a spatial transformation (in the historical-geographical setting).[70] Accordingly, the state of reverie and day-dreaming bridges the biblical past with the contemporary, especially, since the dream-state itself is a *liminal* space, an ambivalent threshold within rites of passage temporally located within and outside ordinary time.[71] Abraham as well as Christ are such liminal figures par excellence. Giuseppe Mazzotta regards both Dante and St. Francis as liminal figures. St. Francis "[m]oves to the fringes of society, to a symbolic area where the forms of the world lose whatever fixed and stable sense convention has imposed on them." Thus, the liminal position "[a]ffords the detached vantage point from which he can speak to the world and impose his sense of order on it."[72]

In order to construct his parodic spatial transformation, Khoury weaves the main features of Jesus' story within the narrative structure and makes reference to a network of Christian themes. He also borrows copious symbols from the New Testament and from the hagiographic material on saints. It suffices to note only two examples: The replicated mention of the fig tree whose shade enveloped Meelya more than once,[73] alluding here to the famous story of Jesus' curse to the fig tree whose shade represents barrenness and death.[74] And secondly, the reworking of the legends concerning the prophet Elijah and the central role he plays in Meelya's life and dreams (bearing in mind also his fundamental presence in Christianity as a forerunner of the messianic age and the coming of the Day of the Lord).[75]

God, and the word was God.' In other words, He is the word, and poetry is the highest order of words, and one day soon, my dear, some fifty years from now, when a great poet is born in this land, you will find that the only way you can win the war is with the word, which is mightier than the sword."

70 On biblical dreams, see: Ann Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 125–143; Noegel, "Dreams and Dream Interpreters," 54–60.

71 See: Kelly Bulkeley, *Visions of the Night: Dreams, Religion, and Psychology* (New York, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 44–45.

72 Giuseppe Mazzotta, *Dante, Poet of the Desert: History and Allegory in the Divine Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 109–112.

73 *As Though She were Sleeping*, 30, 42, 59, 68, 207, 286.

74 Matthew, 21:18–19; Mark, 21:12–13.

75 *As Though She Were Sleeping*, 145, 232, 235, 256, 274, 288–292, 322–323, 386–387. On Eli-

With the self-expression born of her precarious condition on the threshold of two worlds, the wobbly world of dreams and the holy spaces of Nazareth, haunted with violence, visions, and biblical dreams, Meelya's acts of reverie and clairvoyance lead to a narrative structure that leaves the reader shaky. Moreover, the *liminal* spaces of the dreams serve to generate an overall effect of imaginative freedom, blending reality and fantasy in a style of Magical Realism with the engulfing presence of water, the act of flying, as well as other symbols and tropes.[76]

Caught in her vortex of dreams, Meelya summons to mind her classical literary forerunner, Emma Bovary. Both belong to the Quixotic paradigm with its "perpetual fusion of illusion and reality."[77] Meelya could be perceived as an antipode to Emma, since they differ substantially in many things and in particular in the manifestation of their sexuality.[78]

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jah/Elias, see: Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 4:189–235; Klaus Koch, *Die Propheten. I: Assyrische Zeit* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1978), 1:43–46. For Christian theology, see: Karl Barth, *Der Römerbrief*, 2nd ed. (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2005) [Originally published in 1922], 413–414; *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2:1212–1213; Archbishop George Khodr, *Maṭāriḥ sujūd* (Beirut: Dār al-Nahār, 2001), 2:11–13, 107–109, 119–121. Al-Khiḍr in Islamic tradition resembles Elias, the ever living Prophet; see: Patrick Franke, *Begegnung mit Khidr. Quellenstudien zum imaginären im traditionellen Islam* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000), 136–162.

76 I will not venture to analyze in this study the implications of these symbols in dream interpretation. On Magical Realism in the contemporary Arabic novel, see: Maher Jarrar, "The Arabian Nights and the Contemporary Arabic Novel," in *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context*, ed. Saree Makdisi and Felicity Nussbaum (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 305–307.

77 Levin, *The Gates of Horn* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 246–269; "Madame Bovary: The Cathedral and the Hospital," in *Gustave Flaubert: Madame Bovary: Backgrounds and Sources*, ed. Paul De Man (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1965), 408; see on the Quixotic paradigm: Eric J. Ziolkowski, *The Sanctification of Don Quixote: From Higaldo to Priest* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 1991), for Emma Bovary.

78 As Mario Vargas Llosa argues, Emma's character is distinguished by "mediocrity" and mild doses of "vulgarity" (*The Perpetual Orgy: Flaubert and Madame Bovary*, trans. Helen Lane [New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1986], 22, 24, and other pages). This study will not elaborate on this idea; however, I am undertaking a detailed comparison between Emma and Meelya in my forthcoming survey dealing with the reception of Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* in several contemporary Arabic novels.

3 Abraham, an Intertextual Surface

There exist a number of novels which function as a hypertext to the Bible. However, Abraham's icon in these two specific novels points to an intertextual surface—it is intrinsic to this study to define the term icon prior to proceeding to presenting the relevant analysis.[79]

After demarcating the diverse meanings given to the term image in literary criticism, Ziolkowsky's argues:[80]

> An 'iconic image' can function as theme, motif, or symbol depending upon the circumstances. To the extent that the image is tied to a specific figure whose story it constitutively defines, the image functions as theme. To the extent that the image supplies merely one element of a larger action or situation, it functions as motif. And to the extent that the image signifies something other than itself, it functions as symbol. Obviously, these various functions sometimes overlap.

At this point I would like to emphasize Jurij Lotman's understanding of the sign as purveying a communicative function between the work of art and the reader.[81] In this sense, and building on Carlo Sini's theory of the sign, I would perceive Abraham as an 'iconic sign' where the presentational symbolism of the icon is determined by the very nature of the interpretive act.[82] Sini defines

79 It is tempting to carry on a survey of modern Arabic novels in which Abraham's icon appears, and attempt a topological examination which traces the distribution of the theme and explores the range of the possible meanings underpinning these narratives. Najat Rahman studies how Assia Djebar and Mahmoud Darwish "revisit the Abraham story exposing nationalist demarcations of identity" (Rahman, "The Trial of Heritage and the Legacy of Abraham," 73).

80 Theodore Ziolkowski, *Disenchanted Images: A Literary Iconology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 14–15.

81 Jurij M. Lotman, *Die Struktur literarischer Texte*, trans. Rolf-Dietrich Keil (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1993), 38–46.

82 In my article "Christ's Iconographies in Some Modern Arabic Novels: The Arabic Novel Carries Its Cross and asks the Son of Man," *Poetry's Voice–Society's Norms. Forms of Interaction between Writers and their Societies*, ed. Andreas Pflitsch and Barbara Winckler (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2006), 61. I have used the term icon in Ziolkowsky's sense only. I am also relying on Ricoeur's 'iconicity in literature' (Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, trans. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer [Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984–1988], 1:80–82). On the terms icon and iconography, see: *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd edition, ed. Lindsay Jones (Farmington Hills: Gale, 2005), 7:4295–4299;

the sign as "an outcome of an inferential-interpretive act [...] It represents a triangular relationship between 'Object', 'Representamen', and 'Interpretant', where the Object is at the same time distanced and deferred by the sign. [T]he real things are for us within this sign relation and in the interpretive act that characterize them."[83]

The origin of Abraham's iconic sign goes back to the biblical narrative style. Drawing a comparison between Homer and biblical stories, Erich Auerbach maintains that

> [The] story of Abraham and Isaac is not better established than the story of Odysseus, Penelope, and Euryclea; both are legendary. But the biblical narrator, the Elohist, had to believe in the objective truth of the story of Abraham's sacrifice—the existence of the sacred ordinances of life rested upon the truth of this and similar stories. He had to believe in it passionately; or else (as many rationalistic interpreters believed and perhaps still believe) he had to be a conscious liar—no harmless liar like Homer, who lied to give pleasure, but a political liar with a definite end view, lying in the interest of a claim to absolute authority.[84]

Auerbach argues further that "[t]he Bible's claim to truth is not only far more urgent than Homer's, it is tyrannical—it excludes all other claims. The world of the Scripture stories is not satisfied with claiming to be a historically true reality—it insists that it is the only real world, is destined for autocracy."[85]

Constituting the intertextual surface common to Saramago's *Gospel* and Khoury's *As Though She Were Sleeping Slept*, one has to keep in mind that Abraham's iconography had already undergone pragmatic transmotivation long before being deployed by these two authors. For instance, the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament could be regarded as pluritextual.[86] Whereas the Hebrew

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"icon," "iconology," and "image," in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Alex Preminger and T.V.F. Brogan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 552–554, 556–558; "Icon/iconology," in *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, Terms* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 555.

83 Carlo Sini, *Images of Truth: From Sign to Symbol*, trans. Massimo Verdicchio (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1993), 102–113.

84 Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 14, and see his detailed discussion on pages 7–23.

85 Ibid., 14–15; and see: Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 5–6.

86 See: Genette, *Palimpsests*, 70.

Bible draws on elements from its own culture as well as from a pool of ancient Near Eastern poetry, legends, folktales, and sagas, each emanating from a different *Sitz im Leben*,[87] the New Testament reinterprets the events of the Hebrew Bible to situate them within the community's understanding of Jesus, thus creating a complicity and a distance between the Jesus of history and the *kerygma* of Jesus, as shown by modern scholarship.[88] With the 're-reading' and 're-writing' of material—from both the Hebrew Bible and the Gospels—undertaken by the early fathers of the Church, we encounter a further genuine instance of superadded ideological and pragmatic transfiguration.

Both novelists approach the *akedah* from a Christian perspective, adverting the coming of Christ and prophesying the Cross. Accordingly, the mention of Abraham, as David Lerch argues, comes within this context: the "description of the binding and sacrifice of Isaac became one of the most pervasive figures of redemption: God, like Abraham, had willingly offered his own first-born son as a sacrifice."[89]

3.1 *The Abrahamic Chronotope*

Considering Paul Ricoeur's basic working presupposition that "[t]he world unfolded by every narrative work is always temporal world [...] time becomes human time to the extent that it is organized after the manner of narrative; narrative, in turn, is meaningful to the extent that it portrays the features of temporal experience,"[90] I will first present my line of reflection in approaching the poetic structure of the novels.

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87 For a reassessment of Abraham's narrative bundle in the Hebrew Bible, see: Klaus Koch, *Was ist Formgeschichte? Methoden der Bibelexegese* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1989), 135–159; and see on the literality of the Bible: Frye, *The Great Code*, xi–xxiii.

88 See: James M. Robinson, *Kerygma und historischer Jesus* (Zürich and Stuttgart: Zwingli Verlag, 1960), 7–37. On early Christian exegesis of the Hebrew Bible, see: John R. Bartlett, *The Bible Faith and Evidence: A Critical Enquiry into the Nature of Biblical History* (London: British Museum Publications, 1990), 230–254; Manlio Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis*, trans. John A. Hughes (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1994).

89 Cited after Powell and Self, *Holy Murder*, 55; and see: Ronald M. Green, "'Developing' *Fear and Trembling*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Kierkegaard*, ed. Alastair Hannay and Gordon D. Marino (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 269–270.

90 Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 1:3. On the temporality of the literary aesthetic object, see: Roman Ingarden, *The Cognition of the Literary Work of Art*, trans. Ruth Ann Crowley and Kenneth R. Olson (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 396–403. For the concept of time in novels and the relation between duration and space, see: Gabriel Zoran, "Towards a Theory of Space in Narrative," *Poetics Today* 5.2 (1984): 309–335.

Bakhtin's notion of the *chronotope* (time-space) will serve as a starting point of our deliberation. The *chronotope* specifies the intersection of axes and fusion of indicators that characterize the narrative; "Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible, likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history." The *chronotope* denotes "[T]he intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature."[91] It organizes the center of distributed events and furnishes the surface where the knots of the narrative are tied and untied. Moreover, as a vehicle of cultural memory, it describes the meaning that shapes the narrative and makes the link with 'reality.' Bakhtin identified various *chronotopes*, for example, the road, the journey, the threshold, the marketplace, the crossroad.

I suggest here the *Abrahamic chronotope* as a model adequate for the novels being analyzed. What are the modules that characterize this suggested *chronotope*? One can spontaneously name two common *chronotopes*: the journey as well as the threshold, which entails the motif of encounter and its most fundamental instance of crisis and break.[92]

Both Auerbach and Bakhtin belong to the same tradition,[93] and we have seen how Auerbach's comparison between the Homeric hero and Abraham, both being organized around the *chronotopes* of journey/adventure and threshold, asserts that, Abraham "[i]s constantly conscious of what God has promised him and what God has already accomplished for him—his soul is torn between desperate rebellion and hopeful expectation; his silent obedience is multilayered, has background. Such a problematic psychological situation as this is impossible for any of the Homeric heroes."[94] It is this decisive emergency that makes Abraham an 'iconic sign,' and lends the narrative *chronotope* its significant nature.

In both novels, the *Abrahamic chronotope* reveals a complex three-layered model of time-space with various levels of narrative perspectives: Firstly, that of Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Mount Moriah, and the sacrificial ram; secondly, that of Joseph, Mary, and Jesus as the sacrificial son/lamb. At the third level new variants enter the conflict: Saramago's *Gospel* brings in the ironic voice of the

91 Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 84–85; Michael Holquist, *Dialogism: Bakhtin and His World* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 107–115.

92 Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 248.

93 Holquist, in *The Dialogic Imagination*, xvii, xxxii. When Auerbach was working on *Mimesis* in the 1940s, Bakhtin's study on the *chronotope*, although worked out during the thirties, had not yet been published; it first appeared in the mid-seventies.

94 Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 12.

Evangelist-narrator, while Meelya, her father, Mansour, and Tanyous the fool in Khoury's novel are given voices to articulate their fears and apprehensions. Yet, one thing remains clear, namely, the basic macro movement is a backward one, from a specific point of time in the here and now of Joseph, Jesus, Mary, or Meelya, towards a primordial, foundational time-space, and moreover an *absolute* space, that of the 'creature-feeling.'[95] It is the moment of the *numinous*, which is always experienced as a present moment.[96]

3.2 *What About Joseph?*

What about Joseph then, Jesus' father (and probable 'biological father')? "Is not this Joseph's son?" said the rabbis in the synagogue of Nazareth as Jesus was preaching (Luke, 4:21). Although Joseph was well known to the Nazarenes, his figure in the Gospels is very shadowy and emaciated. The same applies to Kazantzakis' *The Last Temptation of Christ*, where the occasional appearance of Joseph in the first part reveals a paralyzed old man, "unable to control his tongue. He toiled, sweated, driveled at the mouth, and now and then after a terrible contest he managed to put together one word voicing each syllable separately, desperately—one word, one only, always the same: A-do-na-i!"[97]

Conversely, Joseph whose character and fate as they appear in Saramago's *The Gospel* have already been described, plays a major role in the novel. The narrator emphasizes that Joseph, "Never having possessed, however, what one might call a truly creative imagination, he will not succeed during his brief life in coming up with a memorable parable to be handed down to posterity, let alone one of those brilliant conceits which are so clearly expressed that there is nothing more to say and yet which are so obscure and ambiguous that they intrigue scholars and intellectuals for years to come."[98]

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95 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1997), 48–53, 234–252. Sacred spaces are thresholds, opening up to the sphere that lies beyond the here and now, normally associated with the notion of death; see: Mircea Eliade, *Das Heilige und das Profane. Vom Wesen des Religiösen* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1987), 143–162.

96 "Als Praesens erlebt wird" (Rudolf Otto, *Das Heilige. Über das irrationale in der Idee des göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen* [Breslau: Terwendt und Cranier, 1921], 8–12, 74–87).

97 Nikos Kazantzakis, *The Last Temptation of Christ*, trans. P.A. Bien (New York: Scribner Paperback Fiction, 1998), 12. In Norman Mailer's *The Gospel According to the Son* (New York: Random House, 1997) Joseph appears actively in the first part. This novel will not be drawn further into comparison in this study.

98 *The Gospel*, 13–14.

In Khoury's novel, Joseph appears in the long conversations between Meelya and Tanyous, the fool monk of Nazareth. Tanyous used to accompany her on pilgrimages in Nazareth and tell her its sacred history as he imagines it. He showed her the ruin that no one knows about except himself—near the Annunciation Church—where he claimed that Jesus lived with his parents, there he mastered his first steps and there he received the vision that he is God's only son (p. 233).[99] Tanyous claims to have acquired his knowledge from the Syriac "Gospel of Joseph." His Maronite grandfather—a priest who used to live at the Franciscan monastery of Nazareth—stole it away from the monastery, after St. Joseph the Carpenter himself had appeared to him in the cell where he was imprisoned and had told him about this Gospel. He reassured him that the Franciscan friars are hiding it so as not to reveal the truths that it contains.

According to my modest knowledge, scholars are not aware of an apocryphal book entitled the "Gospel of Joseph." Khoury is, obviously, drawing some of his material—as did Saramago—from the New Testament apocrypha, mainly from the so-called 'Childhood or Infancy Gospels,' specifically, from the *Protevangelium of James* and the *Childhood Gospel of Thomas*, where Joseph is given voice.[100]

Tanyous maintains that there is a secret sect that venerates St. Joseph the Carpenter, which considers him equal to the Prophet Elijah because God had elevated Joseph to the heavens—as he did with Elijah—some ten years before the crucifixion. Tanyous affirms that, "Joseph was excluded from the [official] narrative because St. Paul, who wrote it, did not understand the relation between the father and the son, he neither understood Joseph's weeping while he was being seized to heaven, because he saw what will befall his son." Meelya develops a special fondness towards Joseph, because he reminds her of her own father, and moreover, because he "fled with his son to Egypt and refused to sacrifice him as Abraham did."[101]

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99 For the history and topography of Nazareth through the centuries, see: Chad F. Emmett, *Beyond the Basilica: Christians and Moslems in Nazareth* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 169–224, the quarters of Nazareth.

100 Adam Fyfe Findlay, *Byways in Early Christian Literature: Studies in the Uncanonical Gospels and Acts* (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1923), 148–178; E. Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. Wilson, ed. W. Schneemelcher (London: Lutterworth Press, 1963), 363–417. Compare, for example, the story of the marriage of Joseph, the old widower, with Mary, the virgin girl mentioned in Findlay, *Byways*, 153–154, and Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 378–379, with *As Though She Were Sleeping*, 237.

101 *As Though She Were Sleeping*, 231 and 234.

3.3 *Father-Narrative, Binaries, and the Paradigmatic Triangle*

At this intersection, where Joseph meets Abraham, the overwhelming thrust and vigor of the *akedah* episode crystallizes the *Abrahamic chronotope* which envelopes the conflicting binaries of God-human being, father-son, male-female/father-mother, and son-mother. In her inspiring study on Saramago's *The Gospel*, Helena Kaufman juxtaposed the father-son binary with its female pair Mary-Mother, Mary-Magdalene as the organizing principle of the whole narrative.[102] Comparing *The Gospel* to other novels, she affirms that "Saramago's text seems to maintain a more traditional tone by focusing on a non-transfigured, historical Jesus, and particularly, by exploring the different meanings of the duality of this figure."[103]

Kaufman interprets the structure of *The Gospel* as revealing "[c]haracteristics of the so-called 'father narrative,' as described by Lacanian theorists," which is "set in motion by 'a process concerning paternity,' [...] or, in other words, through recognition of the father's absence." It represents the journey of the male hero and is firmly set in the patriarchal structure.[104] She maintains that the death of the father plays a double role within the narrative structure, which until that point was overwhelmed by a sense of guilt: first establishing Jesus as a male hero; secondly, providing the necessary impulse to embark on his journey. Jesus' initiation into the Law of the Father does not mean that he knows it yet. Abandoning the Mother, and being "seduced into a relationship with the other, symbolic father-God, he enters into a phase of suffering which means acceptance of passivity in order for the Oedipal crisis, the castration threat, to be resolved." Here comes the role of the other pair of the binary, Mary-Mother and Mary-Magdalene. Kaufman argues that, "[t]he patriarchal structure of father narrative is chosen to (re)present Christ's story because it inscribes the world it is set in." Therefore, by introducing the two women, "Saramago's discourse has an unmasking, interpretational intent."[105]

This tension within the *paradigmatic triangle* (Father-Mother-Son)[106] is also suggested by David Frier who approaches *The Gospel* as a narrative of the dead weight of authority and paternalistic control and observes that "[t]he search for an independent and authentic existence become ever more urgent and pressing considerations."[107] He upholds that Jesus most emphatically fails to

102 Kaufman, "Evangelical Truths," 452–458.

103 Kaufman, "Evangelical Truths," 453.

104 She relies on the Lacanian theory of Robert con Davis, ibid., 454.

105 Kaufman, "Evangelical Truths," 455–456.

106 Freudian psychoanalytical approaches to Abraham's story are discussed by Delaney, *Abraham on Trial*, 187–229.

107 Frier, *The Novels*, 112.

keep the biblical commandment of honoring his parents and his relations with his mother deteriorate throughout the text.[108] Conversely, his relation to Mary Magdalene gives him his greatest sense of personal fulfillment and places the human Jesus above the divine one.

Bloom notices that Jesus was torn between two fathers, "[p]erhaps this most humane of all versions of Jesus has to suffer the darkness of two fathers, the loving, unlucky, and guilty Joseph, and the unloving, fortunate, and even guiltier God." He also highlights Jesus' relation to Mary Magdalene, "[a]nd yet Jesus' principle relationship in his life, as Saramago sees it and tells it, is to neither of his fathers, nor to the devil, nor to Mary his mother, but to the whore Mary Magdalene."[109]

At this point I will attempt a comparison with the two basic *paradigmatic triangles* in Khoury's *As Though She Were Sleeping*, taking into account the fact that the triangle, Meelya, Mansour, and her boy fetus occupy a different *diegetic* level than that of *The Gospel*. Considering the *paradigmatic triangles* at each one of the three spatio-temporal levels, which are in turn defined by their liminality, the following sketch may be exposed.

The first level, which includes Abraham-Isaac-[Sarah], is a symbolic, foundational one. It is distinguished by a fundamentally different time-space, and represents *absolute space* in the sense that it is transcendental, mythical and cosmic.[110] It is a *numinous* time-space that signifies the *Mysterium Tremendum*.[111] In both novels it is a priori comprehended and against its backdrop the narrative is structured. But we need to remember that the foundational narrative has bracketed Sarah out of the paradigmatic triangle and introduced, instead, the Symbolic Father.

The second level is inhabited by Joseph-Jesus-Mary. Here again in the official Gospel, Mary the Mother is pushed to the margin and Jesus becomes the son of the Symbolic Father. In *The Gospel*, a simple feature is that Mary the Mother was mis/guided by the Devil/God. But the fact is that the narrator is a modern Evangelist, who is 're-writing/re-reading' the canonical versions proclaiming the *kerygma*; he thus employs an ironic voice that retains the tension between the two positions: that of an eyewitness from within the biblical milieu—where the *akedah* is persistently alive—and that of a modern commentator.

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108 Frier, *The Novels*, 115.

109 Bloom, *José Saramago*, 72–73.

110 For the concepts of absolute and sacred spaces, see: Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 3:105; Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 234, where the reference is to actual sacred spaces.

111 See: Otto, *Das Heilige*, 13–27.

The narrator of *As Though She Were Sleeping* situates Meelya at a still different level. She is totally absorbed in the living tradition of profound, popular Greek-Orthodox piety, emanating from the *kerygma* of Jesus, and she, moreover, is prey to her state of reverie. The decisive moment for her to summon a fervent affinity towards the *paradigmatic triangle* (Joseph-Jesus-Mary) materializes when, in a state of crisis, she succumbs to the aura of Tanyous the fool and to the religious symbolism of Nazareth.

3.3.1 *Imitatio Mariae*

Unable to understand her son, Mary the Mother appears in *The Gospel* as a somewhat passive mother who represents tradition and conformity. On the other hand, Meelya seems to reveal many Mariologic features and, furthermore, her self-understanding resembles that of a Marian visionary. It will suffice for the purpose of this study to mention them *en passant*. Beside the fact that magico-religious entities and symbols (popular devotion, icons, sacred oil, frankincense, churches and nuns, narratives of saints) comprise a major portion of Meelya's social space, one can indicate six other pointers:

1. She compares her father Joseph, who is a carpenter by trade, with Joseph, Jesus' father, and she lies about a dream in which she sees both working together.[112] 2. She witnesses numerous apparitions of the Lady in Blue. 3. She is depicted with the stigmata element of the 'holy olive oil' running from her eyes. 4. She is a symbol of motherhood, yet at the same time, a Mater Dolorosa, because she passionately believes that her son will be sacrificed. 5. She dies a 'saintly' death. And 6. She represents the Eternal Feminine.

3.4 *The Abrahamic Confrontation*

3.4.1 *The Gospel*

Abraham makes his first appearance in *The Gospel* with a witty allusion to Sarah's late pregnancy (p. 29). The themes of the conflict between generations, the inheritance of guilt, and the incisive sense of remorse that devastates Joseph are ironically worked within the narrative structure.[113] It is often Pastor,

112 *As Though She Were Sleeping*, 47–48.

113 "What the donkey does not know is that there is still some way to go before reaching Bethlehem, and once there it will discover that things are not as easy as they might seem. Of course it would be nice to proclaim, Veni, vidi, vici, like Julius Caesar at the height of his glory, only to be assassinated by his own son, whose only excuse was that he had been adopted. Conflicts between fathers and sons, the inheritance of guilt, the disavowal of kith and kin, the sacrifice of innocents, go back a long way in time and promise to be endless," 48.

in his apparition as the angel/beggar, who appears to Mary the Mother prophesying calamity.[114] An instant of charged tension is reached when the Evangelist contends that

> For it has been proved that it was God who put Isaac into the little semen that Abraham was still capable of producing, and it was God who poured it into Sarah's womb, because frankly she was past conceiving children. Seen from a theogenetic angle, as it were, we may conclude without offending logic, which must preside over everything in this and every other world, that it was God himself who was forever inciting Joseph to have intercourse with Mary so that they might have lots of children and help Him quell the remorse which had been haunting Him ever since He permitted, or willed, without considering the consequences, the massacre of those innocent children of Bethlehem … God's remorse and that of Joseph were one and the same, and if people in those days were already familiar with the expression, God never sleeps, we now know that He never sleeps because He made a mistake for which no man would be forgiven.[115]

Two decisive moments bring the theme to an apex. The first is a conversation between Jesus and his mother when he asks her about his father's nightmares:

> Obviously Mary could never have brought herself to say those things or to reveal the cause of her husband's nightmare to Jesus who, like Abraham's son Isaac, was cast in the rôle of the victim who escaped, yet is inexorably condemned.[116]

The second is a reflection made by Joseph about Jesus, who was almost twelve, while they were working in the yard under a blazing sun:

> if Joseph can find the courage to confide in his son and confess his guilt, that courage which failed Abraham when confronted by Isaac, but for the moment Joseph was content to acknowledge and praise the power of God.

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114 "I've already told you, there's no forgiveness for this crime, Herod will be pardoned sooner than your husband, for it's easier to pardon a traitor than a renegade … What about my son? A father's guilt falls on the heads of his children and the shadow of Joseph's guilt already darkens his son's forehead," 81–82.

115 Read the whole passage, *The Gospel*, 94–95.

116 *The Gospel*, 103.

At this point the Evangelist concludes his argument:

> There can be no doubt that God's upright handwriting bears no resemblance to the crooked lines of men. Just think of Abraham, to whom the angel appeared and said at the last minute, Lay not your hand upon the child, and think of Joseph, who failed to seize the opportunity to save the children of Bethlehem when God sent an officer and three loquacious soldiers instead of an angel to warn him. But if Jesus goes on as well as he has started, perhaps he will get round to asking one day why God saved Isaac and did nothing to protect those poor children who were as innocent as Abraham's son, yet were shown no mercy before the throne of the Lord. And then Jesus will be able to say to Joseph, Father, you mustn't take all the blame, and deep down, who knows, he might dare to ask, When, oh Lord, will You come before mankind to acknowledge Your own mistakes.[117]

A main penetrating theme in the second part of *The Gospel* is that of the sacrificial lamb built around the fact that Jesus refuses to sacrifice the lamb he had begged for, and the tense conversations with his mother concerning this sacrifice:

> If I save this lamb it's so that someone may save me … Lambs are not men and even less so when those men are sons, When the Lord ordered Abraham to kill his son Isaac, no distinction was made then, My son, I'm a simple woman, I have no answer to give you, but I beseech you, give up these evil thoughts.[118]

Taking the lamb into the desert, they were struck by lightning that burns an olive tree; the lamb came up to Jesus and put his mouth to his lips:

> He drew the lamb towards him and finding words he did not know he possessed, he said, Don't be afraid, He only wanted to show you that you could have been dead by now if He had so willed, and to assure me that it was not me who saved your life, but Him.[119]

117 *The Gospel*, 104.

118 *The Gospel*, 190–191.

119 *The Gospel*, 193.

Mary's perplexity and partial apathy towards her son being the sacrificial lamb are reflected in a conversation with her daughter Lisa:

> But if the Lord Himself chose Jesus, then surely He would protect us, the rest of his family, Don't be too certain, we weren't around when Jesus was chosen and as far as the Lord is concerned there are neither fathers nor sons, remember Abraham, remember Isaac, Oh, Mother how terrible, It would be wise, my child, to keep this matter to ourselves and say as little as possible.[120]

The whole paragraph comes like a framed scene which keeps Jesus at a distance filled by a gaze of fear, pity, and a sense of defeat in front of the all-powerful will of the Symbolic Father. In *The Gospel*, Mary the Mother is a representative of the tradition and of total obedience to the patriarchal order and symbolic system which is defined by the Father. She cannot understand Jesus and fails to believe in him, stand by his side, and cater to his individual growth. The role of the mother as virtuous, caring, merciful and protective is downplayed. Mary of Magdala assumes this harmonious role of a natural, caring and loving, positive force.

3.4.2 *As Though She Were Sleeping*

Meelya's expected son cannot be threatened by any actual dangers yet, for he is only a fetus. It is actually the obsessive fears and worries that Meelya harbors, her resignation, and her supra-sensitive personality, that incite the anxieties concerning her son and transforms her behavior into an *imitatio Mariae*. One of the questions she struggles with is whether a father is capable of killing his own son. This was also a source of fear for her 'victimized' father, Joseph, as well as for her mother and grandmother.[121] The troubled situation in Palestine fueled her already inflamed trepidations to open up for the internal focalization concerning the *akedah* evoked by Tanyous the fool.

Although Joseph, in Tanyous' 'Syriac Gospel,' is described as dumbstruck from the moment he realizes that Mary is pregnant, he suddenly recovers articulated speech, when his son Jesus at the age of twelve tells him about the apparition he witnesses under the olive tree:[122]

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120 *The Gospel*, 240–241.

121 See pp. 577 and 580 above.

122 Both Saramago and Khoury adopt the idea that Jesus' twelfth year was a crucial and symbolic turning point from the so-called 'Childhood or Infancy Gospels,' although each

> He heard the rustle of feathers and saw a six-winged angel hovering above him, its incandescent whiteness blinding him. Then he heard a voice telling him that he was the awaited *mashiach*, that God had chosen him to be a son to Him since before the beginning of time, and that He would give him the throne of his grandfather David and make him king forever.[123]

Nevertheless, with the exception of a few words he would utter sporadically, a long silence overtakes him following the said moment and edgy conversations he had shared with his son. This silence accompanies him until he dies. His tense encounter with his son, which was mostly focused around the *akedah*, has opened to a choir of voices, "languages that speak in tongues," binaries, and inexhaustible interpretations. Upon hearing what Jesus has to tell him, the elderly Joseph becomes emotionally ridden:

> [He] had wept before his son like a child and taken him in his arms and kissed him and told him that now, for the first time, he was sure that his dreams were not illusions and that God had tested him as He had no other prophet. He said that God had tested his sense of self-worth and that he had waited twelve years for this blessed moment. Then he knelt, asked his son to kneel next to him and said, "Blessed is the ram that Thou has sent, O God, for Thou hast spared me the trial of Abraham, who wished to kill his son for the sake of Thy holy name. Blessed art Thou, O God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, for this is my son who will become a king in Thine eyes and bear Thy name and be holy forever. Blessed art Thou, O God of All, because Thou hast made me partner to Thee in the fathering of this child. From now on I shall be the brother of the Lord and I shall sit in Abraham's bosom as Thy friend and Thy companion."[124]

Typical of Khoury's temporal organization, a breach in the chronological order takes place, to be filled with an embedded narrative of some one hundred pages, before the overarching narrative picks up again:

> —"So you were like Abraham," said Eesa. "You meant to kill me just as he was going to kill his son and offer him as a sacrifice to his god."

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one perceives the confrontation involving Joseph, Jesus, and Mary differently: in *The Gospel*, 135–139, it has to do with Jesus knowing about the massacre of the innocents, whereas in *As Though She Were Sleeping* it has to do with the apparition of the seraphim.

123 *As Though She Were Sleeping*, 233–234.

124 *As Though She Were Sleeping*, 234–235.

> —"A father doesn't kill his son, my son," Youssef said, grief tracing itself in his eyes. "I was confused. It was as though there were a black cloud over my eyes. It's all over now. You are my only son, and who would kill his only son?"
>
> —"And him?"
>
> —"I don't know. I don't think Abraham knew there was a ram. He heard God's command in his dream, and there was nothing he could do."
>
> —"I'm talking about Isaac."[125]

We notice that on the level of the focalized New Testament narration, Mary the Mother is kept outside the frame to give place to a sarcastic and macabre game between two fathers over the blood of the victim, the sacrificial lamb. But on the *intradiegetic* level, Meelya assumes the role of the caring mother. Between the two levels, the ethical question is forcefully posed and its horrifying echo envelops the emplotment of Khoury's narrative.

3.5 *Human Time versus Divine Time*

When Abraham becomes present as an icon in a narrative, one would expect an ontological crisis and a vivid moment of confrontation. In this sense, it resembles the Augustinian *present* of memory and expectation, which is charged and intensified on an existential level.[126]

Paul Ricoeur argues that

> All fictional narratives are "tales of time" and "tales about time." All fictional narratives are "tales of time" inasmuch as the structural transformations that affect the situations and characters take time. However only a few are "tales about time" inasmuch as in them it is the very experience of time that is at stake in these structural transformations … Moreover, each of these works explores, in its own way, uncharted modes of discordant concordance, which no longer affect just the narrative composition but also the lived experience of the characters in the narrative.[127]

Ricoeur maintains that such works free themselves, "[f]rom the most linear aspects of time [and], in return, explore the hierarchical levels that form the depth of temporal experience."[128] For him, historical time "is justified in the

125 *As Though She Were Sleeping*, 328.

126 Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 1:3–30.

127 Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 2:101.

128 Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 2:101.

sense that it brings about the conjunction of lived time as mortal time and cosmic time, whose immensity escapes us."[129] Ricoeur perceives the literary 'world of the text' as opening up to an 'outside' that it projects before itself and offers to be critically appropriated by a reader; it is "a transcendence in the immanence of the text, an outside intended by an inside."[130]

In the famous scene on the misty Sea of Gennesaret (Lake Tiberius),[131] when Jesus meets both God and the Devil on his boat, God names the cruel deaths of the to-be Christian martyrs and enumerates the calamities and horrors that will befall humanity so He, God, may spread and manifest His power. Jesus interrupts, "[W]hy do you refer to them in the past if they still have to take place, Remember, I am time and so for Me all that is about to happen already happened, all that has happened goes on happening every day."[132] Harold Bloom rightly argues that Saramago subverts St. Augustine on the theodicy of time, for "Saramago's God scandalizes us in ways that transcend the intellect; since God who is both truth and time is the worst possible bad news."[133]

Both *The Gospel* and *As Though She Were Sleeping* are structured around the tension between human time-space and divine time-space. Some main points to this aspect are worth mentioning.

Ironic 're-writing' of the Gospels means re-reading the relation between ordinary human time and universal time. The father-son conflict and the natural sense of guilt are given a universal dimension. *The Gospel* could be perceived as a repudiation of the history of salvation and a cry against the terror and agony brought about in the name of the Church.[134] By trying to give a deep, humane meaning to the rigid, literal understanding of the relation between both, and through his revolt against the pharisaic, hypocrite attitude of society, Jesus unmasks and demystifies the horrible notion of an eternal time governed by a whimsical Symbolic Father, a time where sacred tension culminates in cosmic violence. Jesus' passionate journey redefines the relation between son and

129 Ricoeur, *A Ricoeur Reader: Reflection and Imagination*, ed. Mario J. Valdés (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 346–347.

130 Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 2:100, and idem, *A Ricoeur Reader*, 349–350.

131 See p. 564 above.

132 *The Gospel*, 296.

133 Bloom, *José Saramago*, 65 and see 68 and 72.

134 Bloom argues that "Of all fictive representations of God since the Yahwist's, I vote for Saramago's: he is at once the funniest and the most chilling, in the mode of the Shakespearean hero-villains: Richard III, Iago, Edmund in *King Lear*" (Bloom, *José Saramago*, 65); Bloom perceives Jesus as "an ironist, an amazingly mild one considering his victimization by God" (ibid., 71).

Father, God and the human being—he fails, but he divulges the cruelty of this iniquitous God and shouts a lasting cry of agony against his cruelty that reverberates down the centuries: Nailed to his cross, Jesus, "called out to the open sky where God could be seen smiling, Men, forgive Him, for He knows not what He has done."[135]

Khoury's novel reveals different schemata of time. The whole narrative is a long, nebulous, circular reverie framed within the linearity of the cosmic time of salvation. The time-space of *As Though She Were Sleeping* is constructed around spatial binary oppositions displaying varying degrees of complexity between the inner worlds of Meelya and the sacred spaces of the *kerygma*, between the inside and the outside (house, garden, church, cave), the 'inside' of the family house in relation to the 'constitutive outside' of the prostitutes (also entailing the opposition between profane and sacred),[136] and particularly between two contradictory movements: ascending and descending (apparitions, birds, flying—especially when the Prophet Elijah makes his appearances). The dream-like structure also evokes the literary tropes of doubles and mirrors which play a major function in assembling the narrative space.

As I mentioned earlier, the novel's *fabula* covers the duration of some twenty-five years spanning from 1923 to 1948; accordingly, the events of the narrative time have their reference point in the period following the demise of the Ottoman hegemony and the passage into a direct, brutal and disintegrating colonial Phallic power. Samir Amin explains that "[t]he urban world of the fertile crescent, miserable as it was towards the end of the Ottoman era, stayed resolutely nationalist and united."

Amin stresses the dividing role of British and French imperialism:

> Naively, the Arabs turned to the English during the war. In fact, the alliance between British imperialism and Zionism was already signed and sealed by the Balfour Declaration: Great Britain had decided to establish a European buffer-state in Palestine, in order to exert pressure on Egypt and to guarantee British control over the Suez.[137]

135 *The Gospel*, 341, last page of the novel.

136 Meelya's paternal grandfather Saleem and even the Greek-Orthodox archbishop of Beirut were liberally enjoying carnal pleasures with prostitutes, *As Though She Were Sleeping*, 167–168, 190–191, 223–226.

137 Samir Amin, *The Arab Nation: Nationalism and Class Struggles*, trans. Michael Pallis (London: Zed Press, 1978), 41, 47–48.

But Syria suffered far more from the Zionist settlement in Palestine, says Amin:

> For Syria and Palestine have always made up a single region of the Arab East. The bourgeois families of the area had always moved freely between Jerusalem, Damascus, Haifa and Beirut. The way the country had been split up between France and England in 1919, its Southern part having been turned over to Zionism by the Balfour Declaration in 1917, was completely artificial.[138]

The implied narrator's choice in Khoury's *As Though She Were Sleeping* of Hotel Massabki as a honeymoon *locus amoenus* for the newlywed couple, Meelya and Mansour, is certainly symbolic.[139] The hotel is located in the Lebanese town of Chtaura, a major intersection in the Biqāʿ valley where the international roads coming from Palestine and Syria meet. The hotel had witnessed a visit by a "figure of romance,"[140] King Fayṣal, who launched the revolt against the Ottomans and formed the first Arab National State in *Bilād al-Shām* with Damascus as its capital.[141] William Cleveland notices that "[i]n many, if not all, quarters of the Arab world, this action seemed to signify the rebirth of an Arab Kingdom on the site of the former Umayyad imperial capital."[142] No

138 Ibid., 45; and see: George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement* (Beirut: Khayat's College Book Corporation, 1955), 201–276. William Cleveland argues that "It may seem as though questions over who was promised what specific territory were rendered irrelevant by the postwar peace settlement, yet they continue to be raised because perceptions are often as important as legalities—and among politically aware Arabs the perception existed, and deepened after the war, that Britain had made a pledge it did not honor, that the Arabs had been misled and then betrayed" (William L. Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East* [Boulder: Westview Press, 1994], 151).

139 For Fayṣal and Hotel Massabki, see: *As Though She Were Sleeping*, 6, 13, 15–17, 54, 59, 63, 103, 157, 194, 196, 219–220, 267–268, 324–326.

140 As Jacques Berque calls him in *Arab Rebirth: Pain and Ecstasy*, trans. Quintin Hoare (London: Al Saqi Books, 1983), 51–52. On Fayṣal, see: Philip S. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate: The Politics of Arab Nationalism, 1920–1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 35–41, 337–356; Malcolm B. Russel, *The First Modern Arab State: Syria under Faysal, 1918–1922* (Minneapolis: Biblioteca Islamica, 1985). Khālid Ziyāda wrote a novel whose first person narrator is King Fayṣal, *Ḥikāyat Fayṣal* (Beirut: Dār al-Nahār, 1999).

141 *Bilād al-Shām* is the geographical denomination referring to a territorial area including present-day Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and occupied Palestine, before the colonial powers divided it and demarcated its new borders between 1917 and 1923.

142 Cleveland, *A History*, 155.

wonder that the first honeymoon night in Hotel Massabki, where King Fayṣal's picture hangs on the wall, ended up in chaos: fatigued by the difficulties they faced on the road on a stormy, cold winter afternoon, and confused by Meelya's hallucinations, Mansour could only collapse in the bathroom.[143]

Samir Amin summarizes the situation as follows:

> From 1920 to 1948 imperialism reigned supreme in the whole area. In Egypt, in Syria and in Iraq, the agrarian and latifundist sections of the bourgeoisie, reinforced and made wealthy in the wake of imperialism, accepted the provincialist withdrawal to suit their foreign masters. This class was secure in its domination, since what opposition there was remained weak, without any real class basis of its own, a merely 'intelligentist' opposition, torn between its dissatisfaction—especially with the state of the country—and its attraction towards the pro-imperialist national bourgeoisie.[144]

On the level of cosmic time-space, the *Abrahamic chronotope*, with its urgent sense of predicament and identity crisis, sets the tone in Khoury's *As Though She Were Sleeping* for the existential question pertaining to the meaning of faith as well as for the ethical question: What about the sacrificial lamb? Why was Jesus crucified anew in Jaffa on the eve of its fall to the Zionists?

The persistent presence of the Prophet Elijah on the level of the mythical and cosmic time-space is conspicuous;[145] it achieves transcendence in the imminence of the text that Ricoeur apprehends. The immortal Elijah, the prophet of fire, is also a herald of salvation (the second coming of Jesus) and a symbol of redemption; he signifies liberty and is a precursor of renewal in the present. In a time of historical dislocation, broken continuities and disregarded justice, his appearance at Meelya's deathbed signals the advent of an apocalyptic vision that disrupts the present time, the individual, phenomenological time in order to reorganize it in messianic time. Following Frank Kermode, apocalypse here

143 *As Though She Were Sleeping*, 18–22.

144 Amin, *The Arab Nation*, 47. For the rise of the Lebanese bourgeoisie during this time, see: Kamal Hamdan, *Le conflict libanais: communautés religieuses, classes sociales et identité nationale* (Paris: Editions Garnet, 1997), 33–53; Samir Kassir, *Tārīkh Bayrūt*, trans. Mārī Ṭawq Ghawsh (Beirut: Dār al-Nahār, 2006), 270–376. For an insightful sociological overview of Lebanese history since 1843, see: Samir Khalaf, *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon: A History of the Internationalization of Communal Conflict* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 273–289.

145 *As Though She Were Sleeping*, 145, 232, 235, 256, 274, 288–293, 322.

is a paradigm of justice that functions as a metaphor and a model.[146] In this sense, Khoury—in contrast to Saramago—employs the Augustinian conception of time and works the tension between human time and divine time within the premises of the *kerygma*. Nevertheless, Khoury's use of religious symbolism and the allegorical trope does not necessarily mean a search for messianic redemption.

Conceivably, Khoury's religious imagery is an expression of his cultural background, an acute awareness of the prophetic power of imagery that haunts Palestine and the broader *Bilād al-Shām* in general, which can only lead to misunderstandings and madness.[147]

4 Conclusion: Transvaluation and Aesthetic Consideration

Although Kierkegaard describes the "leap" as a tension, a passionate transition from the aesthetic to the ethical and from the ethical to the religious, he argues that the very nature of his writings is both 'aesthetic and religious' at the same time and should not be taken as two separate phases of his career; they rather occur simultaneously rather than successively. Critics agree on the aesthetic nature of his writings, especially *Fear and Trembling*.[148] Indeed, the tension that Abraham's paradox poses can be treated aesthetically.

This tension is expressed in Saramago's *Gospel* through the Nietzschean concept of the 'tragic as an aesthetic phenomenon.'[149] Jesus in *The Gospel* is a tragic hero, who succumbs to the sense of guilt and internalizes the mental cruelty associated with 'bad conscience,' sacrificing thus the possibility of a Dionysian transvaluation, that affirm life and individual growth in his relation to both Pastor and Mary Magdalene in lieu of the ideal of "a 'holy God' in order to be convinced of his own absolute worthlessness in the face of this ideal."[150] But in the end, he realizes his, "perversity and hysterical nonsense" and attests with a final cry against the cruelty of this God.

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146 Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending*, 28, 107–108; for Kermode, crisis is a central element in apocalypse (ibid., 93–96).

147 See: *As Though She Were Sleeping*, 187, 205, 219, 256.

148 Michael Watts, *Kierkegaard* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2003), 58–59.

149 Gilles Deleuze, *Nietzsche and Philosophy*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 17–19.

150 Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*, trans. Carol Diethe, ed. Keith Ansell-Pearson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 68 (2:22).

Khoury opts for an allegorical design for his *parodia sacra* constructed around a complex three-layered representation of time-space with various levels of narrative perspectives, establishing hence an affinity with Kierkegaard's allegorical intention—according to Adorno's reading of *Fear and Trembling*.[151]

It is no wonder then, that Khoury chose allegory and the rambling state of reverie—a state of extreme alienation from reality—as an engulfing *emplotment* of his narrative, which is concerned with the massive social and political realignments and the failure of the national bourgeoisie to achieve its goals, prevent the division of the country, and confront a brutal imperial phallic surveillance. In this sense apocalypse is politically perceived and redemption is secular.[152]

Khoury's *As Though She Were Sleeping* could be read as a 'national allegory,' a term coined by Fredric Jameson to describe Third-world novels. Jameson argues that "Third-world texts are necessarily allegorical, and in a very specific way: they are to be read as *national allegories*." Third-world texts, "even those which are seemingly private and invested with a properly libidinal dynamic—necessarily project a political dimension in the form of national allegory: *the story of the private individual destiny is always an allegory of the embattled situation of the public third-world culture and society*."[153]

Both novels employ parody as a discursive mode and a special construct which invites intellectual consideration;[154] they also reveal a political *telos*:

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151 Adorno, *Kierkegaard*, 90–94; and see on Kierkegaard's "purely symbolic and typological way," and the different levels of meaning in *Fear and Trembling*: Green, "'Developing' *Fear and Trembling*," 258–272.

152 This is different from Derrida's reading of *Fear and Trembling*, where he proposes a 'religion outside religion', or a 'religion without religion' entailing an absolute responsibility to the *tout autre*; see Jacques Derrida, *The Gift of Death*, trans. David Wills. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), mainly 53–81; and John D. Caputo, *The Prayers and Tears of Jacques Derrida: Religion without Religion* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 188–229.

153 Fredric Jameson, "Third-world Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism," in *The Jameson Reader*, ed. Michael Hardt and Kathi Weeks (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 319, 320 (italics in original). Doris Sommer attempts a revision of Jameson's thesis through revisiting Walter Benjamin's theory on allegory in the German Baroque *Trauerspiel*. She reaches an original differentiation by studying nineteenth-century Latin romances, see: Doris Sommer, "Allegory and Dialectics: A Match Made in Romance," *Boundary* 18.1 (1991): 60–82.

154 In an interview with Lucie Geffroy in *L'Orient litteraire* (the monthly literary supplement of *L'Orient le jour*, Lebanon), Thursday August 2, 2007, Saramago, asked about what he is reading, replies: "En ce moment je lis *La Porte de Soleil* du Romancier Libanais Elias Khoury. C'est remarquable."

Saramago's *Gospel* appears, some two years after the end of the Cold War, as a caveat against a retreat into religious ideology, which could act as a tool in the hands of manipulative reactionary powers; and Khoury's *As Though She Were Sleeping* is a "national allegory" accentuating the *urgency of Justice*.

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CHAPTER 25

The Ideological and Epistemological: Contemporary Readings in Arabo-Islamic Classical Heritage (*Turāth*)

Riḍwān al-Sayyid (*Translated by Eman Morsi*)

1 *Historismus*, the Enlightenment, and the Editing of Arabic Manuscripts

The current method of editing classical Arabic texts was devised in the second half of the nineteenth century. Initially, the publishers and editors were professors at European universities who had expertise in classical Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, and Persian texts. The art of editing (*fann al-taḥqīq*), as it has become commonly accepted, does not preclude European interest in the Classical Arabic Heritage (*turāth*) prior to the nineteenth century. European Classicists began to edit and publish Arabic texts as early as the sixteenth century. They carried out their work, however, in different contexts relating to the study of the Bible's Old and New Testaments and to polemics against the Qur'ān, as well as to the study of the medical, philosophical, and mathematical texts which had been translated from Arabic into Hebrew and Latin during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These prior historical moments (viz., the twelfth- and thirteenth-century translation movement, early modern studies of the Bible, and the sixteenth-century Humanists) have been for some time incorporated in studies of Islam's relationship with the West and the role of Arabo-Islamic mediation between Ancient Greece and Medieval Europe.[1]

1 See Johann Fück, *Tārīkh ḥarakat al-istishrāq*, trans. 'Umar Luṭfī al-'Ālim (Beirut: Dār al-Madār al-Islāmī, 2001), 59–70 [*Die arabischen Studien in Europa: bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955)]; R.W. Southern, *Ṣūrat al-Islām fī Ūrūbā fī l-'uṣūr al-wusṭā*, trans. Riḍwān al-Sayyid (Beirut: Dār al-Madār al-Islāmī, 2006), 77–109 [*Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962)]; Hartmut Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation: Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa* (Beirut and Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1995); Stefan Leder, "al-Istishrāq wa-nashr al-turāth al-'arabī: al-ittijāhāt al-nahḍawiyya wa-l-siyāqāt al-fikriyya wa-l-thaqāfiyya," *al-Tasāmuḥ* 27 (2009): 393–406.

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Rather, what I discuss here is the movement to publish Arabic texts during the nineteenth century. This movement occurred within three new contexts: the rise of *Historismus* (Historicism); the European Enlightenment; and the great movement of European expansion in the "Old World," especially in the Asian continent. According to the famed German historian of *Historismus*, Friedrich Meinecke (1862–1954), both the Enlightenment ideals and *Historismus* originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[2] For it was in these two centuries that the idea of Europe came into existence originating out of a powerful and dialectical movement that found expression in: the excavation and search for European origins; the use of these origins to define other features of the present; the rush to reform the European cultural and scientific spheres from within; and the bold expansion into the non-European world under the pretext, or without pretext, of missionary activity. This search for European origins revived interest in the Greek and Roman eras that created novel texts, images, events, characters, and empires.

These studies led to a new approach to Islam and Islamic civilization and also aided in determining features of the present since the Ottoman Empire still posed a standing challenge to the West. The push for cultural reform and revival coupled with expansion into Asia from the Near to the Far East placed European intellectuals at the forefront in the European confrontation with Arabs and Muslims. The notion of a revival based on classical origins and the idea that historical knowledge is the foundation for the understanding of that glorious past is located at the nexus of the Enlightenment and *Historismus*. Renaissance means, among other things, the return to Greco-Roman origins effaced by Christianity. History that is based on revived texts of its past is a tool that enables a civilization to renew awareness of itself and the world. Thus, it was at the turn of the nineteenth century that the humanistic revival movement made the study of Classical history its most important science, with its main fields of inquiry classical philology followed by comparative linguistics: Indo-European and Semitic.

From these two origins, the Ideological/Revivalist and Philological/Historicist, European scholars of Semitic studies published Arabic texts as the basis for understanding Islamic civilization and its origins. As was the case with *Historismus*, attention was first given to linguistic, literary, and poetic texts, then to historical and geographical texts and to employing what was amassed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and Renaissance Humanism for the publication of religious texts. Three interesting facts inform these move-

2 Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Entstehung des Historismus* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1965), 585–626.

ments. The first is that the students of German, English, and Dutch *Historismus* attended the *École spéciale des langues orientales*, founded in Paris in 1795, in the aftermath of the French Revolution to study Arabic and Islam. Under the mentorship of Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), dozens of foreign students graduated, returned to their countries, and became major scholars and publishers of texts in their fields. The second fact is that the widespread publication of Arabic manuscripts in the second half of the nineteenth century resulted in the editing of about five hundred texts over a period of roughly sixty years. The third fact is that scholarly interest, editing, and publication of classical Arabic texts in Arabic and Islamic countries was entirely based on this Orientalist foundation, in spirit, impetus, and methodology.[3]

2 Arabs, Muslims, and the Editing of *Turāth*

In the nineteenth century, official and private presses appeared mainly in Malta, Tunis, Cairo, Beirut, Damascus, Aleppo, Baghdad, Istanbul, and Hyderabad. When these presses became interested in publishing texts of Arabic *turāth* in the 1870s, they reprinted texts first published by Orientalists in European publishing houses in Leiden, Leipzig, Berlin, Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge. There were three stages of development till the beginning of the First World War: First, the stage of pure replication in which Orientalists' publications were reprinted without comparing them to different copies of the available manuscripts and without any marginal notes or indices. In the second stage a group of editors and proofreaders appeared in Būlāq, Hyderabad, Istanbul, Damascus, and Beirut who corrected apparent errors in texts. In this stage, publishing was not limited to texts that Orientalists had previously published. Rather, publishers made it their aim to reproduce hundreds of texts from

3 Fück, *Tārīkh ḥarakat al-istishrāq*, 205–209; Rudi Paret, *al-Dirāsāt al-ʿarabiyya al-islāmiyya fi l-jāmiʿāt al-almāniyya*, trans. Muṣṭafā Māhir (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1967), 15–18 [*Arabistik und Islamkunde an deutschen Universitäten: Deutsche Orientalisten seit Theodor Nöldeke* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1966)]; Riḍwān al-Sayyid, "al-Nashr al-turāthī al-ʿarabī: al-uṣūl wa-l-ittijāhāt wa-l-dalālāt al-thaqāfiyya," *al-Tasāmuḥ* 28 (2009): 373–392; idem, *al-Mustashriqūn al-almān: al-nushūʾ wa-l-taʾthīr wa-l-maṣādir* (Beirut: Dār al-Madār al-Islāmī, 2007), 12–17. On the methodology of Silvestre de Sacy and his contemporaries and its relationship to philology, *Historismus*, and the Enlightenment, see Zachary Lockman, *Tārīkh al-istishrāq wa-siyāsātih*, trans. Sharīf Yūnus (Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq, 2007), 130–135 [*Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)]; Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 15–28 and 356–366.

manuscripts available in archives and libraries that had been founded by the Orientalists who had initially accompanied the colonizers. Publishers would sometimes resort to more than one manuscript copy of a given work. In the third stage, during the first third of the twentieth century, a nationalist and Islamic consciousness arose. This consciousness manifested itself in the choice of texts being published, in comparing manuscripts, writing introductions, and compiling indices.[4]

In the early part of the twentieth century, a select group of Arabs thus became conscious of the European Enlightenment project and the role that classical texts played in it. In turn, they saw the potential to use classical Arabic texts for the creation of self-awareness for an Arabo-Islamic cultural project. Arab and Muslim elites interacted with this project in three ways. The first was by establishing contact with Orientalists, attending and participating in their conferences, inquiring about copies of early manuscripts, and commissioning Orientalists to teach in the newly-established insert universities and institutes. Second, they published philological, historical, and jurisprudential texts to aid the Arabo-Islamic cultural revival. Examples of this are Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī's publication of the *Rasāʾil* of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, and Muḥammad ʿAbduh's publication of the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* of Ibn Sīda and the *Nahj al-Balāgha*. They also encouraged the publication of texts deemed useful for the processes of reform such as the re-publication of *Kitāb al-Muwāfaqāt* by al-Shāṭibī in 1911 to replace the uncritical edition previously published by the Tunisian official press in 1884. The third way was to build on European publications of texts to create new texts that would represent the revivalist and educational aspirations of the time. An example is the dictionary *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* by Buṭrus al-Bustānī who had corresponded about it with Orientalists. Both Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq and Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, however, accused al-Bustānī of plagiarizing the content of *al-Muḥīṭ* from the Arabic-Latin dictionary compiled by Flügel. On the other hand, August Fischer wrote in a letter to al-Bustānī, citing his professor, Fleischer, that just as Arabs learned from Orientalists the methods of editing and publishing texts, they themselves began to contribute to the renewal of *turāth*, and that it has now become incumbent on Orientalists to learn from them![5]

4 Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī, "Awāʾil al-maṭbūʿāt al-ʿarabiyya fī Miṣr," in *Tārīkh al-ṭibāʿa al-ʿarabiyya ḥattā ntihāʾ al-qarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar* (Abu Dhabi: Manshūrāt al-Majmaʿ al-Thaqāfī, 1986), 353–438; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *al-Istishrāq al-almānī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jadīd, 1973), 11–13; idem, "Manhaj nashr al-turāth fī awāʾil al-qarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar al-hijrī," in *Tārīkh al-ṭibāʿa al-ʿarabiyya*, 337–352.

5 Cf. Yūsuf Quzmā Khūrī, *al-Muʿallim Buṭrus al-Bustānī* (*1839–1883*) (Amman: al-Maʿhad al-Malakī lil-Dirāsāt al-Dīniyya, 1995), 80–94.

It is well known that several lexicons, dictionaries, and encyclopedias were compiled in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century and that their idea, execution, and worldview were based on the heritage of the European Enlightenment and the concept of *Historismus*. These affairs reached such a point that Rafīq al-ʿAẓm and Jūrjī Zaydān wrote histories of Arabic and Islamic civilization and Arabic literatures at the very moment when Sulaymān al-Bustānī was translating Homer's *Iliad* with an exploratory introductory study, similar to what Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn did two decades later when they translated sections from Aristotle's books from French as part of the same revivalist concern.[6]

Thus, I consider the first third of the twentieth century to be the beginning of the scholarly publishing of *turāth*. It was accompanied by a revivalist consciousness and a new orientation towards the creation of an Arabic cultural project wherein the texts of *turāth* form one of the cornerstones of this project in two ways: the publication of specific selections of classical Arabic texts with a specific significance; and, the authorship of studies, histories or works of literature based on these texts with the aid of western methods and, at times, even borrowing conceptual frameworks common to the West.

In this context, I would like to briefly outline the second stage of the publication of Arabic *turāth* by Arabs (and Muslims) in the twentieth century, which I refer to as the "academic stage." In this stage, the cultural project continued and was refined as the publication of *turāth* became institutionalized. This stage began in the National Library of Khedival Egypt (*Dār al-Kutub al-Khadīwiyya*) when the literary department was established and began publishing many foundational texts in editions that remain exemplary, including the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, and a number of *dīwān*s of classical Arabic poetry. Two of the most respected textual editors who pioneered this stage were Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā and Aḥmad Taymūr Pāshā. Following in their footsteps were other notable figures including Aḥmad Maḥmūd Shākir, ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī from Syria, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī and Muḥammad Yūsuf from India.

6 Compare Rafīq al-ʿAẓm in Fahmī Jadʿān, *Usus al-taqaddum ʿinda mufakkirī al-Islām* (Beirut: al-Shabaka al-ʿArabiyya, 2010), 384–390. On Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, see ibid., 330–332. On Jūrjī Zaydān, see *Tārīkh al-tamaddun al-islāmī*, 3 vols. (Beirut: Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1958). Concerning this period of Arabic *turāth* publication and education by Orientalists, see al-Sayyid, "al-Nashr al-turāthī," 386 and in particular, Gotthelf Bergsträsser, *Uṣūl naqd al-nuṣūṣ wa-nashr al-kutub: muḥāḍarāt al-mustashriq al-almānī Burjshsträsir bi-kulliyat al-ādāb 1931/1933*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamdī al-Bakrī (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1969).

In the 1950s, the National Library (*Dār al-Kutub*) created a department for the editing of manuscripts, and Aḥmad Amīn established and directed an institute for writing, translating, and publishing. During this period, the majority of researchers and editors in both institutions were graduates of the Egyptian University (later known as Cairo University). In this fashion, we arrive at the other institutionalized channel for the dissemination and scholarly publication of *turāth*. The contribution of professors at the Egyptian University to the publication of *turāth* and its study had actually begun in the 1930s. Following the Egyptian University, the Académie arabe (Majmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya) was founded in Damascus. The Académie began publishing *turāth* texts, but with a special focus on those related to linguistics and philology.[7] The beginning of this institutionalized and academic period was characterized by the strong ties between German, Italian, French, and British Orientalists and the professors and students at the Egyptian University. Over a period of three decades, dozens of Orientalists visited and lectured at the Egyptian University. In this way, the European scholars involved in editing, indexing, and publishing Arabic texts were brought into contact with the new environments at the Egyptian University and the National Library. Increasingly, Egyptian and Levantine scholars attended the conferences of Orientalists. As interactions increased, institutions housing manuscripts became ever more interconnected in Cairo, Istanbul, and Damascus. Many Arab students travelled with scholarships from the Egyptian University to study in Western Europe, while some of the Orientalists who visited Egypt began publishing manuscripts they had edited through Egyptian publishing houses. A major collaboration ensued between Orientalists and scholars from the Académie arabe to compile a new dictionary, entitled, *The Large Lexicon of the Arabic Language* (*al-Muʿjam al-kabīr lil-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*). Just as Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī at the Académie arabe in Damascus was a symbol of the interaction, publication, and cultural production between the Levant and Egypt and the West, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, his colleagues, and his students played the same role and with even more effectiveness in Egypt. This took place through two domains: that of realizing the dimensions of European humanistic historical criticism, and that of publishing *turāth* texts and revivalist cultural production based on that newly developed consciousness and awareness of the importance of Arabic intellectual thought. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, Aḥmad Amīn, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām, and Ibrāhīm Madkūr worked

7 Cf. Wadād al-Qāḍī, "How Sacred Is the Text of an Arabic Medieval Manuscript?" In *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Manfred Kropp (Beirut and Würzburg: Ergon, 2007), 13–53; al-Sayyid, "al-Nashr al-turāthī al-ʿArabī," 383–386.

on classical *turāth* texts and established them in university curricula. Their students who came from Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, and Morocco started publishing linguistic, literary, philosophical, and historical texts using approaches which they had learned from Orientalists, and that they further developed, refined, and elaborated on. They also composed numerous works studying the history of the language, literature, philosophy, and thought of the Arabs and Islam such that their publications competed with or even surpassed the studies of their Orientalist professors and their Orientalist contemporaries.[8] Thus, if Muḥammad ʿAbduh and his school symbolized the early twentieth century revivalist consciousness that linked the publication of manuscripts and the concern with the origins of civilization (equating Islam and Christianity with knowledge and civilization) at the beginning of the twentieth century, then Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, his colleagues, and his students symbolized the subsequent movement in the publication of texts and studies. This second stage reached its apogee in the 1940s and 1950s. Amongst its most famous figures were Shawqī Ḍayf in the field of literary history and literary criticism, Aḥmad Amīn and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī in the fields of the publication of philosophical and theological texts, and the publication of works in the fields of intellectual and cultural history expressing both revivalist and humanistic concerns.[9] If we add to this the founding in the late 1940s of the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts, as part of the Cultural Bureau of the Arab League, established to collect *turāth* manuscripts and place them in the hands of researchers, we find that Egyptian academics and their Arab students—in so far as they were active in discovering and publishing texts of *turāth*, and through their linguistic, literary, philosophical, and intellectual studies—transformed the academic consciousness in the

8 See, for example, Jūrjī Zaydān *Tārīkh ādāb al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1992); Muṣṭafā Ṣādiq al-Rāfiʿī, *Tārīkh ādāb al-ʿArab*, 3rd ed., 3 vols. (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Istiqāma, 1953–1954); and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Fī l-shiʿr al-jāhilī* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1923). Louis Cheikho published in Beirut at the same time a history of Arabic literature in the nineteenth century, *al-Ādāb al-ʿarabiyya fī l-qarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Beirut: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Kāthūlīkiyya lil-Ābāʾ al-Yasūʿiyyīn, 1924–1926). For a new work on the relationship between Arab research of that period with Orientalist research, see Samar Majāʿiṣ, *Rīnān wa-naẓariyyat al-shakk fī l-shiʿr al-jāhilī: riyāda mughayyaba wa-qtibāsāt dūna muzdawijayn* (Beirut: Dār al-Nahār, 2009).

9 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī was aware of the methodology and philosophy of *Historismus*, thus in his book in addition to translating the work of Charles Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos, *Introduction aux etudes historiques* (Paris: Hachette, 1896), as well as Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), he also translated works by Immanuel Kant, René Descartes, and Paul Valéry.

field of knowledge of *turāth* and in the field of writing the political, literary, intellectual, and philosophical history of the Arab people.

I will stop at this stage that ended in the 1960s not because the publication of manuscripts came to a halt—for indeed there was an immense stream of publications in the sixties that continues to the present day—but because consciousness changed such that it is no longer possible to speak of a continuity in methodology, or more importantly, a revivalist consciousness, or the inclusion of the publication of *turāth* within the context of the Arab cultural project. This dialectic between the epistemological and the ideological that continued through the first six decades of the twentieth century ended in a rupture with the West regarding the *turāth* of Islamic revivalism on the one hand, and, on the other hand, in the numerous ideological readings and analyses of Arabo-Islamic *turāth*, and criticism of its contemporary uses by Arab academics.

3 Readings of *Turāth* and Its Projects from the 1930s to the 1960s

This section first discusses readings of Arabic *turāth* from an epistemological and ideological viewpoint from the 1930s to the 1960s, with the hope of clarifying the methodology I employ to treat this vital issue. Specifically, this section focuses on the readings, and the cultural and critical projects of Arab intellectuals that directly or indirectly related to *turāth* texts published during this time period.

3.1 *The Cultural History Thesis*

The period from the beginning of the twentieth century till the Second World War saw a proliferation of cultural projects, visions, and plans that relied on published Arabic *turāth* or found inspiration from it in its exploration of new horizons, particularly in the production of texts. Some of the most memorable were the debate between Faraḥ Anṭūn and Muḥammad ʿAbduh on Ibn Rushd, Averroism, and the conclusions they drew on the relationship between religion, thought, and the state. There were also the two books of Jūrjī Zaydān on Islamic civilization and Arabic literatures (1911–1913) and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's book on Ibn Khaldūn followed by his theory on the forgery of pre-Islamic (*jāhilī*) poetry. But here I wish to focus on Aḥmad Amīn's three-volume work on cultural history:[10] *Fajr al-Islām* (The Dawn of Islam), *Ḍuḥā al-Islām* (The Morning of

10 On the emergence of the idea of Islamic cultural history in German Orientalism, see Josef van Ess, "From Wellhausen to Becker: The Emergence of Kulturgeschichte in Islamic

Islam), and *Ẓuhr al-Islām* (The Noon of Islam), because of its great influence on later generations of Arab and Muslim thinkers and because it exemplifies implicit and explicit reliance on classical Arabic *turāth* sources. The project that followed that of Aḥmad Amīn and that strongly influenced Arabo-Islamic intellectual life was that of *shaykh* Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziq to reclassify the prioritization of the status of authenticity in the religious sciences and in the theology of medieval Islamic civilization. If the former project was a cultural history, the latter dealt with an idea that focused on what was then a new issue, the sites of "authenticity and creativity" (*al-aṣāla wa-l-ibdāʿ*) in philosophy and civilization independent from the thoughts of ancient Greece and from the hegemony of European civilization over the globe and over the territories and peoples of the Muslim world in the 1930s and 1940s.

When Aḥmad Amīn wrote his opus, he was a professor in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Fuʾād I. His colleague, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, notes in his 1928 introduction to the first volume that his colleague Aḥmad Amīn's series should be viewed as part of a major or critical undertaking.[11] This project included articles by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-ʿAbbādī who would write a political history concerning the Muslim people (*umma*), Aḥmad Amīn who would write a history of Arab "intellectual life," and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn who would write a history of Arabic literature. The notion of the intellectual and cultural history of a nation is in origin European, as Ṭāhā Ḥusayn notes. For the Arab and Muslim peoples and their civilizations, its sources are the Arabo-Islamic *turāth*. What distinguishes Aḥmad Amīn is that he is equally well-versed in the sources of *turāth* and in European culture and methodology. It was at the intersection of these two elements that the first two volumes of his book appeared (*Fajr al-Islām* and *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*), read by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn in manuscript form in 1928. Later, Aḥmad Amīn added the third volume, *Ẓuhr al-Islām*. In *Fajr al-Islām*, Amīn devoted a section to the geographical, historical, religious, and literary life of pre-Islamic Arabs, the writing of which relied on several sources, particularly the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, and the *Tārīkh* of al-Ṭabarī. When he listed his general references at the end of the section, Amīn included the *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and *Arabia before Muhammad* by De Lacy O'Leary. Interestingly, the second section, on Islam, sought the origins of the new Arabo-Islamic civilization through the Qurʾān, quoting numerous verses dealing with Arab beliefs, and aspects of their intellec-

Studies," in *Islamic Studies: A Tradition and Its Problems*, ed. Malcolm Kerr (Malibu, CA: Undena, 1982), 27–52; Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire*, 361–366.

11 For Amīn's series, *Fajr al-Islām*, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, and *Ẓuhr al-Islām*, I reference the 2nd edition (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2007).

tual and material life. He also relied on the Prophet's biography (*sīra*). Amīn then explained the effects of the Muslim conquests on the changes in thought and life-style amongst Arabs as a result of their mingling with other nations (the Persians and Romans). He then discussed the influence civilizations can have, for instance the far-reaching effects of Christianity and other religions, and Ancient Greek literature in translation. In these chapters, Amīn's sources are encyclopedias and various works by Orientalists. But once he begins mentioning trends in thought, the Islamic sciences, and religious sects, his sources revert to Arabic *turāth* published in Europe or in Egypt. In this respect, the *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal* by al-Shahrastānī was his constant companion until the end of the first two volumes. Of the three volumes, the second, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, is widely known for its focus on the "social lives, different cultures, scholarly movements, and religious sects in the first ʿAbbasid period." At the time, Aḥmad Amīn's chapters on trends in jurisprudence and the legal schools and on Islamic sects, especially the Muʿtazila, were innovative. Amīn did not exceed what was already present in the Classical Islamic sources, but reorganized the information so that it appeared logical in the contexts in which it was cited. He did not ignore the linguistic and literary aspects of the forming civilization, but represented them in a way that served his original purpose of historicizing Arab intellectual life.[12] The third volume of the trilogy, *Ẓuhr al-Islām*, concerns Arab intellectual life until the eighth/fourteenth century. It is to be noted that in *Ḍuḥā al-Islām* and *Ẓuhr al-Islām* Amīn stopped listing additional references at the end of each chapter because he found all that he needed in the Arabic *turāth* sources which were available to him. He concluded the *Ẓuhr al-Islām*, as if seeking good graces, with the biography of Ibn Khaldūn, about whom his colleague Ṭāhā Ḥusayn had written in his first doctoral dissertation.

Aḥmad Amīn never mentioned in this excellent textbook any of the modern works on Islamic civilization that preceded his, especially Jūrjī Zaydān's books. In his two books, *Tārīkh al-tamaddun al-islāmī* (History of Islamic Civilization) and *Tārīkh ādāb al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* (History of Arabic Literatures), Zaydān is more elaborate and erudite than Amīn in explaining ancient Arabic history. But Amīn tried to be thorough when examining literary and poetic issues. Perhaps Amīn never referenced Zaydān because of their different conceptualizations. Zaydān wrote a book about the emergence of "Islamic civilization" and the processes, laws, and organization of its growth, while Amīn was committed to the

12 This is because his colleague, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, was intending to write a literary history of the Arabs.

writing of the intellectual or cultural history of Islam and its civilization. And while Amīn may have been influenced by Zaydān's accounts of the history of the ancient Arabs and the second Jāhiliyya period, Amīn did not adhere to Zaydān's categorization of the Islamic eras. That, however, does not justify Amīn's disregard for neutral institutions, the state, and its regulations—unless he considered these topics to be part of political history and left them to his colleague ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-ʿAbbādī. On the other hand, Amīn gave great attention to the Muʿtazila in *Fajr al-Islām* and *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, something which is not matched by his writings about the Sunnis in the third volume of his book. Perhaps he considered his lengthy discussions of the different schools of jurisprudence, *madrasa*s, and Sufism part of the general discussion of Sunnism, since what he did with the Muʿtazila, he also did with the Shīʿa when he approached, in the *Ẓuhr al-Islām*, the developments that defined their sects and thoughts in the centuries following in the fourth/tenth century. His main premise is that Sunnis are the true adherents of Islam and that the Muʿtazila and Shīʿa are sectarians. Yet, his concern with the Muʿtazila continues to dominate. This distinguishes the works of the revivalists, the reformers, and their students in conceptualizing Islamic rationality and considering the Muʿtazila and the philosophers its prominent champions. Little remains to indicate the extent of Amīn's knowledge of Orientalist research in philosophy and theology. It seems highly likely that he knew the Swedish Orientalist H.S. Nyberg who published the *Kitāb al-intiṣār* (The Book of Victory) by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Khayyāṭ al-Muʿtazilī in Cairo in 1925. In fact, at the time, several of those very same Orientalists were teaching at the Egyptian University. The general spirit of Amīn's work reflects concepts then circulating in Orientalist research; however, as with Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's *Fī l-shiʿr al-jāhilī* (On Pre-Islamic Poetry), one cannot point to a specific book as the direct source of influence.[13] Thus, Amīn put forth a scholastic agenda for the history of Islamic culture and its continued influence on the writings of scholars for more than half a century afterwards, even if many did not directly reference it. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn never fulfilled his promise of writing a literary history of the Arabs, but his student, Shawqī Ḍayf, accomplished that in his famous series. Similarly, although ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-ʿAbbādī never wrote the political history that he had promised to, his student Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan did.

13 Cf. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Dirāsāt al-mustashriqīn ḥawla ṣiḥḥat al-shiʿr al-jāhilī* (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1979); Yaḥyā al-Jubūrī, *al-Mustashriqūn wa-l-shiʿr al-jāhilī bayn al-shakk wa-l-tawthīq* (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1997).

3.2 *The Argument of Authenticity and Creativity*

I have argued elsewhere that German Orientalists' research on the classical sources of Arabic philosophy and science, in particular the research of Max Meyerhof and Paul Kraus who were residing in and working on scientific and philosophical research in Cairo in the 1930s and 1940s, was one of the reasons for the reaction of Egyptian academics and men of religion to the issue of authenticity and creativity in Arabo-Islamic thought and philosophy.[14] I noted that Aḥmad Amīn and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn did not have a negative view of Orientalist research, although they contested some of its theses. But both men, and especially Amīn, were keenly aware of the intellectual independence and the greatness of Islamic civilization and that the admission of classical and Christian influences on that civilization did not change these facts.

Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziq, the brother of ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziq who wrote *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm* (Islam and the Foundations of Governance), and who became the *shaykh* of al-Azhar in the 1940s, joined Aḥmad Amīn and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn at the Faculty of Arts in the 1930s and taught Islamic philosophy at the Egyptian University. ʿAbd al-Rāziq argued in his book, *Tamhīd li-tārīkh al-falsafa al-islāmiyya* (Introduction to the History of Islamic Philosophy; 1944), as he had in his essays and lectures in the early 1940s, that a unique Islamic spirit (*aṣāla*) in the rational sciences gradually appeared, first in the production of scholars of the principles of jurisprudence, who were the most original in their methodology and their foundational works, then the scholars of theology, followed by the Sufis, and finally in the works of the so-called Islamic philosophers such as al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, and Ibn Rushd. For ʿAbd al-Rāziq, genuine originality (*aṣāla*) meant not relying on external, imported, or classical sources, but rather the creation of intellectual systems that are Islamic in spirit. He reiterated this thesis repeatedly in a general fashion. His students, especially ʿAlī Sāmī al-Nashshār, Maḥmūd Qāsim, Abū l-ʿIlā ʿAfīfī, Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, proceeded, in turn, to champion in their writings various intellectual trends on the basis of proximity to *aṣāla* and reliance on classical sources. While Maḥmūd Qāsim wrote in favor of the rationality and creativity of Ibn Rushd and then the Muʿtazila, al-Nashshār praised the greatness of Ashʿarī centrism, and Abū l-ʿIlā ʿAfīfī the gnosis (*ʿirfān*) of the Sufis. Badawī, on the other hand, who enthusiastically participated in these initial debates, appeared until the 1980s to be infatuated with the intertextual relationships between Arabs and Greeks and Arabs and Germans. He became in thrall to into the vortex of Arabic translations of German philosophy and Orientalism with their liberal, existentialist,

14 Al-Sayyid, *al-Mustashriqūn al-almān*, 72–74.

humanist, and heretical dimensions. Badawī adopted an ambiguous stance that developed into a negative attitude towards the research of Max Meyerhof (*Von Alexandrien nach Baghdad*; 1930), Paul Kraus (on Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī), and Nyberg (on Ibn al-Rāwandī) in spite of his translations of Orientalists and his arguments in favor of the classical origins of Islamic philosophy. There is little doubt that *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Rāziq's thesis had inspired a rich production in several scholarly directions. The 1950s and 1960s, however, witnessed, for a variety of reasons, new developments. With inducement from the thesis of authenticity and independence, ruptures appeared with all forms of Orientalism in academic circles, as seen in Muḥammad al-Bahī's book, *al-Fikr al-islāmī al-ḥadīth wa-ṣilatuh bil-istiʿmār al-gharbī* (Modern Islamic Thought and Its Relation to Western Colonialism) published in 1959.[15] This approach had actually appeared earlier in the field of literature in the thesis of Muḥammad Muḥammad Ḥusayn, *al-Ittijāhāt al-waṭaniyya fī l-adab al-ʿarabī al-ḥadīth* (Patriotic Orientations in Modern Arabic Literature; 1956). Thus, if Aḥmad Amīn's trilogy (*Fajr al-Islām*, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, and *Ẓuhr al-Islām*), based on *turāth* sources and European methodologies, firmly fixed a tradition in cultural history, then the thesis of Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziq—whether intentionally or unintentionally—turned the question of authenticity in academic circles into an issue of pivotal debate precisely when Islamic fundamentalism and essentialism came to the fore. In academia, publications of *turāth* texts with special significance (or creative significance for non-Islamists) proliferated and studies about the pure Islamo-Arabic roots of sciences, and all other fields of knowledge equally multiplied. As the Islamic essentialists argue, the distance between pure creativity and theological character is short. But how can one judge these events from the vantage of the relationship with and readings of *turāth*? The concept of cultural history and its methodologies are undoubtedly European, but the sources were always Arabic *turāth*. Works were published by Orientalists, but others, especially earlier on in poetry and literature, were published by professors at the Egyptian University as a response to revivalist needs and due to the innovation in the interest in cultural history. Along with the notion of authenticity and creativity, came the need for a reorganization of priorities. The search for origins became, gradually, not for the sake of a new foundation, but rather to prove independence from the Ancient

15 Cf. Riḍwān al-Sayyid, "Mā warā' 'al-tabshīr wa-l-istiʿmār': mulāḥaẓāt ḥawl al-naqd al-ʿarabī lil-istishrāq," in *Siyāsiyyāt al-Islām al-muʿāṣir* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1997), 323–337; and Ekkehard Rudolph, *Westliche Islamwissenschaft im Spiegel muslimischer Kritik: Grundzüge und Merkmale einer innerislamischen Diskussion* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1991).

Greeks, the Christians, the Jews, and the Orientalists. Thus, disciplinary specializations[16] with Aḥmad Amīn and his colleagues developed into a move towards a rift by the next generation of scholars during the following two decades. "Authentication," especially its focus on the self, became the point of entry for dogmatic belief at the expense of the acquisition of knowledge from the 1960s forward. However, the school of those seeking authenticity remained distinct from the ideological, epistemological, and historical criticism of leftist and modernist academics. Islamists desired a purified authenticity toward the past and the present, while the projects of criticism of *turāth* amongst the ideologues of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s were works in a dual rupture with the past and the dominant present. This is what I will address in the following paragraphs.[17]

4 Convergences and Divergences between the Ideological and the Epistemological in the Readings of *Turāth* (1959–1993)

The 1960s witnessed violent struggles across the Arab and Muslim worlds on all levels. On the strategic level, the Cold War between the two superpowers resulted in countries in the Arab world siding with one superpower or the other. Two corresponding camps emerged on the Arab political scene, one that allied itself with the United States and the other with the Soviet Union. In the cultural sphere in particular, it is not possible to explain the divisions and struggles on the same simplistic level—i.e., reactionary (*rajʿī*) thought vs. progressive (*taqaddumī*) thought, with the reactionaries being on the side of the United States and the progressives on the side of the Soviet Union, despite the fact that the politicians in both camps, and along with them the populist (or literalist) Marxists, wanted to explain things in this fashion culturally and historically. Islamists (now divided into two groups: the Brotherhood and the Salafis) completely separated themselves from the West, both capitalist and socialist, at a time when their opposition to (progressive) political regimes began to crystallize and deepen. From the 1970s onward, a deluge of *turāth* texts was published and used by the Islamists to construct their new thought system. For them, the search for authenticity (*taʾṣīl*) was the dominant factor. For members of Islamic movements, whose system of Islamic governance and economy emerged at the

16 Cf. Charles D. Smith, "The Crisis of Orientation: The Shift of Egyptian Intellectuals to Islamic Subjects in the 1930s," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4 (1973): 382–410.

17 Cf. Riḍwān al-Sayyid, "Naqāʾiḍ al-taʾṣīl wa-l-tajdīd fī l-fikr al-islāmī al-muʿāṣir," in *Siyāsiyyāt al-Islām al-muʿāṣir* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1997), 171–183.

same time, *turāth* and its texts, being sources of authenticity, were not at the center of their position, but rather were used to support their fully-formed system. The use of *turāth* texts by both political and non-political Islamist fundamentalists, especially the texts of Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn al-Qayyim, and Ibn Kathīr, require a study of its own which has yet to be carried out, especially with regard to aspects related to paradoxes in consciousness and practice, or the renewed revivalist consciousness and its relationship to textual *turāth*.

The topic of interest here is the academic and quasi-academic readings of *turāth* by several well-known Arab thinkers who considered, to varying degrees, that the *turāth*—as texts, customs, and occasionally religion—had become problematic on account of its strong and constant presence in identity, consciousness, reality, tradition, and practice. Thus, the main concern of these project founders was to create methods to quell the *turāth* upheaval and guide its influences and interpretations so that its negative effects could be prevented or diminished; or so that it may highlight the rationalist and progressive aspects of the *turāth*; or lastly, to deconstruct *turāth* texts from their fixed structures and their influences so as to liberate the Arab or Muslim mind from the myths of the past and its illusions in favor of a positive, enlightened modernity. The ideas of all of these thinkers were originally analytical, critical, and seeking liberation from dilemma. The methods adopted by these scholars—none of whom thought at the time to scrutinize the new return to the *turāth* as text and usage—varied in their modes of achieving liberation. There were those who constructed a theoretical vision of an inherited historical consciousness in order to become liberated from it. And there were those who offered an ideological history of the Arabo-Islamic heritage variously highlighting some of its aspects as reactionary and others as progressive, with the hope of supporting and pursuing the progressive. There were those who, over a period of thirty years, explained, critiqued, and reinterpreted the various Islamic sciences and their sources, so that they would serve issues affecting the people and their freedom. There were also those who worked, as part of a broader project, on "rationalizing" the *turāth* by classifying it into methods, trends, and schools in the hope that the right (*ṣāliḥ*), rational (*burhānī*), and the enlightened (*munfatiḥ*) would triumph over the culture of the present and the future. Finally, there were those who, also over more than thirty years, critiqued and deconstructed textual *turāth* in the hope of liberating the past and the present from its conscious and unconscious orthodoxies.

So long as this was the case, i.e., that the textual *turāth* was not the basis of this or that thesis or approach, would the efforts and projects of Arab intellectuals from the sixties to the present be considered readings of *turāth*, if their aim was to get rid of it, or to avoid its adverse effects, or to simply

liberate it? I believe that they all, in spite of the varying degrees to which they directly returned to *turāth* texts, are interpreters of the *turāth* from within or without. These are readings undertaken with the intention of employing them ideologically. With the exception of a few of these scholars, none espouses a negative attitude towards textual or traditional *turāth*. Rather they focus on the present and on the ways to develop and free it from the symbolic hegemonic powers. They tend to divide *turāth* into regressive and progressive and they single out the progressive for praise. Proof of this selective vision can be seen in the majority of these thinkers' interest in the *Muqaddima* by Ibn Khaldūn (732–808/1332–1406). Ibn Khaldūn, who is considered the discoverer of the laws of historical events and their transformations, is championed as a progressive example of understanding society, its means of subsistence, its relationship to authority, and the ways in which states are formed.[18]

4.1 *ʿAbdallāh al-ʿArawī* (*Abdallah Laroui*): *Reading History and* Turāth *for the Sake of Transcendence and Isolation*

Al-ʿArawī never proposed a theory about *turāth*.[19] He did, however, explain his opinion on *turāth*, its mindset, and the need to avoid both in his books, *al-ʿArab wa-l-fikr al-tārīkhī* (Arabs and Historical Thought), *L'idéologie arabe contemporaine*, and *Mafhūm al-ʿaql* (The Concept of Reason). Al-ʿArawī's problematic is represented in the state of our historical paralysis, and the exploration of the ways through which to surpass it and depart from its *turāth* through the adoption of Marxist historiography. Al-ʿArawī looks at embodiments of this (political, economic, and cultural) historical failure by reviewing the programs

18 On the interest in Ibn Khaldūn and his significance during the period under discussion, see Fahmī Jadʿān, "Ibn Khaldūn fī l-fikr al-ʿarabī al-ḥadīth," in his *Naẓariyyat al-turāth wa-dirāsāt ʿarabiyya wa-islāmiyya ukhrā* (Amman: Dār al-Shurūq, 1985), 123–137; Suhayl al-Ḥubayyib, "Fī qirāʾāt al-turāth: rāhiniyyat Ibn Khaldūn fī mashrūʿ al-taghyīr al-ḥaḍārī anmūdhajan," in *Khiṭāb al-naqd al-thaqāfī fī l-fikr al-ʿarabī al-muʿāṣir* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿa, 2010), 71–121. On orthodox Marxist readings of *turāth* which I did not review here see Tawfīq Sallūm et al., eds., *al-Mārksiyya wa-l-turāth al-ʿarabī al-islāmī: munāqasha li-aʿmāl Ḥusayn Muruwwa wa-l-Ṭayyib Tīzīnī* (Beirut: Dār al-Ḥadātha, 1982).

19 My choice of the theses of intellectuals who dealt with the question of *turāth* is a selective one that does not provide a comprehensive representation of the scene. Rather, I believe that these intellectuals have general projects that focus on the interpretation of Islamic *turāth*. There are among Arab thinkers those who treated the *turāth* issue theoretically or pragmatically and their readings deserve mention and exposition, such as Hishām Jaʿīṭ (Hichem Djaït), Fahmī Jadʿān, Nāṣīf Naṣṣār, ʿAlī Ūmlīl (Ali Oumlil), ʿAzīz al-ʿAẓma (Aziz al-Azmeh), Wajīh Kawtharānī, Kamāl ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, and ʿAbd al-Ilāh Balqazīz (Abdelilah Belkeziz).

of the three propagandists of modernization: the *shaykh*, the liberal, and the technocrat. These are the persons who took over the intellectual leadership role in Arab society. The *shaykh*,[20] according to al-ʿArawī's definition (by whom he means Muḥammad ʿAbduh and his project of reform), is one of the points of the intellectual triangle of contemporary Arab ideology. The *shaykh* never ceases envisioning the contradictions between East and West through his inherited framework, both consciously and unconsciously, that is, as a clash between Christianity and Islam. This interpretation originates in the professional nature of the man of religion in his mission through which he attempts to seek constant assistance from an impregnable Islam capable of confronting the Christianity of the West. No matter how enlightened or open-minded a *shaykh* is, his hesitation will end in a manner similar to that experienced by Muḥammad ʿAbduh, who is one of the most important symbols of the reform movement in modern Islam and the one intellectual who explained that the most important reason for our weakness is our deviation from the message and mission of Islam.

Shaykh ʿAbduh clung to the enlightened and positive elements of *turāth* unaware of the large temporal gap. This is a *turāth* that not only includes the Qur'ānic text and the Golden Age, but also incorporates the inherited body of *fatwā*s, rulings, and theological structures—that is, the aspects and axioms that do not relate to time and place. Muḥammad ʿAbduh's innocent call to return to the original sources of Islam was not able to transcend issues such as these, since he believed that all the mistakes of previous centuries and their regressions were just a form of misunderstanding. This is because the *shaykh*'s fascination with Western civilization was measured in his mind by the greatness of Islamic civilization that was lost as a result of the mistakes made by Muslims. Thus, real change requires a radical transformation that the *shaykh* could not accomplish no matter how open-minded he was. This mirrors the failure of the modernizing politician because he wanted to appeal to the religious masses by forming an alliance with the reformist *shaykh* and by apparently insisting on adopting the message of Islam. The *shaykh* and the politician thus came to agree that the problem rested in both military and cultural colonialism. As for the technocrat, or the caller for a technocracy,

20 See ʿAbdallāh al-ʿArawī, *al-Aydiyūlūjiyā al-ʿarabiyya al-muʿāṣira*, 2nd ed. (Beirut: al-Markaz al-Thaqāfī al-ʿArabī, 1999), 38–48. Cf. Kamāl ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, "Min al-ʿaql ilā l-ʿaqlāniyya: fī l-barhana ʿalā ḍarūrat al-qaṭīʿa maʿa l-turāth," in *Muḥāwarat fikr ʿAbdallāh al-ʿArawī*, ed. Bassām al-Kurdī (Beirut: al-Markaz al-Thaqāfī al-ʿArabī, 2000), 171–180; Nadīm Najdī, *Athar al-istishrāq fī l-fikr al-ʿarabī al-muʿāṣir ʿinda Idwārd Saʿīd wa-Ḥasan Ḥanafī wa-ʿAbdallāh al-ʿArawī* (Beirut: Dār al-Fārābī, 2005), 369–374.

who was more aware of the question of progress, he ultimately failed because he ignored the cultural causes and contexts, and believed in the possibility of creating new technologies in an environment whose components he did not know well or chose to ignore. Therefore, al-ʿArawī considers the cultural question a serious obstacle to the process of progress and does not see that the syncretic treatments of reformists or Salafists (as those from the Maghreb call them) have any validity or permanence. Muḥammad ʿAbduh's mentality and his authority have inherited theological and logical dimensions. It is a mentality that sees that the mind is the mind of the text: "the mind is what the mind perceives and defines. And what the mind perceives and founds as a mind this is knowledge of the absolute, which is an absolute knowledge."[21] The text, thus, in the Salafist reformist frame of authority, the authority of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, remains, in al-ʿArawī's expression: a mirror for both the mind and existence. In that position there is a negation of time that makes it true to the traditional mentality of dialectical theology, ignoring or unable to "perceive the needs of time." Muḥammad ʿAbduh, al-Ṭāhir b. ʿĀshūr, and their like have adopted many components of modern culture, but did not comprehend the rupture caused by modernity with medieval and ancient cultures. For this reason, they tried to produce texts that revived aspects of the *turāth* as a means to confront new and contemporary challenges.

In order that no doubt remains regarding al-ʿArawī's steadfast dedication to *historismus* and historiography, he invoked Ibn Khaldūn, just like he invoked Muḥammad ʿAbduh, so that, as Kamāl ʿAbd al-Laṭīf has said, he could achieve two purposes: to show the limitations of scientific knowledge in Islamic culture and to highlight the limitations of Khaldunian efforts, even though they represent, from his point of view, the height of excellence in Islamic thought. Ibn Khaldūn had sought to free concepts from the grasp of theologians and Sufis, but, according to al-ʿArawī, he did not succeed because his concepts continued to be imbued with moral and religious concerns. Thus, the processes of proving the need for a rupture with *turāth* are central in the thought of al-ʿArawī. His thought seeks a rupture in which "we truly experience the rationality of the modern ages and speak its language so that the extent of the paradoxes can diminish and we can reconcile with history," and thus relinquish our medieval mindset and we would be overtaken by "the rationality of modern times" instead.[22]

21 See ʿAbdallāh al-ʿArawī, *Mafhūm al-ʿaql: maqāla fī l-mufāraqāt* (Beirut: al-Markaz al-Thaqāfī al-ʿArabī, 1996), 97.

22 Ibid., 359 and Kamāl ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, "Min al-ʿaql ilā l-ʿaqlāniyya," 176–177.

As for al-ʿArawī's negative opinion of traditional Orientalism, this appears in two points: first, the predetermined intellectual premises through which he looks at culture, civilization, and humans in our field, and, second, the responses that Islamists cast against Orientalists and their theses. Orientalists, whether positive or negative, put forth issues that are restricted by the limits of their own intellectual premises and the constraints within which they freeze time and space. Thus, Muslims respond to Orientalism referring to their eternalizing conditions which may not be historical and which are now, at any rate, long gone and without hope of recuperation.[23]

4.2 *Muḥammad Arkūn: From Humanism to the Dissection of and Liberation from Orthodoxy*

In the 1960s, when Arkūn was preparing his Ph.D. dissertation on Miskawayh and his age, including his colleagues al-Tawḥīdī and al-ʿĀmirī, he adopted a stance similar to the one taken by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī during the same period in alluding to the humanistic trends that appeared in Islamic thought in the fourth/ninth and tenth centuries.[24] Then, in the 1970s, he developed two new orientations: a criticism of Orientalism, and a methodological interest in the humanities and social sciences. Arkūn used them to analyze and deconstruct discourses of the classical and contemporary periods. Since the middle of the 1970s, the notion of "applied Islamology" (*al-Islamiyyāt al-taṭbīqiyya*; *l'islamologie appliquée*) dominated his work. It began with his criticism of Orientalists, then it developed into an expansive methodology as he grew increasingly interested in the humanities and social sciences (including linguistics, anthropology, ethnology, and the philosophy of religion).[25] Arkūn believes Islam consists of the notion of religion—that is, the notion of the sublime, exalted, wondrous, and magnificent (which echoes Rudolph Otto's approach in his book, *The Idea of the Holy*)—as well as a social institution and phenomenon. These considerations, he claims, not only apply to Islam but also to the other two monotheistic religions: Judaism and Christianity. What inter-

23 Al-ʿArawī, *al-Aydiyūlūjiyā al-ʿarabiyya al-muʿāṣira*, 140–150; Kamāl ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *Dars al-ʿArawī fī l-difāʿ ʿan al-fikr al-tārīkhī* (Beirut: Dār al-Fārābī, 2000), 28–31.

24 Arkūn's book was later translated into Arabic under *Nazʿat al-ansana fī l-fikr al-ʿarabī: jīl Miskawayh wa-l-Tawḥīdī*, trans. Hāshim Ṣāliḥ (Beirut: Dār al-Sāqī, 1997). See also his latest, *al-Ansana wa-l-Islām: madkhal tārīkhī naqdī*, trans. Maḥmūd ʿAzab (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿa lil-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr, 2010).

25 I relied in my exposé of Arkūn's project on the book of Nayla Abī Nādir, *al-Turāth wa-l-manhaj bayn Arkūn wa-l-Jābirī* (Beirut: al-Shabaka al-ʿArabiyya lil-Abḥāth wa-l-Nashr, 2008).

ests us here is the extent that Arkūn's project reached in the last two decades in its deconstruction, or destruction, of orthodoxies in Islam, especially the Sunnī orthodoxy.

Arkūn thus puts forth an expansive project to read Islamic *turāth* or the productions of "the Islamic mind" and he does not exclude the Qurʾān from it. He bases his analysis of *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* on five principles, as he states, that distinguish his interpretation of the Qurʾān from that of the classical interpretations. The first of these principles is that humankind can be thought of as a "material problem" for the scrutinizing person.[26] Second, researchers should recognize that attaining a meticulous understanding of reality is their responsibility. Third, that the knowledge of "reality" requires a constant effort to transcend "biophysical, economic, political, linguistic, and other constraints." Fourth, researchers must recognize that knowledge of reality is a constant risk because it is a process of "repeated exit" from the closed borders imposed by every cultural heritage. Fifth, researchers must not stop at a specific solution no matter how impressive the results because their path is similar to that of the Sufis who do not know rest in their voyage towards God. Here, regardless of application, Arkūn is trying to distinguish between an analysis based on linguistics and semiotics and a theological one. Thus, he is careful not to adhere to a single reading and a determined conclusion. Linguistic concerns pervade his textual analyses, though, once more, without passing judgment on whether these conditions were met in his own approaches to the Qurʾānic text and other texts. Kamāl ʿAbd al-Laṭīf has assessed Arkūn's efforts as being distinguished by a radical critical strategy concerned with understanding the Islamic phenomenon as not just a living phenomenon in history, but as one that makes history.[27] Arkūn's approaches to the religious phenomenon and its texts including the Qurʾān vary and include a historical critique of foundational texts. He states that he does not want Islamic *turāth* to remain isolated from Christianity, its history, and its texts. As Arkūn carries out his project, his aim is not to "destroy religion," but rather to establish an epistemological reconciliation that would unite Islam and the achievements in the humanities in an effort to establish a new discourse which is not subject to repetition and mindless adherence, and which would not bow before sanctification and reverence.

Arkūn, thus, possesses a project one of whose tools is theological critique and critique of the religious mind. That is why he preferred the term "the

26 Muḥammad Arkūn, *al-Qurʾān min al-tafsīr al-mawrūth ilā ṭaḥlīl al-khiṭāb al-dīnī* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿa, 2001), 23.

27 Kamāl ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *al-ʿArab wa-l-ḥadātha al-siyāsiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿa, 1997), 92.

Islamic mind" to refer to the creed and group of beliefs, and ethical-legislative teachings and criteria that believers uphold and that organize their behaviors. A number of the readers of Arkūn's project disagreed with this term just as others disagreed with al-Jābirī's notion of "the Arab Mind,"[28] opining "this term is not evident, but rather it is a designation that implies an apotheosis of the named in so far as it speaks about the existence of a singular and constant Islamic mind that transcends sciences, figures, languages, and ages." Arkūn's reading of the Islamic mind, and his insistence on it despite many critiques of the concept, influenced his general vision of Arabo-Islamic culture in history. Arkūn treated the issue from the points of view of both the philosopher and the historian. This led him to be interested in the concept of historical rupture which appeared in history through the question of periodization. He sees, for instance, the need to re-evaluate the Islamic heritage through a comprehensive critique that starts from the appearance of the Qur'ān to the present day. Based on this periodization, on which sometimes his thoughts cannot be followed, the historical heritage (*mawrūth*) is divided into five stages. In the first three stages, the Islamic mind was established and crystallized. Then, the next two stages turned to rumination, repetition, isolationism, and withdrawal. Therefore, the Islamic mind has to simultaneously fight two battles today: first, a battle against the passive rupture (*al-qaṭīʿa al-salbiyya*)[29] that occurred with the philosophical and the rational *turāth*; and, the second, a battle to redress the backwardness that afflicted the Islamic mind in comparison to the European mind. These two painful ruptures remain in the realm of the unthinkable because nationalist ideologues aimed at reviving the Arabo-Islamic character and not at delving into a historical critique based on a comparison of the different Mediterranean civilizations. Human intellectual thought has a history and a development that changes over the ages depending on the capabilities of each age and its scholarly and technical tools. This makes it possible to speak in the fourth and fifth stages about "the historical disparity" in trying to accurately classify perceptions of reality and the rush to transform these perceived realities when comparing the progress of the two coasts of the Mediterranean. This is an epistemological periodization that Arkūn generally does not resort to so as to avoid a classification which he does not want. Similarly, from an epistemological and ideological vantage, Arkūn urges Muslims to rise to create scientific and epistemological revolutions just like those that occurred in the

28 Cf. Abī Nādir's review of the opinions of critics and supporters of the concept of "the Muslim Mind" (Abī Nādir, *al-Turāth wa-l-manhaj bayn Arkūn wa-l-Jābirī*, 470–473).

29 Abī Nādir, *al-Turāth wa-l-manhaj bayn Arkūn wa-l-Jābirī*, 495–497.

West.[30] When Arkūn talks about the first three stages in the intellectual and historical periodization of Islamic thought, he classifies in the same context Ibn Sīnā, al-Ghazālī, and Ibn Rushd as part of the creativity of the classical era. This is in contrast with al-Jābirī's separation of the (rhetorical [*bayānī*] and gnostic [*ʿirfānī*]) East and the (demonstrative [*al-burhānī*]) Islamic west.[31] Also, in contrast to al-Jābirī, Arkūn does not elevate the rational over the non rational and the imaginative with reference to history and the current situation. Instead, he considers it all to be a creative civilizational product from the phenomenon of Islamic revelation to Sufi discourse and its manifestations. Thus, Arkūn, like al-Jābirī, relies upon the notion of "rupture," though not to distinguish between rational modes of reason, but rather to shed light on the different periods that shaped the Islamic mind and highlight how the "continuity" of the period of rumination is epitomized by contemporary and extremist fundamentalist discourse.[32]

Just as Arkūn has a positive view of the humanisms of the fourth/tenth century and its marginalized scholars, like Miskawayh and al-Tawḥīdī, he holds the same view of Ibn Sīnā and the Muʿtazila. With Ibn Sīnā Islamic rationalism reached its apogee, just as it had previously become prominent when the Caliph al-Maʾmūn adopted the tenets of the Muʿtazila, and both stated their belief in the idea of the createdness of the Qurʾān—that is, humanizing its social and cultural manifestations. Arkūn disagrees with current researchers on the true position of the Muʿtazila regarding this idea, or with the authoritarian dimensions of the ordeal of Ibn Ḥanbal. Instead, he considers the matter similar to a split over the reactionary and the progressive, without mentioning these terms.[33] Arkūn believes that phenomenon of the Muʿtazila evidences similarities to what is today known as secularism. Here, he does not realize that the Ḥanbalīs, who rejected the interference of political authorities in religion while surrendering to them in political affairs, might have actually been closer to his understanding of secularism. Arkūn believes that the "Qādirī creed" presents a very clear moment when the beliefs of the Sunnis were imposed on scholars and society,[34] but he does not think the same of the imposition by al-Maʾmūn's beliefs in the createdness of the Qurʾān, perhaps because Arkūn

30 Muḥammad Arkūn, *Qaḍāyā fī naqd al-ʿaql al-dīnī: kayfa nafham al-Islām al-muʿāṣir* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿa, 1998), 288–290.

31 Arkūn, *al-Islām, Ūrūbā, al-Gharb: rihānāt al-maʿnā wa-irādāt al-haymana* (Beirut: Dār al-Sāqī, 1995), 56–58.

32 Arkūn, *Qaḍāyā fī naqd al-ʿaql al-dīnī*, 103–104.

33 Arkūn, *Qaḍāyā fī naqd al-ʿaql al-dīnī*, 67–68.

34 Arkūn, *al-Islām, Ūrūbā, al-Gharb*, 188.

considered this to be a progressive thought versus the regressive thought of the Sunnis.

4.3 *Muḥammad ʿĀbid al-Jābirī: From the Culture of Logical Demonstration* (al-burhān) *to the Culture of Revival*

Al-Jābirī differs with Arkūn's starting points, just as he differs with him in the epistemological and intellectual systems.[35] The features of al-Jābirī's project did not appear clearly in his dissertation on Ibn Khaldūn with the title *al-ʿAṣabiyya wa-l-dawla* (Group Solidarity and the State; 1970), but his entire system of thought soon emerged in his book, *Naḥnu wa-l-turāth* (Ourselves and the Classical Heritage; 1980).[36] It seems from this last book, just as from the book that preceded it, *Madkhal ilā falsafat al-ʿulūm* (Introduction to the Philosophy of Sciences; 1976), that al-Jābirī inclined from the outset towards epistemology and chose it as a method well suited to deconstructing the mind and to understanding its mechanisms. Also since the beginning, al-Jābirī's epistemological concerns were coupled with ideological ones. In spite of his scholarly and objective interests, he was preoccupied with the nationalist revival. For this reason, in *Naḥnu wa-l-turāth* he criticized "the contemporary Arab discourse" for its lack of awareness that the weapon of criticism should be preceded and accompanied by "a criticism of the weapon" by which he meant a criticism of the mind, and through that "the launch of a new era of composition" can take place and thus accomplish the "Arab project of revival."[37] Thus, in his project to read *turāth* and to read the methods and mechanisms of the workings of the historical Arab mind, he realized that to accomplish a scholarly reading of a text, one needs three steps: structural treatment, historical analysis, and investigation of the use of ideology within the sociopolitical frame. In this context, al-Jābirī argues that the Arab mind with its theoretical, epistemological dimensions is historically marked by three structures:[38] textual proof, experiential knowledge, and logical demonstration (*bayān*, *ʿirfān*, *burhān*). As for its pragmatic dimension related to politics, it is framed by three lines: tribe, spoils, and belief. He methodically views these categories as structures: "analyzing the structure means ending it by turning its invariables into variables and nothing

35 In reviewing al-Jābirī's thesis I also relied on Abī Nādir, *al-Turāth wa-l-manhaj bayn Arkūn wa-l-Jābiri*.

36 *Naḥnu wa-l-turāth: qirāʾāt muʿāṣira fī turāthinā al-falsafī* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿa, 1980).

37 Muḥammad ʿĀbid al-Jābirī, *al-Khiṭāb al-ʿarabī al-muʿāṣir: dirāsa taḥlīliyya naqdiyya* (Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-ʿArabiyya, 1994), 9.

38 Al-Jābirī, *al-Turāth wa-l-ḥadātha: dirāsāt wa-munāqashāt* (Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-ʿArabiyya, 1991), 47, 282–283.

more, and so liberating us from its authority and opening up space for the practice of our authority upon it." Thus, from the very beginning al-Jābirī excludes anthropological and historical criticism in favor of epistemological criticism, because he argues that liberation for the sake of renovation can only come from within the Arabo-Islamic *turāth*. Hence, for him, it is necessary to study the Arabic language, since Islamic religious texts are Arabic texts. For this reason, the religio-cultural center of Islam will continue to be Arabic. In this line of thought, al-Jābirī argues as a digression (and this is an ideological stance) that the Arab world is the one most qualified "to be the center of illumination in the religious sphere" from which the peripheries of the Islamic world can benefit from the achievement of their revival.[39] Following the mastery of Arabic in the manner prescribed by al-Shāfiʿī, al-Jābirī believes that there is no authority except that of the mind and that of scholarly method. However, that does not apply to the Qurʾān "the truth of whose text we cannot doubt. It is the same text (*al-Muṣḥaf*) that was collected, organized, and approved as an official text during the time of the third Caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. Historical criticism, which has revealed and will reveal many new issues contrary to what is known, will not reveal anything new between the Qurʾān that the Prophet received and what was collected during the reign of ʿUthmān. The proof for this is the disputes and wars among Muslims without anyone being accused of altering the Qurʾānic text. As for explaining and interpreting the text, that field is open to whoever is competent in Arabic and knowledgeable of the history of the revelation of the Qurʾān, the reasons for the revelation of its verses (*asbāb al-nuzūl*), the Meccan and Medinese verses, and the study of abrogated verses (*al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh*), for the sake of finding issues that could be thought of through modern methods. This is what al-Jābirī tried to accomplish in the last decade when he wrote a commentary on the Qurʾān in which he showed great erudition, as it is known, even though he had said that "when it comes to building a new understanding of religious texts, that is not part of my task, for I am not a religious reformer nor someone with a mission, nor do I have the desire to found a new theological science." Instead, what al-Jābirī wants is a methodical blueprint for the study of the history of Arabo-Islamic thought as "a subject unto itself" and not for the sake of carrying out religious reform. This "subject unto itself" is prompted by ideological and revivalist concerns and the preference for historical and forward-looking rationalism. From this emerges his extreme admiration of Ibn Rushd in the midst of ideological concerns that

39 Abī Nādir quoting an article by al-Jābirī in *Fikr wa-Naqd* in *al-Turāth wa-l-manhaj bayn Arkūn wa-l-Jābirī*, 463–465.

drove him at times to exalt the Rushdian framework, which was based upon Andalusian and Maghribi apodictic proofs. He chose the term "Arab mind" deliberately, and he continued to insist on using it as a strategic preference because if "all that has to do with the Arabic language, its world, and forms of existence are erased, then we will have nothing remaining worthy of mention." For al-Jābirī, every epistemological model has created an epistemological system that is unique in its method, conceptual procedure, and the vision which it forms of humans and the world.[40] However, rival separatist structures have destabilized the unity of the Arab mind. And just as al-Jābirī's delineation of the Arab mind was criticized by followers and critics alike as being a tribal or an ideological concept, the three structures that he mentioned (based on his epistemological concerns and the influence of the notion of episteme as developed by Michel Foucault) were equally criticized for their lack of basis in the Arabic historical field.[41] Al-Jābirī justified his position by stating that his goal was to uncover the principles and systems influential in Arabic culture. In line with this, he declared his preference for the rational production of Arabic scholarly culture and his opposition to the non-rational in Gnosis, Sufism, and mysticism (*ʿirfāniyyāt*). Al-Jābirī pits the Arab religious rational against the "rational irrational." Historically, on the other hand, Gnosticism and experiential knowledge are ancient concepts in the region and when the Arab mind was being formed and its belief systems and mechanisms were emerging, experiential Gnosticism—the premise of the resigned mind—was in full bloom, spreading its roots, fortifying its positions, and increasing its circle of influence. At the time, Arabo-Islamic rationality, embodied in the textual proof (*bayān*) system, presented an opposing response to Manichaean Gnosticism and Shīʿī mystical knowledge. Here, al-Jābirī considers that Islamic Sufism drowned in a sea of Hermeticism, especially when the Sufis opposed mystical truth (*ḥaqīqa*) to Islamic law (*sharīʿa*). The same is the case with the Ismāʿīlī esoterics who not only preferred the hidden (*bāṭin*) over the literal (*ẓāhir*), but in fact, claimed that they are at odds with one another. The textual collided with the experien-

40 Al-Jābirī, *al-Turāth wa-l-ḥadātha*, 260.

41 Cf. the opinions of critics as reviewed in Abī Nādir, *al-Turāth wa-l-manhaj bayn Arkūn wa-l-Jābirī*, 473–480. To review al-Jābirī's opinion on the three structures see the introduction to his books: *Takwīn al-ʿaql al-ʿarabī* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿa, 1984) and *Bunyat al-ʿaql al-ʿarabī: dirāsa taḥlīliyya naqdiyya li-nuẓum al-maʿrifa fī l-thaqāfa al-ʿarabiyya* (Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-ʿArabiyya, 1986). To understand both Arkūn's and al-Jābirī's relationship with Foucault, see al-Zawāwī Baghūra, *Mīshīl Fūkū fī l-fikr al-ʿarabī al-muʿāṣir* (*Muḥammad ʿĀbid al-Jābirī wa-Muḥammad Arkūn wa-Fatḥī al-Turaykī wa-Muṭāʿ Ṣafadī*) (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿa, 2001).

tial and then both collided with the apodictic. And there is a difference between the intellectual experience of the Arab Mashriq, which led in the end to what he called "the resigned mind," and the intellectual Maghribi experience, in the heart of which a strong apodictic system was formed.[42] For al-Jābirī, Ibn Sīnā represents intellectual degeneration and departure from the rules of rationality, whereas a rationalist tendency dominates Ibn Rushd with his Aristotelianism. This tendency was not limited to Ibn Rushd, Ibn Bājja, and Ibn Ṭufayl in philosophy, but it found expression with Ibn Ḥazm and al-Shāṭibī in the principles of jurisprudence and legislation (*tashrīʿ*), and with Ibn Khaldūn in history and the theories of knowledge and human society. For this reason, the concern of al-Jābirī focused on achieving unity and continuity for the Maghribi moment in opposition to the Mashriqi moment because he considered it to have been at the basis of the European revival and because its rationality contains futuristic prospects. Al-Jābirī's argument regarding the "epistemological rupture" between the (textual and experiential) Mashriq and the (apodictic) Maghrib was strongly criticized by several scholars, but al-Jābirī, undeterred, devoted himself to highlighting the distinctions between the Mashriq and the Maghrib in the Middle Ages, not just in philosophical thought, but even extended his arguments to jurisprudential thought. We mentioned earlier the differences between Arkūn and al-Jābirī with regard to the issue of epistemological rupture, the question of the rational and the non-rational, and the reactionary and the progressive in Arabo-Islamic thought. The reality is that al-Jābirī considers neither the Muʿtazila nor the Ashʿarīs as rationalist liberated movements. He criticizes them for trying to force the notion of the createdness of the Qurʾān on their contemporaries.[43] Thus, he proffers a different historical view of medieval Arabic religious and cultural history. Since al-Jābirī's classificatory vision precedes the works of Arkūn in this field, it is highly likely that Arkūn developed his vision in a manner that opposes the former, but not for the sake of contradiction and dispute, rather because they both had from the outset two different methods and two divergent visions of Arabo-Islamic cultural history.[44]

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42 Al-Jābirī, *Takwīn al-ʿaql al-ʿarabī*, 86–108.

43 See Abī Nādir, *al-Turāth wa-l-manhaj bayn Arkūn wa-l-Jābirī*, 502–503.

44 See Kamāl ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *Naqd al-ʿaql aw ʿaql al-tawāfuq* (Latakia: Dār al-Ḥiwār, 2002), 32–48. Here he argues that the methodologies of Arkūn and al-Jābirī in reading *turāth* complement each other. This is, however, not true. Cf. my paper on the problematic of *turāth* and modernity in the thought of al-Jābirī, "Ishkāliyyat al-turāth wa-l-ḥadātha fī fikr al-Jābirī," in *al-ʿAqlāniyya wa-l-nahḍa fī mashrūʿ Muḥammad ʿĀbid al-Jābirī: buḥūth wa-munāqashāt al-nadwa al-fikriyya allatī nazẓamahā Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-ʿArabiyya* (Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-ʿArabiyya, 2012), 21–50.

Al-Jābirī finished his critical project on the Arab mind by announcing the resignation of this mind and the domination of the textual and the mystical over it. Politically, it was dominated by the triumvirate of belief, tribe, and spoils of war. Ethically and morally, it followed the method of Ardashīr, which was based on subservience and obedience. Al-Jābirī calls for the transformation of the tribe into a civil, political, and social system, the spoils of war into an economy based on taxes, belief into opinion only, and ethics into the ethics of rights and duties.

4.4 *Ḥasan Ḥanafī: Religious* Turāth *in the Service of the Nationalist and Revivalist Project*

Ḥasan Ḥanafī approached the reading of *turāth* from a very different background than those of the intellectuals we discussed above. His Ph.D. dissertation in Paris was on the epistemology of the principles of Islamic jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). At the beginning of his academic career, he worked on the philosophy of religion and the theses of religious reform put forth by intellectuals during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1980, he published his introduction to the reading of the Islamic religious *turāth* under the title *al-Turāth wa-l-tajdīd: mawqifunā min al-turāth al-qadīm* (Classical Heritage and Innovation: Our Opinion of the Ancient Heritage) and dedicated it "to all those who participate in the formation of our national project."[45] Since then, he has been working on reconstructing the traditional Islamic sciences, particularly dialectical theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*), the principles of jurisprudence, and Sufism, in a manner that serves his project of religious reform and in order that this vast interpretation of the Islamic sciences may found specializations and disciplines that would become "revolutionary ideologies for Muslim peoples" in ways "that would supply them with their general theoretical foundations and provide them with guidelines for behavior." Through this, he hopes that "religious reform will turn into a comprehensive revival."

Ḥasan Ḥanafī defines *turāth* as all that has reached us from the past within the dominant culture.[46] Based on this definition, two issues emerge: *turāth* is a

45 I relied, in reviewing Ḥasan Ḥanafī's position on reading *turāth* on his book, *al-Turāth wa-l-tajdīd: mawqifunā min al-turāth al-qadīm* (Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq, 1980). At the time of writing I was not able to reference Nāhiḍ Ḥattar's book on the thought of Ḥasan Ḥanafī. I also decided not to reference Jūrj Ṭarābīshī's writings on Ḥasan Ḥanafī and al-Jābirī for their lack of objectivity. Cf. Najdī, *Athar al-istishrāq fī l-fikr al-ʿarabī al-muʿāṣir*, where he was highly critical of Ḥanafī's opinions on Orientalism.

46 Ḥanafī, *al-Turāth wa-l-tajdīd*, 10. Cf. his definition with other definitions by writers such as Jadʿān, *Naẓariyyat al-turāth wa-dirāsāt ʿarabiyya wa-islāmiyya ukhrā*, 13–41.

heritage of the ancient past, and because of its continuous existence and influence, it has become a given that is present on many levels. His concern for religious and non-religious *turāth* is directed towards preserving the continuity of the national culture, finding the past origins of the present, pushing the present towards progress, and participation in issues of social change. Thus, what is prominent in his reading of *turāth*, as it appears through his project in *al-Turāth wa-l-tajdīd*, in his *Min al-ʿaqīda ilā l-thawra* (From Creed to Revolution), and in his long series *al-Dīn wa-l-thawra* (Religion and Revolution), are several inseparable issues, often sequenced, that he describes as logical and realistic.

The first of these issues is that the religious heritage has displayed an astounding vitality over the last decades. This vitality is manifest in public's desire for religion in increasingly diverse forms of ritualistic performance, clothing, in their embrace of new and old forms expressing their hold on religious *turāth* in rituals and customs, in their belonging to movements that make religion their slogan, and in the tendency for exaggeration and extremism on the social and political levels.

The second issue is that these new and revived phenomena are revealed to us on a host of levels: disclosed through the written heritage, for which conferences are held, colleges and schools are created, and around which calls multiply for the revival, editing, and publication of *turāth*. These phenomena and activities seem to fulfill deep and clear needs amongst the people that cannot be ignored and that the structures of modernity and of the state do not satisfy.

The third of these issues is that the *turāth* in its current form and after long periods of withdrawal, shrinkage, and decadence is not expected, given the historical gap, the tendency towards superstition, stagnation, and imitation, to fulfill the people's aspirations and expectations. But, at the same time, it is not expected that the people would turn away from *turāth* because of a lack of convincing alternatives, whether in attempts to attain modernity, or those of the nationalist state, or of both.

The fourth of these issues is that religion originally exists to fulfill deep human needs that are related to faith in important ways that express deeply held, lofty values. These values and concepts had been placed in institutions supervised by an educated elite and exploited by political and nonpolitical authorities. The religious phenomenon is distinct from religion, but people no longer distinguish between religion and its institutions.

The fifth of these issues is that, by looking at all these facts together, the need to renew the religious *turāth* becomes apparent because it influences the beliefs and guides the behavior of the overwhelming majority of the people.

Equally important, it gives them strength, tranquility, and confidence. These factors are vital to achieving the wellbeing of the people, to liberating them from poverty and preventing them from heading towards violence under the guise of supporting religion or defending it.

The sixth of these issues is that renewal requires two things: reviving important ideals, the most essential being that religion serves the people, and renewing institutions that have become antiquated and have almost disappeared under the weight of time, power, impotence, and superstition so that they can once more be active in spreading the values of their followers and in serving them spiritually and materially to foster the development of human life and its liberation.

The seventh of these issues is that institutional and moral renewal occurs through the direct work of an enlightened and conscious mission. As for intellectual and cultural renewal, it requires rigorous, indefatigable scholarly work to support an authentication that can again attain credibility. The inherited Islamic sciences can no longer be used as a reference or as a source of authentication. Therefore, they must be freed from the traditional frameworks, which besieged and nearly smothered them, by rebuilding them on the basis of the fundamental values of religion in general and on Islam in particular. When that happens, it will become possible to harmonize the aims of religion and its goals, the common interests of societies, and their aspirations for the future.

Thus, in Ḥasan Ḥanafī's research on a new reading of *turāth* three aspects run parallel to each other: working from the inside to renew the fundamental Islamic values which have been suffocated by a stagnant heritage and the pressures of time and authority; working from inside to rebuild Islamic sciences in ways that remove the undesirable accretions of the distant past; and, finally, working from the inside to harmonize and root religion so that it can reconnect with its sublime origin and with the people more easily, in such a manner so that it can be used to liberate the land and humankind.

Therefore, the work of Ḥasan Ḥanafī in the reading of religious *turāth*, its liberation, and its employment in the question of development since the beginning of the 1980s is a transformational, functional, and authenticating effort. Yet, in so far as it aims to rebuild Islamic sciences to liberate them from the shackles of the past, his is a theoretical and epistemological work. Of this project he has so far accomplished a critical reading of theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*) towards the new theology,[47] a critical investigation of the principles of jurispru-

47 Ḥanafī, *Min al-ʿaqīda ilā l-thawra: muḥāwala li-iʿādat binā' ʿilm uṣūl al-dīn*, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Tanwīr, 1998).

dence towards an epistemological and juristic renewal,[48] and a critical revaluation of the sciences of Sufism towards a renewal of spiritual life in Islam.[49]

A look at what we have presented of *turāth* readings from the 1960s to the 1990s leads us to the following conclusions:

First: That in this stage between the 60s and 90s, *turāth* appeared as a part of one's "identity," selfhood, and individualism. In this way, the cultural heritage became a problematic or a problem written about by many who struggled to place it within the components of identities and comply with its requirements, or to liberate the heritage from the framework of imitation, or to liberate the Arab present from the pressures of that heritage and the awe (*rahba*) it inspired.

Second: It is in this stage of work on *turāth* that publishers and editors parted ways with researchers. None of those whose readings of *turāth* we have discussed here has published a *turāth* text, perhaps because they consider this to be a purely technical matter or because their scholarly training did not prepare them to do so. This is a major difference between this stage and the previous stages which started at the turn of the century, because most of the earlier readers and scholars of *turāth* were both editors and researchers of *turāth* as well. However, this distinction cannot be considered a measurement of proximity to or distance from *turāth* texts and sources. For instance, the projects of al-Jābirī and Ḥanafī involved a thorough return to *turāth* texts and sources.

Third: The readings of Arabic *turāth* in this stage came as part of a general impetus towards intellectual and cultural projects, but did not form part of the history of civilization, cultural history, or literary analysis, as was the case with many works of the preceding stage.

Fourth: The readings of *turāth* in this stage was dominated by the battle of interpretations, because they took place in a framework of conflict, whether within academic milieux or in political and cultural contexts, and within an international perspective.

Fifth: Ideological approaches appeared in the fields of reading *turāth* and, in many instances, dominated the epistemological readings. Especially since

48 Ḥanafī, *Min al-naṣṣ ilā l-wāqi': muḥāwala li-i'ādat binā' 'ilm uṣūl al-fiqh*, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Madār al-Islāmī, 2005).

49 Ḥanafī, *Min al-fanā' ilā l-baqā': muḥāwala li-i'ādat binā' 'ulūm al-taṣawwuf*, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Madār al-Islāmī, 2009). Ḥanafī has continued to be as prolific. Since 2010 when I was writing this article, he published several volumes on several fields such as Fiqh, Ḥadīth, and Tafsīr.

some readers proceeded to use *turāth* directly in the processes of revision or as a tool towards attaining cultural, religious, or revivalist aims.

Sixth: The ideologues of the 1960s and the 1970s (some of whose work was described above) achieved "a rupture" with *turāth* and with the imperialist, capitalist West, so that they converged, whether knowingly or unknowingly, with Islamists who were against Orientalism. The epitome of this standpoint is Edward Said in his book *Orientalism* (1978), which never touched on the study and editing of *turāth* texts, two fundamental achievements of the Orientalists.

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